COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOLUME LXXXV.

FROM JULY 5, TO SEPTEMBER 26, 1834,

INCLUSIVE.

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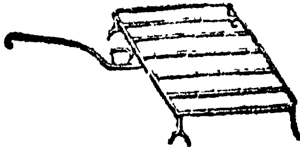
1834.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME 85.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 85.—No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 5TH, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



"The land hath bubbles, as the water hath;
"And these are of them!"

LAND-JOBBING.

TO THE FARMERS, LABOURERS, AND MECHANICS OF ENGLAND;

To those who get their living, not by trick of any sort, but by industry; and particularly by labour.

Normandy, 29. June 1834.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

PERCEIVING that there is a scheme on foot, of a very extensive and plausible nature, favoured too by our wise Ministers, for settling a new colony, and that a society has been formed for the purpose of enticing people to go thither, I shall devote this whole *Register* to the exposure of this scheme; and I shall, perhaps, publish a large edition, as a separate pamphlet, which I shall sell by retail for *threepence*; and in the hope that many gentlemen will have public spirit enough to distribute it at their own expense, when they see the ruin that it may occasion to many inoffensive and meritorious persons, I shall sell them at sixteen shillings and eightpence a hundred.

I have perhaps more knowledge of this matter than falls to the lot of any man besides myself, having seen a new colony settled, and being intimately acquainted with all the circumstances attending such settlements; having known intimately of scores of new settlements in the United States; having seen return pennyless and in rags thousands upon thousands of those who had sought in the wilderness those "*fine estates*" and that "*immense opulence*," so eloquently described by Mr. WHITMORE, in his speech on the emigration clause of the Poor-law Bill. At the end of this article I shall insert my two letters to Mr. MORRIS BIRKBECK, which will afford a striking instance of the ruin consequent upon listening to land-jobbers. But first of all let me insert the prospectus of a company, a joint-stock company, that is formed for the purpose of making this new colony; or rather their advertisement for a meeting to be held next Monday, whereat to begin their works, which though their intentions may not be wicked, will, in whatever degree they shall succeed, be productive of ruin to every person who shall venture either person or purse in this undertaking; that is to say, every one who shall give his money for lands to be sold by this company; and every one who shall suffer his person to be carried to the damnable colony. The advertisement, of which I have been speaking, is as follows:

NEW COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

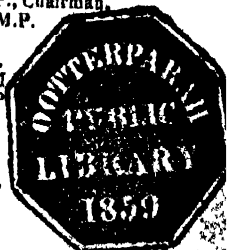
PUBLIC MEETING.—A Bill having been brought into Parliament under the sanction of his Majesty's Government, for founding a colony in South Australia, and authorizing his Majesty to appoint commissioners for the disposal of public lands and the management of emigration, there will be held on Monday next, 30. of June, in the Great Room at Exeter Hall, at eleven o'clock, a Meeting of the Members and Friends of the South Australian Association, for the purpose of explaining the principles, objects, plan, and prospects of the new colony;

WILLIAM WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

Seats will be reserved for ladies. The chair to be taken at twelve o'clock precisely.

Committee of the South Australian Association,
W. W. Whitmore, Esq., M.P., Chairman,
Aubrey Beauclerk, Esq., M.P.
Abraham Borradaile, Esq.
Charles Buller, Esq., M.P.
Henry L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P.
J. W. Childers, Esq., M.P.
William Clay, Esq., M.P.
Raikes Currie, Esq.
William Gowan, Esq.
George Grote, Esq., M.P.

B



Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P.
J. H. Hawkins, Esq., M.P.
Matthew D. Hill, Esq., M.P.
Rowland Hill, Esq.
William Hutt, Esq., M.P.
John Melville, Esq.
Samuel Mills, Esq.
Sir W. Molesworth, Bart., M.P.
Jacob Montefiore, Esq.
George Warde Norman, Esq.
Richard Norman, Esq.
G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.
Dr. Southwood Smith
Edward Strutt, Esq., M.P.
Colonel Torrens, M.P.
Daniel Wakefield, jun., Esq.
Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P.
Henry G. Ward, Esq., M.P.
John Wilks, Esq., M.P.
Joseph Wilson, Esq.
John Ashton Yates, Esq.

Treasurer, G. Grote, Esq., M.P.; Solicitor, Jos. Parkes, Esq., Hon. Secretary, R. Gouger, Esq.

Information concerning the new colony may be obtained at the office of the South Australian Association, No 7, John-street, Adelphi.

A work on the subject of the colony is in the press, entitled, "The New British Province of South Australia, or, a Description of the Country, illustrated by *Charts* and *Views*, and an Account of the Principles, Objects, Plans, and Prospects of the New Colony," and will be published by *Charles Knight*, Ludgate-hill, price 3s. bound in cloth.

Oh! Mr. CHARLES KNIGHT will have the "CHARTS" and "VIEWS"! I never saw an American land-jobber pull out his portfolio without wishing myself a despot, in order that I might apply a pound of Russian hemp to the villain's neck. While I published a newspaper in PHILADELPHIA I had several offers of large shares of tracts of country for *nothing* if I would but recommend Englishmen to settle on them. While I was in LONG ISLAND one man of the name of ROSE, and another of the name of LEWIS, the last of whom was an Englishman, and had been settled many years in America, offered me a large share in lands which they had to sell in PENNSYLVANIA, if I would recommend their settlements in my *Register*, which was written in Long Island, and published in England. To Mr. LEWIS I gave a *civil* answer; to no other of them did I ever give such answer in my life, short of "*roguish scoundrel*" I might stop, but if I did not utter the words I never failed to utter the meaning.

About two years ago, I think it was, a very plausible and well-dressed gentleman, who had "always, with increasing admiration, been a reader of my writings," came to me at *Bolt-court*, and told me the following story; namely, that he had lived several years at WASHINGTON, and was well acquainted with official persons there, that the chief land agent of the Government of the United States was his intimate friend, that this land agent, in his surveys, noted down the particular parts where the very best land was; that he (*my constant reader*) had thus, by looking at the memoranda of his friend, got possession of the invaluable secret, and that he had brought the particulars to England and was ready to mark out and sell these very best of the lands at the common price, which the Congress demanded for all the lands indiscriminately. Having heard from me some little boggling with regard to the morality of the mode by which he got possession of this valuable information, he was a little embarrassed at first, but soon resumed his brazen audacity, observing, that his friend gave him the book to look at without reservation of the use that he might put it to, said that there was nothing dishonourable in it, expressed a hope that I would further his views, as no man could do it so effectually, was "*well aware of my disinterestedness*, but that services of this sort "ought to have their reward as well "as other services; and that lands to "almost any limit upon the *very best spots were at my service*, OR," said he, "if you do not think it consistent with "your character and station to accept of "the compensation yourself, you," (putting a simper upon his countenance for which he ought to have been smitten dead upon the spot), "Mr COBBETT, have sons"! "G—— d—— you," said I "What! save my soul from "the devil, by making my sons rogues "instead of myself" Getting up from the table I desired him not to trouble me again, and off he went.

Oh! he had his "*charts*" and his *views*": here wide flowing rivers; there meandering mill streams, here

natural basins upon a hill to hold water to turn eternal manufactories; here beds of salt; there beds of coal; so that, if I had not known what the roguery was, I should have been lost in wonder, that any people in their senses could remain in a beggarly country like England.

Now, though I do not believe that the projectors of this scheme, amongst whom there are nineteen members of Parliament it seems; though I do not believe that any one of them is a rogue to this extent; and do not believe in fact, that any one of them has a roguish view; I have not the smallest scruple to say, that, as far as relates to this matter, a set of greater fools never were assembled together under the sun. I will accuse none of them of an endeavour to delude people; to get their money out of their pockets and to send them to perish, or at the very least to ruin; but in whatever degree they shall succeed in their project I am sure they will effect these ends; and I know it to be my duty, however reluctant am to do it, to warn people against the delusion.

This is the more necessary to be done without loss of time, because there are places to be kept for "*the ladies*" at Exeter Hall! What the "*ladies*" can have to do with clearing lands I do not know. They have influence however, when money is to be got out of their husbands' pockets; and many of them have a taste for those "*parks*," those "*extensive grounds*," those numerous natural "*Virginia-waters*," which will be found in "*Southern Australia*"; more properly called, *New Botany Bay*. Therefore the presence of the "*ladies*" may be appropriate enough.

As a specimen of the newspaper puffs, which are coming forth to further the views of this society, I take the following from the "*True Sun*"; the author of which puff pleads hard in favour of the delusion. I insert it as a specimen, though it is only a little beginning in the great work, it is, indeed, this puff which has brought me forth upon the subject. The author of the puff is extremely anxious to have the "*ladies*" with him. I suppose, that a pretty many thousands of pounds will be laid out on the press to get this delusion into wide circulation. I cannot destroy the delusion; but I can do this; I can prevent it from ruining the greater part of those industrious and good people, who would be totally ruined by it were I to hold my tongue. Here follows the puff; preceding the meeting at Exeter Hall.

"Lord Bacon calls the plantation of "a colony 'an heroic work.' He may "be supposed, with his wonderful foresight, to have had a prophetic eye to "that great and happy nation on the "other side of the Atlantic, which has "furnished Europe with the first, nay, "the sole example of cheap and equal "government. Without emigration, "the United States could not have existed. The names of Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, are English. It "was amongst a people, the immediate "offspring of English emigrants, that "Lafayette, to use the words of Washington, 'served an apprenticeship to liberty, till he had learned enough to go home and set up for himself.' "The out-going of Englishmen to settle in America has had an immense, and most beneficial influence on the politics of Europe. Nor is this all; for it would be easy to show that a great portion of the foreign commerce "of this country, of that trade which enables us to obtain thousands of useful and agreeable objects not producible here, took its rise from measures of colonization. As a means, "then, of extending the empire of civilization over the globe, and creating "new markets wherein to sell the products of domestic industry, it appears to us that emigration, or rather colonization, is an excellent thing. These remarks are suggested by the project now before the public, of a new colony in Australia. The South Australian Association, of whose acting committee a list will be found in our advertising columns, have been "long engaged in forming the "plan which is now to be carried "into effect with the sanction of Go-

"vernment. And here *we must do Mr* "*Spring Rice the justice* to acknow- "ledge that he *deserves praise* for "readily promoting a useful and na- "tional undertaking, which was *bitterly* "*opposed by Lord Ripon*, and regarded "with indifference by the *ignorant and* "*conceited ex-secretary for the colonies.* "With the details of the measure we "are not at all acquainted; nor could "we, in the space of a daily paper, give "a satisfactory explanation of the ge- "neral principles on which the scheme "is based. But an opportunity of "learning both the principles and de- "tails of the measure will be presented "on Monday next, when the South "Australian Association will explain "their objects to a public meeting, in "the great room Exeter Hall. *This* "*looks well.* Those who *seek publicity* "cannot intend much wrong, but must, "we may almost say, be actuated by "good intentions. The great job of the "petty Swan River affair was managed "in secret. There was no publicity "until after Mr. Peel, the cousin of Sir "Robert, had secured his own grant of "500,000 acres of land; which grant, "by the way, and other profuse grants "which were made to meet the charge "of partiality, proved ruinous to the "colony. In this case, where the chief "actors themselves call for a public "examination of their doings, there "cannot well be any jobbing. The "names of the committee are a further "guarantee, not only of good intentions, "but of sound judgment and earnest "carefulness in the preparation of the "enterprise. Mr. WHITMORE, Mr. "GROTE, Mr. CLAY, and several others, "*are not the sort of men to engage in a* "*wild or crude scheme.* One part of "the measure contemplates, we under- "stand, the providing of a *passage cost* "*free, for a large body of the working* "*class.* Sympathizing deeply with that "class, and rejoicing in the prospect of "a road whereby many of them may "find their way *to the high wages* and "*cheap land*, which are the attributes "of well-managed colonies, we are "anxious to point out to them that by "attending the meeting on Monday "next (the room will hold four thousand "persons), they may at least satisfy "their curiosity on a subject in which 'none have a deeper interest. And we 'would say, further, to *heads of fami-* '*lies* and to *young men*, who may wish 'to learn more concerning the objects 'and plan of the new colony, that '*their wives* and *daughters*, their "*sisters* and *sweethearts*, may also have "some curiosity on the subject. In "colonization *the women* are of quite as "much importance at least as the men, "and in deciding a question of emigra- "tion, their voice has often more "weight. To hear religious discussion "Exeter Hall is often crowded with "females. Why not to hear about a "new country, which cannot be peopled "as it ought to be, unless nearly as "many women as men shall decide to "make it their future home? There "are some who will smile at this sug- "gestion. We wish them joy of their "ignorance and *want of good feeling*; adding, that the suggestion is not "ours, but that of the association, who announce that '*seats will be reserved* "*for ladies.*'"

This is at once as audacious and as silly a *puff*, as I ever set my eyes on. Puffs are seldom very delicate things; but this is the grossest, silliest, meanest, that I ever saw; the writer, in a sort of preface which I have not inserted, confesses, or rather, says, that he has always been inimical to emigration, and he forgets to tell us precisely *what it is* that has made him in favour of this project: *what it is* that has converted him all at once! Something of wondrous power no doubt; that we must conclude; but still one would have liked to know precisely what it was, precisely the amount of it. As to what Lord BACON says upon the subject; and as to WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, and JEFFERSON, having grown out of a colony; all that this public-spirited and disinterested editor knew, and still he was hostile to emigration, until, all at once, this new association appeared: and then the gentleman changes his mind in the twinkling of an eye.

He even finds it becoming him to

praise Mr. Spring Rice, for lending the powers of the Government to aid the brilliant schemes of this joint-stock association. He "*must* do justice to Mr. Spring Rice," and he must do justice to Mr. Stanley and Lord Ripon, by hinting that the latter was an obstinate fool, and by calling Mr. Stanley *ignorant* and *conceited*. He must do justice; and as he must do justice to others, why not do justice to himself; and tell us at once what it is, and how much there was of it, that converted him from an anti-emigrator, to call upon the ladies, even upon the daughters, sisters, and sweethearts, to go to Exeter-Hall to give countenance to this most delusive project. Why not tell us at once, how much of that same sort of thing would induce him to turn from *Southern Australia* to the swamps of Canada, the rocks of Nova Scotia, or the bottomless sands of Prince Edward's Island; to make him exclaim, "Come, ladies, to enable you to lead "happy lives and roll about in your "carriages, believe me, upon my sa-"cred honour, there is nothing like "sand"!

He tells us "that Messrs. Whitmore, "Grote, and Clay, are not the sort of "men to engage in a wild or crude "scheme." Not *wild* or *crude for themselves*, I will engage. I will be bound for them that they will lose nothing by the scheme. The two former are bankers, I believe; and I think the latter is a shipowner, or something of that sort. I dare say that they have made their calculations very accurately, as to the gain or loss which they shall experience in this affair. As far as they are concerned, the scheme may not be wild or crude; they must be bunglers, indeed, if they do not take care not to lose by it; but, it may be a very wild, a very crude affair to those who take shares under them; and, as to those who actually expend their money to purchase lands of this company, or to those who go in order to get a living by working there, the scheme will be very wild, indeed. Those who go there for the purpose of robbing the settlers may get money; but as to the settlers themselves, they will be a set of the most miserable wretches under the sun.

This writer wants a large body of the working classes to go, he "*sympathizing deeply with that class.*" And he understands that *passages, cost free,* are to be provided for a *large body of persons of this description.* Oh, oh! Now who will bet me two to one, that the money taken from the parishes to be paid for the emigration of the working people will not be paid over to this company? Who will bet me two to one of that; and who will tell, or can tell, how far the poor-law project was originally connected with this project? When I heard Mr. Whitmore detailing the wondrous gains of new settlements all over the world, and saying, (according to his explanation), that the present system of poor-laws had the malignity of a fiend; and especially when I heard him go into details of the vast gains of new settlements, I could not help wondering what all that had to do with the Poor-law Bill. I now understand it all. It all had a great deal to do with the Poor-law Bill; and, as I said before, it would be curious to know what each of these projects had to do in giving rise to the other. The South-Sea bubble was not more mischievous, than the South-Sand bubble would be, if it could possibly succeed. Succeed it cannot; for the ruined and broken-hearted creatures will write home to their relations and friends, as they do from Canada, and then the scheme is at an end; but before they can do that, those who now put their names to the project will, I dare say, have had the prudence to quit the concern, as we have seen it happen in so many hundreds of instances, leaving the wretches that have been deluded by it, to all those sufferings which they, indeed, will richly merit; because, in nine cases out of ten, they will be the victims of their own obstinacy, perverseness, or greediness; of their own lazy ambition, seeking for parks, without the genius, the industry, or any other of those means by which parks ought to be acquired.

There are some few who may be good and industrious people; who find it very

difficult to get a livelihood and to provide for children in England, and who will be deluded with the thought, that this is to be done in Australia; and particularly there may be some labouring men or citizens, who will listen to the Australian lie. These I wish to remind that land covered with trees, or with rocks, or which is a swamp, is of no more use to them than just the same quantity of sea. I sailed to Long Island in 1817, with about twenty farming men, who came from the neighbourhood of WISBEACH in Cambridgeshire. None of them had less than a hundred pounds; some of them had a good deal more. They were steerage passengers; and, therefore, by the habits observed in such cases, they were separated as society from me, who went in the cabin; but, one evening, as ten or a dozen of them were ranged leaning upon the rail by the side of the ship, I heard them calculating upon the number of acres of land that each of them could buy, the infernal villains of land-jobbers having kindly furnished them with a printed account of prices, together with animated descriptions of the streams and meadows and mines and fruit trees, and the like. I went and wedged myself in amongst them, and leaned upon the rail, too; and, taking out a pencil and a bit of paper, asked them how much land they wanted, because I had some to dispose of. The sea was perfectly calm and smooth, and we were upon the great bank of Newfoundland, which, I believe, is rather bigger than England. Having got the numbers, I added them up. "Oh!" exclaimed I, "why here are less than "five thousand acres in the whole! "I will give it you, without a farthing "in payment!" "Thank ye, sir!" they exclaimed. "But can we go to it as soon as we land at NEW YORK." "Oh!" said I, "you can go to it this "minute, if you like; for here it is: "that's it," giving my hand a sweep round over the sea. "Ah!" said they, "but that's water; that a'nt land." "Oh, oh!" said I, "but there is land "under, at only sixty fathoms off; and "it will be full as easy for you to get "the water off from that land, as it "will be for you to clear the wood off "the land which these villanous land-"jobbers have deluded you to seek "after. There," said I, "GODWIN, "take you your hundred acres there, "and take possession directly; and you "will kill a calf (he was a sort of "butcher) upon that land below us, "sooner than you will kill one "from the miserable lands which "you will buy with your little bit of "money," which was two hundred pounds. I then explained to them the impossibility of their doing anything with new land; and that it would, in fact, be of no more use to them than so much sea; I told them that they must be utterly ruined and destroyed, if they did not go to work for somebody else. They heard me, but nothing could beat them out of the idea, that as land was to be got for a dollar an acre, they could make shift to live upon it, at the least. When they landed, however, they saw many of their countrymen who had preceded them. The result was, that thirteen out of the twenty went to work at NEW YORK and the neighbourhood. The other seven, after losing all their money, and worrying themselves half to death, came back beggars to NEW YORK; and the very last day that I was in that city, I saw GODWIN in a famously dirty dress, banging along the High-street of NEW YORK in a butcher's cart, just in the style of the "*old country*," and to the great amazement of the beholders. I saw his mother at CROWLAND about four years ago, and told her of the prosperous condition in which I had left her son.

It is impossible for any man adequately to describe the endless privations, the mortifying sufferings of a new settlement. In short, it is savage-life, without its absence of care. No sooner do you arrive at the land, than you perceive that you are ruined, unless you can retreat from it at once. But what do we want more than the settlement of the ILLINOIS? All England did not contain two much more clever men than MORRIS BIRKBECK and RICHARD FLOWER. They carried to the ILLINOIS

not much less than forty thousand pounds between them. BIRKBECK took, as his valuation out of WANBOROUGH farm, the hilly part of which I now see from the window at which I am sitting; he was valued out of that farm at seventeen thousand pounds. All was sunk at the ILLINOIS. Well, but he raised a mansion there, to be sure, and became a great man in that country. He never had a dwelling there so good as the worst of the cottages belonging to WANBOROUGH farm, a farm on which he grew annually about two hundred acres of wheat, and on which he kept a flock of sheep, worth more than the fee-simple of the ILLINOIS. And what was the final result with regard to him? He never lived to have a decent room to sit down in: he lived to see his son a common labourer; and lived to see his daughters married to men, whom he would have thought worthy of punishment, if they had offered their addresses to them in England. His death was accidental, to be sure; but he met it in crossing a river in the ILLINOIS. His two amiable daughters have had to endure tribulation upon tribulation; one being now, I am told, at NEW ORLEANS, and the other somewhere in the north of America. RICHARD FLOWER is dead; and his son leading the life of a rough back-woodsman.

If I had been praying for the salvation of my soul, I could not have been more earnest in my entreaties to these people not to go to that accursed country. I saw Mr. BIRKBECK in London, before he went at all. I saw Mr. FLOWER and his family at NEW YORK. I used every possible means within my power to prevail on them not to go. I told them all the consequences, precisely as those consequences have come to pass; except, indeed, that my imagination never extended to the calamities that have befallen Mr. BIRKBECK and his family. In a pecuniary point of view he was totally ruined before he lost his life. He spent a fortune on which he might have lived and kept his carriage in England; and he never had a dwelling in America equal to one of the very worst of the cottages appertaining to WANBOROUGH farm. I saw Mr. RICHARD FLOWER in a house in Hertfordshire, with a beautiful farm around it, and a homestead so complete, that niceness itself could have suggested nothing to add or to alter. His wife and son are now in a miserable log, or boarded house, sitting down at table with persons, such as their yearly servants in Hertfordshire would not have sitten down with. And the money all gone!

The infatuation which pervades men's minds when they are promised parks is quite surprising. A draper in the STRAND, whose name I have forgotten, went, about six years ago, to *Van Diemen's Land*. He was a very worthy man, as they told me; had saved ten or fifteen thousand pounds; and was bent upon a park in Van Diemen's Land. He took his passage in a ship, which, in the first place, rejected three-fourths of his luggage, which was to follow by another ship; two servants that he had hired to go with him, and had received part of their wages beforehand, had the cunning and the villany to fall fast asleep and to lose their passage; his wife, who was pregnant, died on the passage, in child-birth, her heart broken and her frame wasted beforehand. What more happened to him, I never heard, but I would pledge my existence, that all he now possesses in the world, if he be alive, is not worth five years' interest of the fortune which he took away. This man I met accidentally at the house of a friend; and I implored him not to go. They were worthy people; they had the fruits of twenty years of great industry; and I thought it my duty to warn them of their danger. This man had actually gone so far as to draw a plan of a castle that he intended to build; and he actually took out a swivel gun or two, to be fired occasionally from the top of the castle. "Oh!" you will say, "the man was *mad*." As to this matter he was *mad*; but not more mad than every one is who spends his money, or employs his person on such enterprises. With regard to the present scheme, it is a mere land-jobbing delusion. It is worse than any that I have ever head of before; but indeed, they are all a compound of wickedness and folly.

And, as to matters of politics and government. The government is, and must be, arbitrary and despotic. In the colonies the gentlefolks are, the officers of the army, of the navy, and of the Government; they and their insolent wives and daughters and sons swarm in all the colonies, like *aphi* upon the peach-tree that is blasted. There are no gentlemen in private life: the governor and his troop of officers, and the other persons in public employ and public pay, look upon all the rest of the community (if community it can be called) with disdain inexpressible. No tradesman, no farmer (if there were a man worthy of the name in the country), dares speak to a miserable lieutenant, or ensign, without pulling off his hat, and standing with his hat off. He will not punish you upon the spot for the omission; but you will be sure to get the punishment before a month has passed over your head. If any man would give me as a present the two Canadas, and compel me to live there under the Colonial Government, I would not accept of it. That, indeed, is not saying much; because I would not live there under any government; for it is so hateful, so detestable a thing, that any man of any spirit, would dig, or beg, or do any thing, in England, rather than submit to it.

To the United States, indeed, a man *may* go, and change for the better; but, if he do not go merely as a working man, it is always a nice question even emigrating to that country. If the emigrant go to set about clearing lands, even there he is a ruined man, let his fortune be what it may. I can suppose a case, in which to emigrate may be wise; but, then, it must be to a *settled country*. However, nothing more is necessary on this subject, than the reading of the following two Letters to poor Mr. BIRKBECK, which I take from my "YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA," which was first published when those who are now *twenty*, were only *six*, years old. [illegible] in this extract, the reader will see all the process, and all the fatal effects, of emigrating to *new settlements*.

TO MORRIS BIRKBECK, ESQ., OF ENGLISH PRAIRIE, ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

North Hempstead, Long Island,
10. Dec. 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read your two little books, namely, the "*Notes on a Journey in America*," and the "*Letters from the Illinois*." I opened the books, and I proceeded in the perusal, with *fear and trembling*; not because I supposed it possible for you to put forth an *intended* imposition on the world; but because I had a sincere respect for the character and talents of the writer; and because I knew how enchanting and delusive are the prospects of enthusiastic minds, when bent on grand territorial acquisitions.

My apprehensions were, I am sorry to have it to say, but too well founded. Your books, written I am sure, without any intention to deceive and decoy, and without any, even the smallest, tincture of base self-interest, are, in my opinion, calculated to produce great disappointment, not to say misery and ruin, amongst our own country people (for I will, in spite of your disavowal, still claim the honour of having you for a countryman), and great injury to America by sending back to Europe accounts of that disappointment, misery, and ruin.

It is very true, that you decline *advising* any one to go to the ILLINOIS, and it is also true, that your description of the *hardships* you encountered is very candid; but still there runs throughout the whole of your *Notes* such an account as to the *prospect*, that is to say the *ultimate effect*, that the book is, without your either wishing or perceiving it, calculated to deceive and decoy. You do indeed describe difficulties and hardships; but, then, you *overcome* them all with so much ease and gaiety, that you make them disregarded by your English [illegible]rs, who, sitting by their fire-side, feeling nothing but the gripe of the boroughmongers and the tax-gatherer, merely cast a glance at you hardships and fully participate in all your enthusiasm. You do indeed fairly describe the rugged roads, the dirty hovels, the fire in the woods to sleep by, the path-

less ways through the wildernesses, the dangerous crossings of the rivers; but, there are the beautiful meadows and rich lands *at last*; there is the *fine free-hold domain at the end*! There are the giants and the enchanters to encounter; the slashings and the rib-roastings to undergo; but then, there is, *at last*, the lovely languishing damsel to repay the adventurer.

The whole of your writings relative to your undertaking, address themselves directly to *English farmers*, who have property to the amount of two or three thousand pounds, or upwards. Persons of this description are, not by your express words, but by the natural tendency of your writings, *invited*, nay, strongly invited, to emigrate with their property to the Illinois Territory. Many have already acted upon the invitation. Many others are about to follow them. I am convinced, that their doing this is unwise, and greatly injurious, not only to them, but to the character of America as a country to emigrate to, and, as I have, in the first Part of this work, promised to give, as far as I am able, a *true* account of America, it is my duty to state the *reasons* on which this conviction is founded; and, I address the statement to you, in order, that, if you find it erroneous, you may, in the like public manner, show wherein I have committed error.

We are speaking, my dear sir, of English farmers possessing each two or three thousand pounds sterling. And, before we proceed to inquire, whether such persons ought to emigrate to the *west* or to the *east*, it may not be amiss to inquire a little, whether they ought to *emigrate at all*! Do not start now! For, while I am very certain that the emigration of *such persons* is not in the end calculated to produce benefit to America, as a nation, I greatly doubt of its being, *generally speaking*, of any benefit to the emigrants themselves, if we take into view the chances of their speedy relief at home.

Persons of advanced age, of settled habits, of deep-rooted prejudices, of settled acquaintances, of contracted sphere of movement, do not, to use Mr. GEORGE FLOWER's expression, "*transplant well.*" Of all such persons, farmers transplant worse; and, of all farmers, English farmers are the worst to transplant. Of some of the *tears*, shed in the ILLINOIS, an account reached me several months ago, through an eye-witness of perfect veracity, and a very sincere friend of freedom, and of you, and whose information was given me, unasked for, and in the presence of several Englishmen, every one of whom, as well as myself, most ardently wished you success.

It is nothing, my dear sir, to say, as you do, in the Preface to the *Letters from the Illinois*, that as "little would "I encourage the emigration of the "tribe of *grumblers*, people who are "petulant and discontented under the "*every-day* evils of life. Life has its "petty miseries in *all situations* and "climates, to be mitigated or cured by "the continual efforts of an elastic spi-"rit, or to be borne, if incurable, with "cheerful patience. But the *peevish* "*emigrant* is perpetually comparing the "*comforts* he has quitted, but never "could enjoy, with the *privations of* "*his new allotment*. He overlooks the "*present good*, and broods over the evil "with *habitual perverseness*; whilst in "the recollection of the past, he dwells "on the good only. Such people are "always *bad associates*, but they are "*an especial nuisance* in an infant "colony."

Give me leave to say, my dear sir, that there is too much *asperity* in this language, considering who were the objects of its censure. Nor do you appear to me to afford, in this instance, a very happy illustration of the absence of that *peevishness*, which you perceive in others, and for the yielding to which you call them a *nuisance*; an appellation much too harsh for the object and for the occasion. If you, with all your elasticity of spirit, all your ardour of pursuit, all your compensations of fortune in prospect, and all your gratifications of fame in possession, cannot with patience hear the wailings of some of your neighbours, into what source are

they to dip for the waters of content and good-humour?

It is no "*every-day evil*" that they have to bear. For an English farmer, and more especially an English farmer's wife, after crossing the sea and travelling to the Illinois, with the consciousness of having expended a third of their substance, to purchase, as yet, nothing but sufferings; for such persons to boil their pot in the gipsy-fashion, to have a mere board to eat on, to drink whisky or pure water, to sit and sleep under a shed far inferior to their English cow-pens, to have a mill at twenty miles' distance, an apothecary's shop at a hundred, and a doctor nowhere: these, my dear sir, are not, to *such people*, "*every day* evils of life." You, though in your little "cabin," have your *books*, you have your name circulating in the world, you have it to be given, by-and-by, to a city or a county; and, if you fail of brilliant success, you have still a sufficiency of fortune to secure you a safe retreat. Almost the whole of your neighbours must be destitute of all these sources of comfort, hope, and consolation. As they *now are*, their change is, and must be, for the worse; and, as *to the future*, besides the uncertainty attendant, every where, on that which is to come, they ought to be excused, if they, at their age, despair of seeing days as happy as those that they have seen.

It were much better for *such people* not to emigrate at all; for while they are *sure* to come into a state of some degree of suffering, they leave behind them the *chance* of happy days; and, in my opinion, a *certainty* of such days. I think it next to impossible for any man of tolerable information to believe that the present tyranny of the seat-owners can last another two years. As to *what change* will take place it will, perhaps, be hard to say; but that *some great change* will come is certain; and it is also certain that the change *must be for* the better. Indeed, one of the motives for the emigration of many is said to be that they think a *convulsion* inevitable. Why should such persons as I am speaking of fear a convulsion? Why should they suppose that they should suffer by a convulsion? What have *they* done to provoke the rage of the blanketteers? Do they think that their countrymen, all but themselves, will be transformed into prowling wolves? This is precisely what the boroughmongers wish them to believe; and, believing it, they *flee* instead of remaining to assist to keep the people down, as the borough-mongers wish them to do.

Being here, however, they, as you say, *think only of the good* they have left behind them, and of *the bad they find here*. This is no fault of theirs: it is the natural course of the human mind: and this you ought to have known You yourself acknowledge; that England

> *was never so dear to you as it is now in recollection*; being no longer under its base oligarchy, I can think of my native country and her *noble institutions*, apart from her *politics*."

I may ask you, by the way, what *noble institutions*" she has, which are not of a *political nature*? Say the *oppressions of her tyrants*, say that you can think of her and love her renown and her famous political institutions, apart from those oppressions, and then I go with you with all my heart; but, so thinking and so feeling, I cannot say with you in your NOTES, that England is to me "*matter of history*," nor with you, in your LETTERS FROM THE ILLINOIS, "that where *liberty* is, there is *my country*."

But, leaving this matter for the present, if English farmers must emigrate, why should they encounter *unnecessary* difficulties? Coming from a country like a garden, why should they not stop in another *somewhat resembling* that which they have lived in before? Why should they, at an expense amounting to a large part of what they possess, prowl two thousand miles at the hazard of their limbs and lives, take women and children through scenes of hardship and distress, not easily described, and that too, to live like gipsies, at the end of their journey, for, at least, a year or two, and, as I think I shall show, without the smallest chance of their *finally*

doing so well as they may do in these Atlantic states? Why should an English farmer and his family, who have always been jogging about a snug homestead, eating regular meals, and sleeping in warm rooms, push back to the Illinois, and encounter those hardships, which require all the habitual disregard of comfort of an American back-woodsman to overcome? Why should they do this? The undertaking is hardly reconcileable to reason in an Atlantic *American* farmer who has half a dozen sons, all brought up to use the axe, the saw, the chisel and the hammer, from their infancy, and every one of whom is ploughman, carpenter, wheelwright, and butcher, and can work from sun-rise to sun set, and sleep, if need be, upon the bare boards. What, then, must it be in an English farmer and his family of helpless mortals? Helpless, I mean, in this scene of such novelty and such difficulty! And what is his *wife* to do; she who has been torn from all her relations and neighbours, and from every thing that she liked in the world, and who, perhaps, has never, in all her life before, been *ten miles* from the cradle in which she was nursed? An American farmer mends his plough, his wagon, his tackle of all sorts, his household goods, his shoes; and, if need be, he *makes* them all. Can our people do all this, or any part of it? Can they live without bread for months? Can they live without beer? Can they be otherwise than miserable, cut off, as they must be, from all intercourse with, and hope of hearing of, their relations and friends? The truth is, that this is not *transplanting*, it is *tearing up and flinging away*.

Society! What society can these people have? 'Tis true they have nobody to envy, for nobody can have any thing to enjoy. But there may be, and there must be, mutual complainings and upbraidings; and every unhappiness will be traced directly to him who has been, however, unintentionally, the cause of the unhappy person's removal. The very foundation of your plan necessarily contained the seeds of discontent and ill-will. A *colony* all from the same country was the very worst project that could have been fallen upon. You took upon yourself the *charge* of Moses without being invested with any part of his *authority*; and absolute as this was, he found the charge so heavy, that he called upon the Lord to share it with him, or to relieve him from it altogether. Soon after you went out, a Unitarian priest, upon my asking what you were going to do in that wild country, said, you were going to form a community, who would be "content to worship *one God*!" "I hope not," said I, "for he will have plagues enough "without adding a priest to the num- "ber." But, perhaps, I was wrong: for Aaron was of great assistance to the leader of the Israelites.

As if the inevitable effects of disappointment and hardship were not sufficient, you had too a sort of *partnership* in the *leaders*. This is *sure* to produce feuds and bitterness in the long run. Partnership sovereignties have furnished the world with numerous instances of poisonings and banishments and rottings in prison. It is as much as merchants, who post their books every Sunday, can do to get along without quarrelling. Of man and wife, though they are flesh of flesh and bone of bone, the harmony is not always quite perfect, except in France, where the husband is the servant, and in Germany and Prussia, where the wife is the slave. But as for a partnership sovereignty without disagreement, there is but one single instance upon record; that I mean was of the *two kings of Brentford*, whose cordiality was, you know, so perfect that they both smelt to the same nosegay. This is, my dear sir, no bantering. I am quite serious. It is impossible that separations should not take place, and equally impossible that the neighbourhood should not be miserable. This is not the way to settle in America. The way is, to go and *sit yourselves down amongst the natives*. They are already settled. They can *lend* you what you want to borrow, and happy they are always to do it. And, which is the great thing of all great things, you have

their *women* for *your women to commun with*!

RAPP indeed has done great things but RAPP has the authority of Moses and that of Aaron united in his own person. Besides, Rapp's community observe in reality that celibacy which monks and nuns pretend to, though I am not going to take my oath, mind, that none of the tricks of the convent are ever played in the tabernacles of *Harmony*. At any rate, Rapp secures the *effects* of celibacy; first, an absence of the expense attending the breeding and rearing of children, and second, unremitted labour of woman as well as man. But where, in all the world, is the match of this to be found? Where else shall we look for a society composed of persons willing and able to forego the gratification of the most powerful propensity of nature, for the sake of getting money together? Where else shall we look for a band of men and women who love money better than their own bodies? Better than their *souls* we find people enough to love money; but who ever before heard of a set that preferred the love of money to that of their bodies? Who before ever conceived the idea of putting a stop to the procreation of children, for the sake of saving the expense of bearing and breeding them? This society, which is a perfect prodigy and monster, ought to have the image of MAMMON in their place of worship; for that is the object of their devotion, and not the God of nature. Yet the persons belonging to this unnatural association are your nearest neighbours. The masculine things here called women, who have imposed barrenness on themselves out of a pure love of gain, are the nearest neighbours of the affectionate, tenderhearted wives and mothers and daughters, who are to inhabit your colony, and who are, let us thank God, the very reverse of the petticoated Germans of harmony.

In such a situation, with so many circumstances to annoy, what happiness can an English family enjoy in that country, so far distant from all that resembles what they have left behind them? "The fair enchantress *Liberty*," of whom you speak with not too much rapture, they would have found in any of *these states*, and in a garb too by which they would have *recognised* her. Where they now are, they are *free* indeed, but their freedom is that of the wild animals in your woods. It is not *freedom; it is no government*. The GIPSIES in England are *free*; and any one who has a mind to live in a cave, or cabin, in some hidden recess of our *Hampshire forests*, may be *free* too. The English farmer in the Illinois is indeed beyond the reach of the boroughmongers; and so is the man that is in the grave. When it was first proposed in the English Ministry to *drop quietly* the title of *King of France* in the enumeration of our king's titles, and when it was stated to be an expedient *likely to tend to a peace*, MR. WYNDHAM, who was then a member of the Cabinet, said, "As this is a measure of *safety*, and 'as doubtless we shall hear of others of 'the same cast, what think you *of going under ground at once*?" It was a remark enough to cut the liver out of the hearers; but Pitt and his associates had no livers. I do not believe that any twelve journeymen or labourers in England would have voted for the adoption of this mean and despicable measure.

If indeed the Illinois were the *only* place out of the reach of the borough-grasp, and if men are resolved to get out of that reach, then I should say, go to the Illinois by all means. But as there is a country, a settled country, a free country full of kind neighbours, full of all that is good; and when this country is to be *traversed* in order to *get at* the acknowledged hardships of the Illinois, how can a sane mind lead an English farmer into the expedition?

It is the enchanting damsel that makes the knight encounter the hair-breadth escapes, the sleeping on the ground, the cooking with cross-sticks to hang the pot on. It is the *prairie*, that pretty French word, which means green grass bespangled with daisies and cowslips! Oh, God! what delusion! And that a man of sense, a man of superior under-

standing and talent; a man of honesty, honour, humanity, and lofty sentiment, should be the cause of this delusion; I, my dear sir, have seen *prairies* many years ago, in America, as fine as yours, a fertile as yours, though not so extensive. I saw those prairies settled on by American loyalists, who were carried, with all their goods and tools to the spot, and who were furnished with four years' provisions, all *at the expense of England*; who had the lands *given them*; tools *given them*; and who were thus seated down on the borders of *creeks*, which gave them easy communication with the inhabited plains near the sea. The settlers that I particularly knew were Connecticut men. Men with families of sons. Men able to do as much in a day at the works necessary in their situation as so many Englishmen would be able to do in a week. They began with a *shed*; then rose to a *log-house*; and next to a *frame-house*; all of their own building. I have seen them manure their land with *salmon* caught in their creeks, and with *pigeons* caught on the land itself. It will be a long while before you will see such beautiful *corn-fields* as I saw there. Yet nothing but the danger and disgrace which attended their return to Connecticut *prevented their returning*, though there they must have begun the world anew. I saw them in their log-huts, and saw them in their frame-houses. They had overcome all their difficulties as settlers; they were under a government which required neither tax nor service from them; they were as happy as people could be as to ease and plenty; but, still, they *sighed for Connecticut*; and especially the *women*, young as well as old, though we, gay fellows with worsted or silver lace upon our bright red coats, did our best to make them happy by telling them entertaining stories about Old England, while we drank their coffee and grog by gallons, and eat their fowls, pigs, and sausages and sweetmeats, by wheelbarrow loads; for, though we were by no means *shy*, their hospitality far exceeded our appetites. I am an old hand at the work of settling in wilds. I have more than once or twice had to begin my nest and go in like a bird, making it habitable by degrees; and, if I, or if such people as my old friends above-mentioned, with every thing found for them and brought to the spot, had difficulties to undergo, and *sighed for home* even after all the difficulties were over, what must be the lot of an English farmer's family in the Illinois!

All this I told you, my dear sir, in London, just before your departure. I begged of you and Mr. Richard Flower both, not to think of the wilderness. I begged of you to go to within a day's ride of some of these great cities, where your ample capital and your great skill could not fail to place you upon a footing, at least, with the richest amongst the most happy and enlightened yeomanry in the world; where you would find every one to praise the improvements you would introduce, and nobody to envy you any thing that you might acquire. Where you would find society as good, in all respects, as that which you had left behind you. Where you would find neighbours ready prepared for you far more generous and hospitable than those in England *can* be, loaded and pressed down as they are by the inexorable hand of the borough-villains. I offered you a letter (which I believe I sent you), to my friends the PAULS, But," said I, "you want no letter. Go into Philadelphia, or Bucks, or Chester, or Montgomery county; tell any of the Quakers, or any body else, that you are an English farmer, come to settle amongst them; and I'll engage that you will instantly have friends and neighbours as good and as cordial as those that you leave in England."

At this very moment, if this plan had been pursued, you would have had a beautiful farm of two or three hundred acres. Fine stock upon it feeding on Swedish turnips. A house overflowing with abundance; comfort, ease, and, if you chose, elegance, would have been your inmates; *libraries*, public and private, within your reach; and a communication with England much more

quick and regular than that which you now have even with Pittsburgh.

You say, that, "Philadelphians "*know nothing* of the western coun-"tries." Suffer me, then, to say, that you know nothing of the *Atlantic States*, which, indeed, is the only apology for your saying, that the *Americans have no mutton fit to eat*, and that you regard it *only as a thing fit for dogs*. In this island *every* farmer has sheep. I kill *fatter* lamb than I ever *saw* in England, and the *fattest* mutton I ever saw, was in company with Mr. Harline, in Philadelphia market last winter. At BRIGHTON, near Boston, they produced, at a cattle show this fall, an ox of *two thousand seven hundred pounds* weight, and sheep much finer than you and I saw at the Smithfield show in 1814. Mr. Judge Lawrence, of this county, has kept, for seven years, an average of *five hundred merinos* on his farm of *one hundred and fifty acres*, besides raising twenty acres of corn and his usual pretty large proportion of grain! Can your western farmers beat that? Yes, in extent, the surface of five dollars beats that of a guinea.

I suppose that Mr. Judge Lawrence's farm, close by the side of a bay that gives him two hours of water carriage to New York; a farm with twenty acres of meadow, *real prairie*; a gentleman's house and garden; barns, sheds, cider-house, stables, coach-house, corn-cribs, and orchards, that may produce from four to eight thousand bushels of apples and pears: I suppose, that this farm is worth *three hundred dollars an acre*: that is, forty-five thousand dollars, or about *twelve or thirteen thousand pounds*.

Now, then, let us take a look at your estimate of the expenses of *sitting down* in the prairies.

Copy from my Memorandum Book.

Estimate of money required for the comfortable establishment of my family on Bolting-house, now English, prairie; on which the first instalment is paid. [About 720 acres of woodland, and 720 prairie;—the latter to be chiefly grass:

		Dollars.
Second instalment, Aug 1819,	720	
Third ditto, Aug. 1820,	720	
Fourth ditto, Aug. 1821,	720	
		2160
Dwelling-house and appurtenances		4590
Other buildings		1500
4680 rods of fencing, viz. 3400 on the prairie, and 1280 round the woodland		1170
Sundry wells, 200 dollars; gates, 100 dollars; cabins 200 dollars		500
100 head of cattle, 900 dollars; 20 sows, &c. 100 dollars; sheep, 1000 dollars		2000
Ploughs, wagons, &c., and sundry tools and implements		270
Housekeeping until the land supplies us		1000
Shepherd one year's wages, herdsmen one year, and sundry other labourers		1000
One cabinet-maker, one wheelwright, one year, making furniture and implements, 300 dollars each		600
Sundry articles of furniture, ironmongery, pottery, glass &c		500
Sundries, fruit trees, &c		100
First instalment already paid		720
Five horses on hand, worth		300
Expense of freight and carriage of linen, bedding, books, clothing, &c		1000
Value of articles brought from England		4500
Voyage and journey		2000
		Dol. 23,820

23,820 dollars = 5,359*l.* sterling.

Allow about 600 dollars more for seed and corn	141
	£ 5500

So, here is more than one-third of the amount of Mr. Judge Lawrence's farm. To be sure, there are only about 18,000 dollars expended on land, buildings, and *getting at them*; but, *what a life* is that which you are to lead for *a thousand dollars a year*, when two good domestic servants will cost *four hundred*

of the money? Will you live like one of the yeomen of your rank *here*? Then, I assure you, that your domestic and groceries (the latter three times as dear as they are here) and crockeryware (equally dear) will more than swallow up that pitiful sum. You allow six thousand dollars for *buildings*. Twice the sum would not put you, in this respect, upon a footing with Mr. Lawrence. His land is all completely fenced and his grain in the ground. His apple-trees have *six thousand bushels of apples in their buds*, ready to come out in the spring; and, a large part of these to be sold at a high price to go on shipboard. But, what is to give you his *market*? What is to make your pork, as soon as killed, sell for 9 or 10 dollars a hundred, and your cows at 45 or 50 dollars each, and your beef at 7 or 8 dollars a hundred, and your corn at a dollar, and wheat at two dollars bushel?

However, happiness is in the *mind*; and, if it be necessary to the gratification of your mind to inhabit a wilderness and be the owner of a large tract of land, you are right to seek and enjoy this gratification, but, for the plain, plodding, *English farmer*, who simply seeks safety for his little property, with some addition to it for his children; for such a person to cross the Atlantic states in search of safety, tranquillity and gain in the Illinois, is, to my mind, little short of madness. Yet, to this mad enterprise is he allured by your captivating statements, and which statements become decisive in their effects upon his mind, when they are reduced to *figures*. This, my dear sir, is the part of your writings, which has given me most pain. You have not *meant to deceive*, but you have first practised a deceit upon yourself, and then upon others. All the disadvantages you *state*, but, then, you accompany the statement by telling us how *quickly* and how *easily* they will be *overcome*. Salt, Mr. HULME finds, even at ZANESVILLE, at *two dollars and a half a bushel*; but, you tell us, that it *soon will be* at three quarters of a dollar. And thus it goes all through.

I am happy, however, that you have given us *figures* in your account of what an English farmer may do *with two thousand pounds*. It is alluring, it is fallacious, it tends to disappointment, misery, ruin, and broken hearts; but it is open and honest in intention, and it affords us the means of detecting and exposing the fallacy. Many and many a family have returned to New England after having emigrated to the west in search of *fine estates*. They, able workmen, exemplary livers, have returned to labour in their native states amongst their relations and old neighbours; but, what are our poor ruined countrymen to do, when they become pennyless? If I could root my country from my heart, common humanity would urge me to make an humble attempt to dissipate the charming delusions, which have, without your perceiving it, gone forth from your sprightly and able pen, and which delusions are the more dangerous on account of your justly high and well known character for understanding and integrity.

The statement, to which I allude, stands as follows, in your *tenth letter* from *the Illinois*.

A capital of 2,000*l*. sterling, (8,889 dollars), may be invested on a section of such land, in the following manner, viz.:

	Dollars
Purchase of the land, 640 acres, at 2 dollars per acre	1280
House and buildings, exceedingly convenient and comfortable, may be built for	1500
rail fence round the woods, 1,000 rods, at 25 cents per rod....	250
bout 1,800 rods of ditch and bank, to divide the arable land into 10 fields	600
lanting 1,800 rods of live fence	150
ruit trees for orchard, &c	100
Horses and other live stock	1500
Implements and furniture......	1000
Provision for one year, and sundry incidental charges	1000
Carried forward	7380

Brought over....	7380
Sundry articles of linen, books, apparel, implements, &c. brought from England	1000
Carriage of ditto, suppose 2,000 lb. at 10 dollars per cwt	200
Voyage and travelling expenses of one person, suppose	309
	8869

Note.—The first instalment on the land is 320 dollars, therefore 960 dollars of the purchase money remain in hand to be applied to the expenses of cultivation, in addition to the sums above stated.

Expenditure of first Year.

Breaking up 100 acres, 2 dollars per acre.................	200
Indian corn for seed, 5 barrels, (a barrel is five bushels)	10
Planting ditto	25
Horse-hoeing ditto one dollar per acre	100
Harvesting ditto, 1½ dollar per acre	150
Ploughing the same land for wheat, 1 dollar per acre	100
Seed wheat, sowing and harrowing.....................	175
Incidental expenses	240
	1000

Produce of first Year.

100 acres of Indian corn, 50 bushels (or 10 barrels) per acre, at 2 dollars per barrel ..	2000
Net produce	1000

Expenditure of second Year.

Breaking up 100 acres for Indian corn, with expenses on that crop	485
Harvesting and thrashing wheat, 100 acres	350
Ploughing 100 acres for wheat, seed, &c................	275
Incidents	290
	1400

Produce of second Year.

100 acres of Indian corn, 10 barrels per acre, 2 dollars per barrel	2000	
100 acres wheat, 20 bushels per acre, 75 dollars per barrel	1500	—3500
	Net produce	2100

Expenditure of third Year.

Breaking up 100 acres as before, with expenses on crop of Indian corn	485
Ploughing 100 acres of wheat stubble for Indian corn......	100
Horse-hoeing, harvesting, &c. ditto	285
Harvesting and thrashing 100 acres wheat	350
Dung-carting 100 acres for wheat, after second crop of Indian corn	200
Ploughing 200 acres wheat, seed, &c................	550
Incidents	330
	2300

Produce of third Year.

200 acres of Indian corn, 10 barrels per acre, 2 dollars per barrel....	4000	
100 acres wheat, 20 bushels per acre, 75 dollars per barrel	1500	—5500
	Net produce	3200

Expenditure of fourth Year.

As the third	2300
Harvesting and thrashing 100 acres more wheat	350
Additional incidents	50
	2700

Produce of fourth Year.

200 acres Indian corn, as above.............	4000	
200 acres of wheat.....	3000	—7000
	Net produce	4300

Summary.

	Expenses. Dollars.	Produce. Dollars.
First year	1000 ..	2000
Second	1400 ..	3500
Third........	2300 ..	5500
Fourth	2700 ..	7000
		18,000
Housekeeping and other Expenses for four years ..	4000..	11,400

Net proceeds per annum	1650
Increasing value of land by cultivation and settlements, half a dollar per ann. on 640 acres	320
Annual clear profit	1970

"Twenty more: kill 'em! Twenty more: kill them too!" No: I will not compare you to BOBADIL, for he was an intentional deceiver; and you are unintentionally deceiving others and yourself too. But really there is in this statement something so extravagant, so perfectly wild, so ridiculously and staringly untrue, that it is not without a great deal of difficulty that all my respect for you personally can subdue in me the temptation to treat it with the contempt due to its intrinsic demerits.

I shall notice only a few of the items. A house, you say, "*exceedingly* convenient and comfortable, together with "farm-buildings, may be built for "1,500 dollars." Your own *intended* house you estimate at 4,500 dollars, and your out-buildings at 1,500 dollars. So that, *if* this house of the farmer (an English farmer, mind) and his buildings are to be "*exceedingly convenient* and *comfortable*," for 1,500 dollars, your house and buildings must be on a scale, which, if not perfectly *princely*, must savour a good deal of aristocratical distinction. But this *if* relieves us; for even your house, built of pine timber and boards, and covered with cedar shingles, and finished only as a *good plain farm-house* ought to be, will, if it be *thirty-six feet front*, *thirty-four feet deep*, two rooms in front, kitchen and wash-house behind, four rooms above, and a cellar beneath; yes, this house alone, the bare empty house, with doors and windows suitable, will cost you more than *six thousand dollars*. I state this upon good authority. I have taken the estimate of a building carpenter. "What carpenter?" you will say. Why, a Long Island carpenter, and the house to be built *within a mile of Brooklyn*, or two miles of New York. And this is giving you all the advantage, for here the pine is cheaper than with you; the shingles cheaper; the lime and stone and brick as cheap or cheaper; the glass, iron, lead, brass, and tin, all at half or a quarter of the Prairie price; and as to *labour*, if it be not cheaper here than with you, men would do well *not to go so far in search of high wages!*

Let no simple Englishman imagine that here, at and near New York, in this *dear place*, we have to pay for the boards and timber *brought from a distance*: and that you, the happy people of the land of daisies and cowslips, can cut down *your own good and noble oak trees upon the spot, on your own estates, and turn them into houses without any carting*. Let no simple Englishman believe such idle stories as this. To dissipate all such notions, I have only to tell him, that the American farmers on this island, when they have buildings to make or repair, go and *purchase* the pine timber and boards, at the very same time that they *cut down their own oak trees and cleave up and burn them as fire-wood*. This is the universal practice in all the parts of America that I have ever seen. What is the cause? Pine wood is *cheaper*, though *bought*, than the oak is *without buying*. This fact, which nobody can deny, is a complete proof that you gain no advantage from being in woods, as far as *building* is concerned. And the truth is, that the boards and plank, which have been used in the Prairie *have actually been brought from the Wabash*, charged with ten miles *rough land carriage*; how far they may have come down the Wabash I cannot tell.

Thus, then, the question is settled that building must be *cheaper here than in the Illinois*. If, therefore, a house,

36 by 34 feet, cost *here* 6,000 dollars what can a man get *there* for 1,500 dollars! A miserable hole and no more. But here are to be *farm-buildings and all*, in the 1,500 dollars' worth! A barn, 40 feet by 30, with floor, and with stables in the sides, cannot be built for 1,500 dollars, leaving out wagon-house, corn-crib, cattle-hovels, yard-fences, pig-sties, smoke-house, and a great deal more! And yet, you say, that all these, and a farm-house into the bargain, all "*exceedingly comfortable and convenient*," may be had for 1,500 dollars!

Now, you know, my dear sir, that this is said in the face of all America. Farmers are my readers. They *all* understand these matters. They are not only good, but impartial judges; and I call upon you to contradict, or even question, my statements, if you can.

Do my eyes deceive me? Or do I really see *one hundred and fifty dollars* put down as the expense of "*one thousand eight hundred rod of live fence*"? That is to say, *nine cents, or fourpence halfpenny sterling a rod*! *What* plants? *Whence* to come? Drawn out of the woods, or first sown in a nursery? Is it *seed* to be sown? *Where* are the seeds to come from? No levelling of the top of the bank; no drill; no sowing; no keeping clean for a year or two; or, *all these for nine cents a rod*, when the same work cost *half a dollar a rod in England*!

Manure too! And do you really want manure then? And where, I pray you, are you to get manure for 100 acres? But supposing you to have it, do you seriously mean to tell us that you will carry it on for two dollars an acre? The *carrying on* indeed might perhaps be done for that, but who pays for the *filling* and for the *spreading*? Ah! my dear sir, I can well imagine your feelings at putting down the item of dung-carting, trifling as you make it appear upon paper. You now recollect my words when I last had the pleasure of seeing you in Catherine-street, a few days before the departure of us both. I then dreaded the dung-cart, and recommended the Tullian system to you, by which you would have the same crops every year without manure; but, unfortunately for my advice, you sincerely believed your land would be already too rich, and that your main difficulty would be, not to *cart on* manure, but to *cart off* the produce!

After this it appears unnecessary for me to notice any other part of this Transalleganian romance, which I might leave to the admiration of the Edinburgh Reviewers, whose knowledge of these matters is quite equal to what they have discovered as to the funding system and paper-money. But when I think of the flocks of poor English farmers who are tramping away towards an imaginary across a real land of milk and honey, I cannot lay down the pen, till I have noticed an item or two of the *produce*.

The farmer is to have 100 acres of Indian corn the first year. The minds of you gentlemen who cross the Alleghany seem to expand, as it were, to correspond with the extent of the horizon that opens to your view; but I can assure you, that if you were to talk to a farmer on this side of the mountains of a field of corn of a hundred acres during the first year of a settlement, with grassy land and hands scarce, you would frighten him into a third-day ague. In goes your corn, however! "Twenty more: kill 'em!" Nothing but ploughing: no harrowing; no marking; and only a horse-hoeing during the summer, at *a dollar an acre*. The planting is to cost only *a quarter of a dollar an acre*. The planting will cost a *dollar an acre*. The horse-hoeing in your grassy land *two dollars*. The *hand-hoeing*, which must be *well* done, or you will have no corn, *two dollars*; for in spite of your teeth your rampant natural grass will be up before your corn, and a man must go to *a thousand hills* to do *half an acre a day*. It will cost *two dollars* to harvest a hundred bushels of *corn ears*. So that here are about 400 dollars of expenses on the corn done to be added. A *trifle*, to be sure, when we are looking through the Transalleganian glass, which diminishes out-goings and magnifies in-comings. However here are four hundred dollars.

In goes the plough for wheat! "In him again! Twenty more!" But, this is in *October* mind. Is the corn off? It may be; but, where are the *four hundred wagon loads of corn stalks*? A prodigiously fine thing is this forest of fodder, as *high* and as *thick* as an English coppice. But, though it be of *no use to you*, who have the *meadows* without bounds, this coppice must be *removed*, if you please, *before* you plough for wheat!

Let us pause here, then; let us look at the *battalion* who are at work; for, there must be little short of a Hessian battalion. Twenty men and twenty horses *may* husk the corn, cut and cart the stalks, plough and sow and harrow for the wheat; twenty two-legged and twenty four-legged animals *may* do the work in the proper time; but, if they do it, they must work *well*. Here is a goodly group to look at for an English farmer, without a penny in his pocket, for all his money is *gone long ago*, even according to your own estimate; and, here, besides the expense of cattle and tackle, are 600 dollars, in bare wages, to be paid in a month! You and I both have forgotten the *shelling* of the corn, which, and putting it up, will come to 50 dollars more at the least, leaving the price of the barrel to be paid for by the purchaser of the corn.

But, what did I say? *Shell* the corn? It must go into the *cribs* first. It cannot be shelled *immediately*. And it must not be thrown into *heaps*. It must be put into *cribs*. I have had made out an estimate of the expense of the cribs for *ten thousand bushels* of corn ears: that is the crop; and the cribs will cost 570 dollars! Though, mind, the farmer's *house*, *barns*, *stables*, *wagon-house*, and all, are to cost but 1,500 dollars! But, the third year, our poor Simpleton is to have 200 acres of corn! "Twenty more: kill 'em!" Another 570 dollars for cribs!

However, crops now come tumbling on him so fast, that he must struggle hard not to be stifled with his own superabundance. He has now got 200 acres of corn and 100 acres of wheat, which latter he has, indeed, had one *year before*! Oh, madness! But, to proceed. To get in these crops and to sow the wheat, first taking away 200 acres of *English coppice* in stalks, will, with the *dunging* for the wheat, require, at least, *fifty good men*, and *forty good horses or oxen*, for *thirty days*. Faith! when farmer Simpleton sees all this (in his *dreams* I mean), he will think himself a farmer of the rank of JOB, before Satan beset that example of patience, so worthy of imitation, and so seldom imitated.

Well, but Simpleton must bustle to *get in* his wheat. *In*, indeed! What can *cover* it, but the canopy of heaven? A *barn*! It will, at *two English wagon loads of sheaves to an acre*, require a barn a hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-three feet high up to the eaves; and this barn, with two proper floors, will cost more than *seven thousand dollars*. He will put it in *stacks*; let him add six men to his battalion then. He *will thrash it in the field*; let him add ten more men! Let him, at once, send and press the Harmonites into his service, and make RAPP march at their head, for, never will he by any other means get in the crop; and, even then, if he pay fair wages, he will lose by it.

After the crop is in and the seed sown, in the fall, what is to become of Simpleton's men till corn ploughing and planting time in the spring? And, then, when the planting is done, what is to become of them till harvest time? Is he, like BAYES, in the Rehearsal, to lay them down when he pleases, and when he pleases make them rise up again? To hear you talk about these crops, and at other times to hear you advising others to bring labourers from England, one would think you, for your own part, able, like CADMUS, to make men start up out of the earth. How would one ever have thought it possible for infatuation like this to seize hold of a mind like yours!

When I read in your Illinois Letters, that you had *prepared* horses, ploughs, and other things, *for putting in a hundred acres of corn in the spring*, how I pitied you! I saw all your plagues, if

you could not see them. I saw the grass choking your plants, the grubs eating them, and you fretting and turning from the sight with all the pangs of sanguine baffled hope. I expected you to have *ten bushels* instead of *fifty*, upon an acre. I saw your confusion, and participated in your mortification. From these feelings I was happily relieved by the journal of our friend HULME, who informs the world, and our countrymen in particular, that you had not, in *July last*, *any corn at all growing*!

Thus it is to reckon one's chickens before they are hatched: and thus the Transalleganian dream vanishes. You have been deceived. A warm heart, a lively imagination, and I know not what caprice about republicanism, have led you into sanguine expectations and wrong conclusions. Come, now; confess it like yourself; that is, like a man of sense and spirit; like an honest and fair-dealing John Bull. To err belongs to all men, great as well as little; but to be ashamed to confess error, belongs only to the latter.

Great as is my confidence in your candour, I can, however, hardly hope wholly to escape your anger for having so decidedly condemned your publications; but, I do hope that you will not be so unjust as to impute my conduct to any base self-interested motive. I have no private interest, I can have no such interest in endeavouring to check the mad torrent towards the west. I *own* nothing in these states, and never shall; and whether English farmers push on into misery and ruin, or stop here in happiness and prosperity, to me, as far as private interest goes, it must be the same. As to the difference in our feelings and notions about *country*, about *allegiance*, and about *forms of government*, this may exist without any, even the smallest degree of personal dislike. I was no hypocrite in England; I had no views farther than those which I professed. I wanted nothing for myself but the fruit of my own industry and talent, and I wished nothing for my country but its liberties and laws, which say, that the people shall be *fairly represented*. England has been very happy and *free*; her greatness and renown have been surpassed by those of no nation in the world; her wise, just, and merciful laws form the basis of that freedom which we here enjoy, she has been fertile beyond all rivalship in men of learning, and men devoted to the cause of freedom and humanity; her people, though proud and domineering, yield to no people in the world in frankness, good faith, sincerity, and benevolence: and I cannot but know, that this state of things has existed, and that this people has been formed, under a government of King, Lords, and Commons. Having this powerful argument of experience before me, and seeing no reason why the thing should be otherwise, I have never wished for republican government in England; though, rather than that the present tyrannical oligarchy should continue to trample on king and people, I would gladly see the whole fabric torn to atoms, and trust to chance for something better, being sure that nothing could be worse. But, if I am not a republican; if I think my duty towards England indefeasible; if I think that it becomes me to abstain from any act which shall seem to say, I abandon her, and especially in this her hour of distress and oppression; and if, in all these points, I differ from you, I trust that to this difference no part of the above strictures will be imputed, but that the motive will be fairly inferred from the act, and not the act imputed unfairly to any motive. I am, my dear sir, with great respect for your talents as well as character,

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LETTER II.

North Hempstead, Long Island,
15. Dec., 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—Being, when I wrote my former letter to you, in great haste to conclude, in order that my son William might take it to England with him, I left unnoticed many things, which I had observed in your "*Letters from the Illinois*"; and which things merited pointed notice. Some of these

I will notice; for, I wish to discharge all my duties towards my countrymen faithfully; and, I know of no duty more sacred, than that of warning them against pecuniary ruin and mental misery.

It has always been evident to me, that the western countries were not the countries for *English* farmers to settle in: no, nor for American farmers, unless under peculiar circumstances. The settlers, who have gone from the New England States, have, in general, been *able men* with families of *stout sons*. The contracted farm in New England sells for money enough to buy the land for five or six farms in the west. These farms are *made* by the *labour of the owners*. They *hire nobody*. They live *any how* for a while. I will engage that the labour performed by one stout New England family in *one year*, would cost an English farmer *a thousand pounds in wages*. You will say, why cannot the English labour as hard as the Yankees? But, mind, I talk of a *family* of Yankee *sons*; and, besides, I have no scruple to say, that one of these will do as much work in the *clearing* and *fencing* of a farm, and in the *erection of buildings*, as *four or five English* of the same age and size. Yet, have many of the New England farmers *returned*. Even *they* have had cause to repent of their folly. What hope is there, then, that English farmers will succeed?

It so happens, that *I have seen* new settlements formed. I have seen lands cleared. I have seen crowds of people coming and squatting down in woods or little islands, and by the sides of rivers. I have seen the log hut raised; the bark covering put on; I have heard the bold language of the adventurers; and I have witnessed their subsequent miseries. They were just as *free* as you are; for they, like you, saw no signs of the existence of any Government, good or bad.

New settlements, particularly at so great a distance from all the conveniences and sweeteners of life, must be begun by people who *labour for themselves*. Money is, in such a case, almost useless. It is impossible to believe, that after your statement about your intended *hundred acres of Indian corn*, you would not have had it, or, at least, a part of it, if you *could*: that is to say, if *money* would have got it. Yet you had not a single square rod. Mr. HULME (see Journal, 28. July) says, in the way of *reason* for your having *no crops* this year, that you could *purchase* with *more economy than you could grow!* Indeed! what; would the Indian corn have *cost, then, more than the price of the corn?* Untoward observation; but *perfectly true*, I am convinced. There is, it is my opinion, nobody that can raise Indian corn or grain at so great a distance from a market to any profit at all with *hired labour*. Nay, this is too plain a case to be matter of *opinion*. I may safely assume it as an indisputable fact. For, it being notorious, that labour is as high priced with you as with us, and your statement showing that corn is not much more than *one-third* of our price, how monstrous, if you gain at all, must be the consumers' gains here! The *rent* of the land here is a mere trifle more than it must be there, for the cultivated part must pay rent for the uncultivated part. The *labour*, indeed, as all the world knows, is every thing. All the other expenses are not worth speaking of. What, then, must be the gains of the Long Island farmer, who sells his corn at a dollar a bushel, if you, with labour at the Long Island price, can *gain* by selling corn at the rate of *five bushels for two dollars!* If yours be a *fine country* for English farmers to migrate to, *what must this be?* You want *no manure*. This cannot last long; and, accordingly, I see that you mean *to dung for wheat after the second crop of corn*. This is another of the romantic stories exposed. In letter IV. you relate the romance of *manure being useless*; but, in letter X. you tell us, that you propose to *use it*. Land bearing crops without manure, or, with new culture and constant ploughing, is a romance. This I told you in London; and this you have found to be true.

It is of little consequence what wild schemes are formed and executed by

men who have property enough to *carry them back*; but, to invite men to go to the Illinois with *a few score of pounds* in their pockets, and to tell them that they can become *farmers* with those pounds, appears to me to admit of no other apology than an unequivocal acknowledgment that the inviter is *mad*. Yet your *fifteenth* letter from the Illinois really contains such an invitation. This letter is manifestly addressed to an *imaginary* person. It is clear that the correspondent is a *feigned*, or *supposed*, being. The letter is, I am sorry to say I think, a mere trap to catch poor creatures with a few pounds in their pockets. I will here take the liberty to insert the whole of this letter: and will then endeavour to show the misery which it is calculated to produce, not only amongst English people, but amongst Americans who may chance to read it, and who are now living happily in the Atlantic states. The letter is dated, 24. of February, 1818, and the following are its words:

Dear Sir,—When a man gives "advice to his friends, on affairs of "great importance to their interest, he "takes on himself a load of responsibi-"lity, from which I have always shrunk, "and generally withdrawn. My *ex-"ample* is very much at their service, "either for imitation or warning, as the "case may be. I must, however, in "writing to *you*, step a little over this "line of caution, having more than "once been instrumental in helping "you, not *out* of your difficulties, but "from one scene of perplexity to an-"other; I cannot help advising you to "make an effort more, and extricate "yourself and family completely, by re-"moving into this country. When I "last saw you, twelve months ago, I "did not think favourably of your pros-"pects: if things have turned out better, "I shall be rejoiced to hear it, and you "will not need the advice I am pre-"paring for you. But, if vexation and "disappointments have assailed you, as "I feared, and you can honourably "make your escape, with the means of "transmitting yourself hither, and one "hundred pounds sterling to spare, "don't hesitate. In six months after I shall have welcomed you, barring "accidents, you shall discover that you "are become *rich*, for you shall feel "that you are independent: and I "think that will be the most delightful "sensation you ever experienced; for, "you will receive it multiplied, as it "were, by the number of your family "as your troubles now are. It is not, "however, a sort of independence that "will excuse you from labour, or afford "you many luxuries, that is, costly "luxuries. I will state to you what I "have learned, from a good deal of ob-"servation and inquiry, and a little ex-"perience; then you will form your "own judgment. In the first place "the voyage. That will cost you, to "Baltimore or Philadelphia, provided "you take it, as no doubt you would, "in the cheapest way, twelve guineas "each, for a berth, fire, and water, for "yourself and wife, and half price, or "less, for you children, besides provi-sions, which you will furnish. Then "the journey. Over the mountains to "Pittsburgh, down the Ohio to Shaw-"nee town, and from thence to our set-"tlement, fifty miles north, will amount "to five pounds sterling per head. If "you arrive here as early as May, or "even in June, another five pounds per "head will carry you on to that point, where you may take leave of de-'pendence on any thing earthly but 'your own exertions. At this time I 'suppose you to have remaining one 'hundred pounds (borrowed probably 'from English friends, who rely on your 'integrity, and who may have directed the interest to be paid to me on their behalf, and the principal in due season). We will now, if you please, turn it into "dollars, and consider how it may be "disposed of. A hundred pounds sterling "will go a great way in dollars. With "eighty dollars you will enter a quarter "section of land, that is, you will pur-"chase at the land-office, one hundred and sixty acres, and pay one-fourth of the purchase money, and looking to the land to reward your pains with 'the means of discharging the other 'three-fourths as they become due, in

"two, three, and four years. You will "build a house with fifty dollars; and "you will find it extremely comfortable "and convenient, as it will be really "and truly yours. Two horses will "cost, with harness and plough, one "hundred. Cows, and hogs, and seed "corn, and fencing, with other ex- "penses, will require the remaining two "hundred and ten dollars. This begin- "ning, humble as it appears, is afflu- "ence and splendour, compared with the "original outfit of settlers in general. "Yet no man remains in poverty, who "possesses even moderate industry and "economy, and especially of *time*. You "would of course bring with you your "sea-bedding and store of blankets, for "you will need of them on the Ohio, "and you should leave England with a "good stock of wearing apparel. Your "luggage must be composed of light "articles, on account of the costly land- "carriage from the eastern port to Pitts- "burgh, which will be from seven to "ten dollars per 100lb, nearly sixpence "sterling per pound A few simple "medicines of good quality are indis- "pensable, such as calomel, bark in "powder, castor oil, calcined magnesia, "laudanum; they may be of the great- "est importance on the voyage and "journey, as well as after your arrival. "Change of climate and situation will "produce temporary indisposition, but "with prompt and judicious treatment, "which is happily of the most simple "kind, complaints to which new "comers are liable, are seldom danger- "ous or difficult to overcome, provided "due regard had been had to salubrity "in the choice of their settlement, and "to diet and accommodation after their "arrival.

"With best regards,

"I remain, &c."

Now, my dear sir, your mode of address in this letter clearly shows that you have in your eye a person above the level of common labourers. The words "*Dear Sir*" indicate that you are speaking to a *friend*, or at least to an *intimate acquaintance*; of course to a person who has not been brought up in the habits of *hard labour*. And such a person it is whom you advise and press to come to the Illinois with a *hundred pounds in his pocket* to become a *farmer*!

I will pass over the expenses previous to this unfortunate man and his family's arriving at the Prairies, though those expenses will be *double* the amount that you state them at. But he arrives with 450 dollars in his pocket. Of these he is to pay down 80 for his land, leaving three times that sum to be paid afterwards. He has 370 left. And now what is he to do? He arrives *in May*. So that this family has to cross the sea *in winter* and the land in *spring*. There they are however, and now what are they to *do*? They are to have built for 50 dollars *a house* "EXTREMELY "COMFORTABLE AND CONVE- "NIENT" —the very words that you use in describing the farmer's house, that was to cost, with out-buildings, 1,500 dollars! However, you have described your own *cabin*, whence we may gather the meaning which you attach to the word *comfortable*. "This cabin "is built of round straight logs, about "a foot in diameter, lying upon each "other, and notched in at the corners, "forming a room eighteen feet long by "sixteen; the intervals between the "logs 'chunked,' that is, filled in with "slips of wood, and 'mudded,' that is, "daubed with a plaster of mud, a spa- "cious *chimney built also of logs*, stands "like a bastion at one end; the roof is "well covered with four hundred 'clap "boards' of cleft oak, very much like "the pales used in England for fencing "parks. A hole is cut through the side, "called, very properly, the '*through*,' "for which there is a 'shutter,' made "also of cleft oak and hung on wooden "hinges. All this has been executed "by contract, and well executed, for "*twenty dollars*. I have since added "*ten dollars* to the cost for the *luxury* "of a *floor* and *ceiling* of sawn boards, "and it is now a *comfortable* habita- "tion"

In plain words this is a *log hut*, such as the free negroes live in about here, and a hole it is, fit only for dogs, or hogs, or cattle. Worse it is than the

negro huts, for they have a bit of *glass*, but here is none. This miserable hole, black with smoke as it always must be, and without any window, costs, however, 30 dollars. And yet this English acquaintance of yours is to have "a "*house extremely comfortable and con-*"*venient for fifty dollars.*" Perhaps his 50 dollars might get him a hut or hole, a few feet longer and divided into two dens. So that here is to be *cooking, washing, eating,* and *sleeping* all in the same "*extremely* convenient and comfortable" hole! And yet, my dear sir, you find fault of the want of *cleanliness* in the *Americans*! You have not seen "*the Americans.*" You have not seen the nice, clean, neat houses of the farmers in this island, in New England, in the Quaker counties of Pennsylvania. You have seen nothing but the smoke-dried ultra-montainians; and your project seems to be to make the deluded English who may follow you rivals in the attainment of the tawny colour. What is this family to do in their 50-dollar den? Suppose one or more of them *sick*! How are the rest to sleep by night or to eat by day?

However, here they are, in this miserable place, with the *ship-bedding*, and without even a bedstead, and with 130 dollars gone in land and house. *Two horses and harness and plough* are to cost 100 dollars! These, like the *hinges* of the door, are all to be of *wood* I suppose; for as to flesh and blood and bones in the form of two horses for 100 dollars, is impossible, to say nothing about the plough and harness, which would cost 20 dollars of the money. Perhaps, however, you may mean some of those horses, ploughs and sets of harness, which, at the time when you wrote this letter, you had *all ready waiting for the spring to put in your hundred acres of corn* that was *never put in at all*! However, let this pass too. Then there are 220 dollars left, and these are to provide *cows, hogs, seed, corn, fencing,* and other *expenses.* Next come two cows (poor ones) 24 dollars; hogs, 15 dollars; seed corn, 5 dollars; fencing, suppose 20 acres only, in four plots, the stuff brought from the woods nearest adjoining. Here are 360 rods of fencing, and if it be done so as to keep out a pig, and to keep in a pig, or a horse or cow, for less than half a dollar a rod, I will suffer myself to be made into smoked meat in the extremely comfortable house. Thus, then, here are 213 out of the 220 dollars, and this happy settler has *seven* whole dollars left for all "*other expenses*"; amongst which are the cost of cooking utensils, plates, knives and forks, tables, and stools; for, as to *table-cloths* and *chairs*, those are luxuries unbecoming "simple republicans." But, there must be a *pot* to boil in: or, is that too much? May these republicans have a washing tub? Perhaps, indeed, it will become unnecessary in a short time; for the lice will have eaten up the linen; and besides, perhaps, real *independence* means stark-nakedness. But, at any rate, the hogs must have a *trough*? or, are they to eat at the same board with the family? Talking of *eating* puts me in mind of a great article; for what are the family to *eat* during *the year and more* before their land can produce? For even if they arrive in *May*, they can have *no crop that year.* Why they must graze with the cows in the prairies, or snuggle with the hogs in the woods. An *oven*! Childish effeminacy! Oh! unleavened bread for your life. *Bread*, did I say? Where is the "independent" family to get bread? Oh! no! Grass and acorns and roots! and, God be praised, you have plenty of water in your wells, though, perhaps; the family, with all their "*independence*," must be compelled to depend on your leave, to get it, and fetch it half a mile into the bargain.

To talk seriously upon such a subject is impossible, without dealing in terms of reprobation, which it would give me great pain to employ when speaking of any act of yours. Indeed such a family will be *free;* but the Indians are free, and so are the gipsies in England. And I most solemnly declare, that I would sooner live the life of a gipsy in England, than be a settler, with less than five thousand pounds, in the Illinois; and if I had the five thousand pounds,

and was resolved to exchange England for America, what in the name of common sense should induce me to go into a wild country, when I could buy a good farm, of 200 acres, with fine orchard and good house and out-buildings, and stock it completely, and make it rich as a garden, within twenty miles of a great sea port, affording me a ready market and a high price for every article of my produce?

You have, *by this time*, seen more than you had seen when you wrote your "Letters from the Illinois." You would not, I am convinced, write such letters *now*. But, lest you should not do it, it is right that somebody should counteract their delusive effects; and this I endeavour to do as much for the sake of this country as for that of my own countrymen. For a good while I remained silent, hoping that few people would be deluded; but when I heard that an old friend and brother sportsman, a sensible, honest frank, and friendly man, in *Oxfordshire*, whom I will not name, had been seized with the Illinois madness, and when I recollected that he was one of those who came to *visit me in prison*, I could no longer hold my tongue: for if a man like him, a man of his sound understanding, could be carried away by your representations, to what an extent must the rage have gone!

Mr. HULME visited you with the most friendly feelings. He agrees with you perfectly as to notions about forms of government. He *wished* to give a good account of your proceedings. His account is favourable, but his *facts*, which I am sure are true, let out what I could not have known for certainty from any other quarter. However, I do not care a farthing for the *degrees* of goodness or of badness, I say, all new countries are *all badness* for *English farmers*. I say that *their* place is near the great cities on the coast; and that every step they go beyond forty miles from those cities is a step *too far*. They want freedom: they have it here. They want g[illegible] land, good roads, good markets: t[illegible] have them all here. What should th[illegible] run rambling about a nation-making for? What have they to do about extending dominion and "taming the wilderness"? If they speculate upon becoming founders of republics, they will indeed do well to get out of the reach of rivals. If they have a thirst for power, they will naturally seek to be amongst the least informed part of mankind. But, if they only want to keep their property and live well, they will take up their abode on this side of the mountains at least.

The *grand ideas* about the *extension of the empire* of the United States are of very questionable soundness; and they become more questionable from being echoed by the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, a set of the meanest politicians that ever touched pen and paper. Upon any great question, they never have been right, even by *accident*, which is very hard! The *rapid* extension of settlements to the west of the mountains, is, in my opinion, by no means, favourable to the duration of the present happy union. The conquest of Canada would have been as dangerous, but not more dangerous. A nation is never so strong and so safe as when its extreme points feel for each other as acutely as each feels for itself; and this never can be when all are not equally exposed to every danger; and especially when all the parts have not the *same interests*. In case of a war with England what would become of your market down the Missisipi? That is your sole market. That way your produce must go; or you must dress yourself in skins and tear your food to bits with your hands. Yet that way your produce could not go, unless this nation were to keep up a navy equal to that of England. Defend the country against invaders I know the people always will; but I am not sure that they will like internal taxes sufficient to rear and support a navy sufficient to clear the Gulf of Mexico of English squadrons. In short, it is my decided opinion, that the sooner the banks of the Ohio, the Wabash, and the Missisipi are pretty thickly settled, the sooner the *union* will be placed in jeopardy. If a war were to break out with England, even in a few years, the lands of which

the Mississipi is the outlet would lose a great part of their value. Who does not see in this fact a great cause of *disunion* ? On this side the mountains, there are twelve hundred miles of coast to blockade; but you, gentlemen prairie-owners, are like a rat that has but one hole to go out and to come in at. You express your deep-rooted attachment to your adopted country, and I am sure you are sincere; but, still I may be allowed to doubt, whether you would cheerfully wear bear-skins, and gnaw your meat off the bones, for the sake of any commercial right that the nation might go to war about. I know that you would not *starve*; for coffee and tea are not necessary to man's existence; but, you would like to sell your flour and pork, and would be very apt to discover reasons against a war that would prevent you from selling them. You appear to think it very wicked in the Atlantic people to feel little eagerness in promoting the increase of population to the westward; but you see, that in this want of such eagerness, they may be actuated by a real love for their country. For my part, I think it would have been good policy in the Congress not to dispose of the western lands at all; and I am sure it would have been an act of real charity.

Having now performed what I deemed my duty towards my countrymen, and towards this country too, I will conclude my letter with a few observations, relative to *mills*, which may be of use to *you*; for, I know, that you will *go on*; and, indeed, I most sincerely wish you all the success that you can wish yourself, without doing harm to others.

TRIAL.

THE subject of the following trial has deeply interested, and indeed, it has agitated for months past the whole of the western part of Surrey. The result is, it seems, hailed at Godalming with those demonstrations of joy which are usually exhibited on account of some great national triumph! If MR. MELLERSH has suffered pain at the thought of being dragged into court on such a charge, he appears to have received ample compensation in the testimony of universal respect, an expression of which the occasion has called forth.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

THE KING AGAINST MELLERSH.

This was an indictment against Mr. Mellersh a most respectable banker and solicitor at Godalming, for certain perjuries alleged to have been committed by the defendant in an answer put in by him to an amended bill in the Court of Chancery, wherein he swore that a certain sum, secured by the bond of a Mr. Richard Smith, dated in December 1827, and given to Mr. Mellersh in his own name, was given and paid by the said Richard Smith for Mr. Mellersh individually, and not for the firm of Mellersh, Kidd, and Kidd, bankers at Godalming.

SIR JAMES SCARLETT addressed the jury on the part of the prosecution, and proceeded to call his witnesses. After the bill and answers were put in and read, the prosecutor, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, was called, and he produced a memorandum and two letters in Mr. Mellersh's hand writing to a contrary effect to that which was sworn in the answer. One of the letters was a mutilated document, and the prosecutor could not say when he received it, when he mutilated it, though he admitted he had torn it; what were the contents of that which he tore off; but he admitted that he had known of the existence of that and the other documents ever since the partnership had been dissolved, which was subsequent to the date of the bond, and yet had executed a deed of dissolution, which professed to contain a statement of all the debts due to the partnership, in which, however, this was not stated; that he had filed his first bill in Chancery without at all alluding to it, although the bill was filed for the purpose of getting in all the outstanding accounts, and that it was not alluded to until he filed his amended bill, stating in it that the bond was a recent discovery, and which was not filed until Smith, the person who had given and paid the bond, had died and could give no evidence upon it. He admitted he had quarrelled with the defendant; that on the bill of indictment being found he had given instructions to Mr. Binns, his attorney, to [publ]ish an account of it in the papers; that [he] had moved for a bench warrant instantly [for] the arrest of the defendant; that he had gone to Union Hall-office to get it backed by the magistrates; that the office being closed he had gone to the magistrates, to whom he was known, to get it backed by them; that he and his attorney Binns went down in the night together to Godalming to be there to see the defendant taken the next day, when a large fair (Saint Catherine's Hill) was to be held in the neighbourhood; that he had exulted in it and boasted of it in various places; that he felt for his friend, and yet he did exult that he had him in his power; that he had published

it at Catherine Hill Fair; that he had said to one person that the defendant had managed it badly—he should have sworn so and so, and he would have been safe; and to another that he might have sworn a different way, and he would have also been safe; and that he had often, up to the dissolution, talked to the defendant about the sum that was coming to the partnership from the bond; that he had felt a great desire to see the bond, and yet had never asked to see it, although he had had copies of all the other partnership securities.

The next witness called was a man of the name of William Poulter, who admitted having been in the service of Benjamin Kidd, but since the finding of the bill had started as a land surveyor, appraiser, auctioneer, &c. He stated that he had heard the defendant over and over again state that the bond was for the partnership, and that it was sure to be available; but that whenever he addressed the defendant he was violent, and declared that Kidd should never have a farthing. He admitted that he had gone the day after the bill was found to Chiddingfold, and there stated that the defendant had had a bill found against him for perjury, and that all the devils in hell and all the angels in heaven could not save him from conviction. That he had heard that Sir James Scarlett, Mr. Adolphus, and another, the three most eminent counsel in England, had said that the defendant would be transported for seven years, and that his property would be confiscated, and that he had the means of compromising on condition that defendant would go twenty miles from Godalming and not practise as a solicitor or banker within that distance; that he had a great friendship for the defendant Mr. Mellersh; and that the prosecutor Mr. Benjamin Kidd, had, on one occasion since the finding of the bill, paid more than 50*l*. for him when he was arrested, being the debt and costs; that he had made over all his property for the benefit of his creditors, but as yet nothing had been realized.

Several other witnesses were called to prove the formal part of the prosecutor's case, but whose testimony did not go to the merits.

When Mr. John Smith was called, he stated that he was one of the executors of Richard Smith, the obligor in the bond, and that Richard Smith was his uncle. That on one occasion, when his uncle and Mr. Mellersh were together, and previous to the execution of the bond, he came into the room where they were, that the defendant Mr. Mellersh said to him, "John, your uncle wishes to pay me what I have lost by your brother Richard, but I won't take it, as I am afraid it would injure his other nephews and nieces; but I tell your uncle, that if he means to give any thing to Richard at his death I shall have no objection to take it out of his share." That witness thanked the defendant, and went home and told his (witness's) wife that Mr. Mellersh had acted very like a gentleman.

Mr. James Limbert, the other executor of the obligor, was then called, and he proved that he was clerk to Messrs. Mellersh and Co., solicitors, and had been so for upwards of twenty years. That he was present when Mr. Richard Smith executed the bond, and that he was the attesting witness to it. That the bond was given to Mr. Mellersh individually, and that, on its being executed, was put by Mr. Mellersh with his own private papers. That no charge was made for preparing the bond, but that Mr. Mellersh paid two pounds for the stamp out of his own private pocket. That in February, 1833, by the desire of Mr. Mellersh, he took the bond with an account of the interest then due to Mr. Smith, who, after looking at the account, said he was very glad to pay the money, as he always meant that Mr. Mellersh should not be a loser by his nephew Richard's misconduct, and he considered he was paying a debt of honour to an old friend. That he gave a cheque for the amount in Mr. Mellersh's name, and burnt the bond. That he communicated what passed to Mr. Mellersh when he returned home, and repeated to him whilst he was preparing his answer.

The Attorney-General addressed the jury on the part of the defendant, and stated that it was clear the bond was a voluntary bond on the part of Mr. Smith, the obligor. That he was not a creditor of the partnership. That it was given to Mr. Mellersh individually, and that the name of the firm of the Kidds was never mentioned. That Richard Smith, the obligor, was the personal friend of the defendant, and not of the prosecutors. That it had been distinctly proved in evidence that the obligor paid the money for Mr. Mellersh individually, and as a debt of honour, to save an old friend from loss in consequence of the misconduct of his (Smith's) nephew; and that from the whole tenor of the transaction there could be no doubt of Richard Smith's intention. He commented in the most severe and indignant terms on the conduct and testimony of the prosecutor Benjamin Kidd and his witness Poulter, and stated, that although he felt satisfied that in point of law the defendant could not be convicted on the evidence, still he could not avail himself of that objection, as nothing would satisfy the defendant short of an acquittal by a jury upon the merits of the case. The defendant had then an array of witnesses consisting of several peers, the Lord Mayor of London, many magistrates, and country gentlemen, merchants, bankers, solicitors, and others who spoke to his character for integrity, veracity, and honour, in terms of the most flattering commendation, and in a way that has been seldom witnessed in a court of justice.

The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Denman, then proceeded to address the jury as follows:—

Gentlemen of the jury, this is an indictment for perjury which has been preferred against a gentleman of the name of Thomas Mellersh, the perjury being supposed to have been com-

mitted in an answer in Chancery to a bi which charges him with not having performe specifically a covenant for recovering mone due to the partnership in which he had bee engaged. The partnership consisted of him self, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, and Mr. Richard Kidd, who separated about the year 1828; an in the deed of separation each partner was to do the best he could to obtain the debts due to the firm. And the charge is, that he untrul stated, in an amended answer in Chancery to a bill filed against him, and afterwards amend ed, that Richard Smith did, in the month o December 1827, execute a bond, in the penal sum of 390*l.*, to secure the sum of 195*l.* an interest for his own individual benefit actually for the benefit of the prisoner (the defendant), and in which Benjamin Kidd and Richard Kidd, the partners of this gentleman had no interest. Now, in the first place, it is said that the bond was untruly sworn to have been given on his own account; and in the second place, that the bond was untruly sworn to have been paid on his own account, but that on the contrary it was given to him for the benefit of the partnership, and the amount was paid to him for the use of the said partnership. Now, gentlemen, you have heard a character given of this gentleman (who is a professional man), which is of the very highest description that any man in society can possibly receive; and I must state further to you when you are trying a case of this nature, you ought to bear in mind that you are trying a person who has conducted himself in so excellent a way as to enjoy the good opinion of persons as numerous and respectable as could possibly be called to give a character to any man. I do not go through the particulars now, gentlemen, and probably shall not, because you cannot possibly have forgotten them, and the impression that has been made upon you is doubtless well founded; and on the other hand I think I may observe to you generally that the circumstances of this prosecution do not appear to have been founded on the best motives, and conducted on the fairest principles; and I think I may say, without the fear of contradiction, that a good deal of the contrary feeling has been shown, because Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown a good deal of angry feeling and vindictiveness which, sitting in this place, I think it impossible for me to hear without reprobation; and it was shown in this way, namely, when the bill of indictment was preferred at the Quarter Sessions of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Kidd, instead of allowing it to find its own way in the world, as I think he ought to have done, and allowing it to come on for trial in this court, took the most extravagant pains, and manifested the most eager desire to make the thing public, and he took the trouble to go about the country in a most unusual manner, trumpeting about the fact that the jury had found a true bill against Mr. Mellersh, which could only have the effect of putting him upon his trial, and was no proof of his guilt, and therefore I must add (connected as he was with other persons), he appears to have been actuated by motives which appear to me to do him no credit. It was an object with Mr. Kidd that Mr. Mellersh should not continue to carry on his business any longer (which was that of an eminent banker) in the town in which he was so highly respected, and the way in which the object was endeavoured to be effected was under the pretence of some favour to be shown to him, the proceedings were not to go any further—that is, he is to submit to the infamy of acquiescing in the charge without being brought to public trial on the condition that he would retire, and would not appear again in this part of the world. Now, gentlemen, I put this circumstance strongly before you in the first instance for the purpose of making this observation. It appears to me that the evidence by which this offence is sought to be proved against the defendant does not depend, in any material degree at least, upon the conduct of the prosecutors; their motives have been extremely culpable, and worthy of the highest reprobation, yet it may not affect the evidence upon which reliance may be placed to make this charge out, because the evidence principally, if not entirely, is evidence in the hand-writing of Mr. Mellersh himself, and there can be no doubt that the writing is his, and therefore whatever bad motives, and whatever mercenary and unworthy views they might have been actuated by, and which could be laid before you of their conduct, still the evidence which really goes to affect him with the charge is quite independent of any proposition as to their conduct, and therefore those circumstances cannot affect it at all. A person of the name of Richard Smith, who is called before you as one of the witnesses, had given his bill to the bankers at Godalming, consisting of three persons, the two Kidds and Mr. Mellersh. This bill, bearing date on the 14th of November, 1825, by which three months after date he calls upon Lloyd to pay to his order a sum of 192*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*, which was discounted at the bank, and that the fact appears that Smith had it from the bank under the pretence of handing it over to Lloyd's assignees (he having become a bankrupt) for their benefit, and for the benefit of the creditors of the concern; and that it appears instead of handing it over to them he gives it to a person of the name of Sandell, who was a stationer in London, and he procured from him upon this bill something to the amount of half the value; paper to the amount of 10*s.* in the pound was what he received, and the fact was, that he committed a gross breach of trust with reference to this bill, which he obtained half the value of, instead of doing what he ought to have done; so that he had got the full value from the bankers, and they never got anything in return for it. It appears, in consequence of that, that Mr. Mellersh sees the uncle of this man—the uncle was his friend and his client—and it appears that he made

some application to him, and that the uncle undertook to pay the debt which the nephew had incurred, and to give a bond for that purpose. So it appears from the memorandum and letters which have been put in, and which are in the hand-writing of the defendant; and these documents you will have to pay particular attention to. The first of them is the memorandum which Mr. Kidd says Mr. Mellersh put into his hands on the occasion when he was going to town, and you will see what sort of memorandum it is, and there is this writing upon the foot, Richard Smith obtained the bill which the Bank held a security for 192*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* for the purpose of showing it to Sandell to prove that Lloyd was indebted in that sum; but Smith, after making this false pretence, went and delivered up the bill to Sandell for paper supposed to be equal to 10*s.* in the pound —namely, 96*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* Some of the paper Smith had, but a part was left in Sandell's hands: now Sandell should deliver up that paper or say what he would pay for it. Those are the instructions which Mr. Mellersh puts into the hands of Kidd on some occasion when he went to town, and clearly before the uncle had given compensation for this bill. I must observe here that it was quite in the option of Smith, the uncle, to do anything of that sort that he might think proper; and further that he was not bound to pay the debts of his nephew, and if so he was clearly at liberty to deal with the whole of the partners or any one partner if he chose; and you will recollect it is proved that Mr. Mellersh was his attorney, and therefore possibly he might have been the person that the uncle chose to secure. Now this appears to be part of some other matter; there are lines between it, and you will see it appears that that is not the whole, but that there is no doubt that it is all that could be supposed to be wanted with reference to this question, for there is the memorandum of what Mr. Kidd had to do when he got to London. Now, gentlemen, I should observe here upon this question, that it seems to me upon the ground that there is not sufficient legal evidence in this case, that there is legal evidence before you of the facts of this matter, because, if these papers in the result convince you that Mr. Mellersh has upon his oath stated what is untrue, it appears to me, coming from more witnesses than one, they are properly conveyed to you. I say this with a double purpose, because, if there is a conviction in this case, the learned counsel will distinctly take a note of it in case an objection should arise, and in case I should be incorrect; and on the other hand, if you should think the defendant not guilty, it will be much more satisfactory to every body that the acquittal shall proceed upon your views of the merits, and not upon the mere legal machinery which operates upon the Court. Now, gentlemen, the second document is one which is presented under very peculiar circumstances: it has been torn in half, and kept in a shaving-box for a considerable series of years in the custody of Mr. Kidd, and he was very properly and minutely cross-examined with respect to this. He gave an account of it, which I own, speaking generally of transactions with regard to pieces of paper, does not appear to me to be improbable: he says he was about to wipe his razor, and upon looking at it he saw something that he thought of some importance, and therefore he thought he would keep this paper. He never thought of it, and he kept it in a drawer, and from time to time looking at it; never used it; and he always kept it; and lately, for safe custody, put it into the hands of his wife, and that was the way in which it was preserved; that is, in short, the general terms of his statement. That which he thought not important he tore off; and, looking simply at the fact of the safety, it does not strike me (but that is for your consideration) as any thing improbable. Now, with regard to this piece of paper: in the first place, I should have thought it extremely proper that any person who thought it worth while to keep a piece of paper of this kind ought altogether to have preserved it whole, or have made an accurate copy of the whole, so as to show distinctly what it was that this paper contained; because, it is proper to say, you have only here a paragraph taken out of a letter, which cannot be deemed so satisfactory as the inspection of the whole, or at least a copy, where that is not possible. So that, gentlemen, in the first place, you are to consider this, not as a complete writing, which has been elicited from the evidence. Now, the paper is in these words, "I saw Mr. Richard Smith, the uncle, to-day, and he said, we should not lose the amount of the bill of 192*l.* 15*s.*, and talked that I should make his will, and secure it; but I mean to get him to give a bond payable at his death with interest, and it will come to us then." So that it appears most undoubtedly he is speaking of this as a joint loss which had fallen on the partnership, which there is no doubt it had. He says, Smith has promised we shall not lose the amount of the bill of 192*l.* 15*s.*, and talked that I should make his will and secure it.' That however is unsatisfactory, because a will is always revokable; and then he says, but I mean to get him to give a bond payable at some future time. So that you observe, gentlemen, he speaks of *us* and *we* in a manner which in the first place points to it as a security for three, and not for himself alone. Well, gentlemen, you have heard a great number of questions put upon that paper: in the first place Kidd states he has no recollection whatever of what was in the paper; whether it contained anything relating to the subject of the trial he forgets, and he cannot tell. Then he is asked a great deal with respect to the purpose for which he kept it; and it is quite obvious he only kept it considering it of some importance, which it could only be as showing the joint interest of all the three partners. *How is it he never asked Mr. Mellersh to let him see the terms in which the bond was*

given to him, and the particulars that took place? Still more so I should say, how is it when they were separating, and arranging, and collecting their debts, that he never brought forward this paper and the other documents to show the debt from Smith? That was a considerable debt to them all. *And ultimately when the prosecutors made their* charge in the bill in Chancery, that the partnership agreement had not been completed, *why did they not charge Mr. Smith's debt as one of the things which had not been taken into account?* That question has been very ingeniously argued by the learned counsel at the bar, as it appears to me. You will confine the observation as to the conduct of Kidd as showing, if he could not draw the inference from these papers *then*, that there was the joint obligation, how can they prove it in a case coming now, at a distance of so many years, and after so many opportunities of looking at those papers? How can you be called on now to infer from them that a gentleman of this very high character shall actually have committed perjury? Now, gentlemen, there is also in the other paper, in which he writes to him upon the subject of this same bond after he had actually obtained it—that letter is in the terms you have heard, and which I will again read—he mentions something about the fish, and then he says, "Richard Smith, senior, has signed the bond for 195*l.* to me individually, &c. &c." He wishes it not to be considered that the bond had been given by the uncle, in the name of the firm, in order to guard against its being connected with the bankruptcy. Now, gentlemen, I find it impossible to say that that would not naturally excite in the mind of Mr. Kidd the expectation that this gentleman had taken the bond undoubtedly for the benefit of the firm. He says in the postscript, "Richard Smith's bond carries interest." There is nothing that gets rid of that impression in this letter: it is written in December, 1827, and it talks of the bond as if it were a joint one. Now, gentlemen, I believe these are all the documents that took place about the time of the bond. In order to meet that it is said that Smith, the uncle, may have selected Mr. Mellersh, who was his friend, as the object of his indemnity against the loss of the partnership, and by his signing it in the way it is signed, they say it shows that he must have intended it to be for Mr. Mellersh individually, for the purpose of exonerating him from any loss, and not for payment of the debt to the firm; and therefore, gentlemen, you are to see whether you can infer so distinctly from this statement that the bond was given for 195*l.* for him individually. The statement is, that Mr. Mellersh takes it altogether for himself, without any regard to the partnership, and without any intention that it should be taken for them, but for his own individual security. Now there is no paper writing of any description stating that it was given in trust for the whole of the parties, and it does not appear that either of the partners did at any time call upon him to state that it was on their account; nor do they furnish evidence of that description. I think there are various ways of considering this case; for it is quite possible, notwithstanding the statements in writing with reference to the bond, and notwithstanding Mr. Mellersh expressed his intention that it should be for the benefit of the partnership, it is quite probable that it still may have been intended for the benefit of Mr. Mellersh alone; and it is very probable as to that fact that explanations were given between December, 1827, when this last note was sent, and the period when they began to speak about the common concerns and the dissolution of the partnership, which completely proved that it was for Mr. Mellersh's own benefit. The dissolution took place in November, 1828, or rather, I believe, a little earlier; then it was the partnership was dissolved, and the deed of that date was put in, in which there is a schedule containing a list of what debts were due to the firm, and no notice is taken of this debt; and certainly if the partners considered that Smith was liable on his bond, or at least if Mellersh was a trustee for them all, one would have thought that was the proper time to have noticed it: they would then, too, have naturally made a demand of the bond; that it was not made we have distinct evidence; if it had been made, it is quite possible that some explanation might have been given which would have led to an inquiry of Smith in his lifetime; and we do not even know that Mr. Kidd has not so satisfied any curiosity that might have been excited by that note. Therefore, that note which has been given in, proves in my mind, nothing material. On the 14. of November, 1828, Mr. Mellersh writes a letter to Mr. Kidd, in these words—"Sir, on the other side is an account of the outstanding debts due to the old concern, &c. &c." It is written in rather cold language after the intimate terms they had been upon, and there was (no doubt) discussions took place, which must have left unpleasant traces behind. This memorandum contains a list of debts, in which Smith's bond is also not mentioned. It seems that Mr. Mellersh was very desirous of having the thing put upon a footing of settlement; he says he hopes Mr. Kidd will make the offer of a sum certain, and take the whole of the debts exclusively to himself, upon the understanding that, if Mr. Mellersh rejects the offer, he, Mr. Kidd, should be at liberty to take an assignment of the debts to himself. Certainly there could be no better arrangement, the party who takes the debts would be enabled to pursue his own course, and he would be at liberty to use the name of the firm for the recovery of them; so that this is certainly an offer which shows they had separated their interest upon the subject, and which shows that Mr. Mellersh was desirous to get in the whole of the outstanding debts, and put one of the partners in the condition of recovering these debts. That seems to have formed a very proper opportunity for Mr.

Kidd, if he thought that Smith had given bond for the benefit of all, to have mentioned it, and he should have said, why this list the outstanding debts is imperfect. There no mention of Mr. Smith's bond; I deman to see it. I cannot conceive why he stops ti after the first bill was filed, nor does it occu to me naturally why he should have withhel that sort of demand, unless he knew it woul then have been met with some satisfactory explanation. It strikes me so; but that for you to consider. Then, gentlemen, th matters go on till the year 1832; and Mi Kidd, without being reduced to the necessit of taking any hostile proceeding in the yea 1832, files a bill in Chancery, and Mr. Mellersh is called upon to state all the particular which he had covenanted to do by the dee of dissolution, and it gives a statement of al the debts due to the partnership. Now i the first bill there is not a word said about thi bond, although it professes to mention all th debts due to the partnership. The first bil was filed in October, 1832. Well then, Mr Mellersh puts in his answer on the 6. February 1833, and in that answer of course nothing can be said about the bond because there i no charge made in the bill with respect to it but the bill is amended on the 18. of June 1833, and the amendment is neither more no less than the introduction of a statement tha Smith had given Mr. Mellersh that bond for the benefit of the partnership, and they say that this was recently discovered, but they d not state in what respect or how it was discovered, and none of the witnesses gave any account of the circumstance. *The bond could not have come upon them by surprise in the year* 1833, *which now in the year* 1834 *they seek to prove by no other documents than those which they possessed in* 1827 *and* 1828. *I cannot discover any alteration in the state of things except that Smith had died.* He had died i the beginning of that year, there was therefore nothing *prima facie* to show why they should now mention the bond, unless it w now there was *not the opportunity of resorting to Smith.* I can discover no other motive; the amended answer is put in on the 16. of August, and in that answer it is that the perjury is supposed to have been committed by the fact that the defendant swore that the bond was executed by Smith to him individually, and paid to him individually, and not for the benefit of all three partners. Now, gentlemen, I have observed upon the probability of the matter, and I have made such remarks as have occurred to me, and supposing that Mr. Mellersh held this bond really with a secret trust in his own mind that it should be for the benefit of the partnership, in the first instance, and with a wish to consider them all equally interested, perhaps it may occur to you that the great coldness and the great hostility which afterwards took place between them, might lead him to repent of his intended liberality, and avail himself, in consequence of all that he could justly obtain of the debt that was due to him. If there had been a trust created, it appears to me that naturally it would have appeared in writing; and if there were no trust he has only stated the truth in saying that he held it on his own account. Now, with regard to the document itself, it might have stated the parties who were beneficially interested, but it is proved it was given to Mr. Mellersh individually. But, on the other hand, with regard to the second point, namely, the proof that the payment was made to him individually, although the clerk of Mr. Mellersh, Mr. Limbert, cannot be supposed to be an interested witness, but, on the contrary, you may fairly suppose that a clerk who has lived for twenty years in the office of an attorney of such high character as this gentleman, Mr. Mellersh, has borne, is a character of itself. He distinctly swears that he was the person who was in communication with Mr. Smith, and hat he actually desired him to pay the money, with expressions of the most friendly acknowledgments to Mr. Mellersh himself individually, treating it as a debt of honour, and he expressed the greatest satisfaction at being able to do so; so that, with regard to that fact, the fact of payment by Mr. Smith to Mr. Mellersh ndividually, you have distinct proof that Mr. Smith paid it with that view. With regard to he fact of whom he intended to benefit when e gave the bond, you have the evidence of he bond itself, from which it would appear hat he gave it for Mr. Mellersh exclusively; and yet it is contended that you are to collect rom these documents that there is something o clear to demonstrate it was for the benefit f the partners, that Mr. Mellersh must necessarily have been forswearing himself, when e gave, in his answer, the account which he gave respecting this bond. Now, gentlemen, hat is the case which has been encountered y no evidence on the part of the defendant, ut you have heard the high and honourable haracter that has been given of him, and ou are to say whether you are satisfied that Mr. Mellersh did *this* wilfully and corruptly, with a knowledge of the fact that the bond was intended for his partners, and for the urpose of defrauding his former partners.

have endeavoured to go through the leading facts of the case. I have put the question enerally before you, but if you desire it I am ntirely at your service to go through the whole of the evidence; or if there is any part f the evidence that has made an impression pon your minds, upon which you would wish refresh your recollection, I am at your serce to return to that part of it. I believe, as ar as I recollect, I have stated the whole of he leading facts of the case, so as to describe he few points in the way which they appear o present themselves most clearly, and you re to say whether, upon that statement, you re satisfied that Mr. Mellersh has not only tated what is untrue, but has done it wilfully nd corruptly, and with the fraudulent intent mputed to him by this indictment. If you think

that that is made out, then certainly Mr. Mellersh is guilty; if otherwise, or if you entertain a doubt, you will, of course, give the prisoner that acquittal which every man is entitled to when a case of this nature rests upon doubt.

The jury returned a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

On the announcement of the verdict it was received with acclamations by a crowded auditory, the expresison of which was with difficulty suppressed by the officers of the court.

[*There is an inaccuracy in the report, in not showing that the amount for which the bond was given was only* HALF (*Mr. Mellersh's own share*) *of the debt the firm has lost by young Smith.*]

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 30.—The arrivals fresh up to this morning's market were moderate from Essex and Suffolk, and limited from Kent. The bulk of the large supplies coastways during the past week, having gone direct into the hands of the millers, has prevented the stands from exhibiting any extensive show of samples. The market today was thinly attended, and millers being in stock, the trade ruled heavy at a decline on the rates of this day week of 1s. to 2s. for all descriptions. Nothing doing in bonded Corn

Some parcels of Irish Barley having arrived, added to a moderate supply from other quarters, which, proving more than adequate to the demand, caused the trade to be dull, and grinding qualities could have been obtained at a decline of 1s. per quarter. For bonded parcels no inquiry.

Malt dull sale, but prices sustained no alteration.

The arrivals of foreign Oats have been large during the past week, and since the return on Saturday, several cargoes have come to hand, as well as Irish and Scotch. Dealers and consumers holding off the market, anticipating lower rates from augmented supplies, caused the article to hang on hand, unless a decline of 1s. per quarter was submitted to on English and Irish qualities, and 1s. to 1s. 6d. on Scotch qualities. This depression in the free article communicated a heaviness over Oats in bond, and little business was in consequence transacted. Some of the arrivals from Friesland of Brew Oats prove of fine quality, and are held at 17s. to 19s.

Beans are in better supply, and were difficult of disposal at a decline of full 1s. per quarter from Monday.

Peas continue scarce, but the trade was less animated and prices dull. Some fine qualities in bond have obtained 38s. and even 40s. is demanded.

Fresh ship marks of Flour were saleable at last week's currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	44s. to 50s.
—— White	48s. to 55s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	44s. to 51s.
—— West Country red	44s. to 47s.
—— White, ditto	48s. to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	38s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	36s. to 42s.
—— White, ditto	42s. to 44s.
—— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
—— White, ditto	38s. to 43s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 32s.
—— Chevalier	30s. to 32s.
—— Distilling	29s. to 30s.
—— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	37s. to 47s.
—— Norfolk, pale	50s. to 56s.
—— Ware	52s. to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	38s. to 40s.
—— Maple	39s. to 43s.
—— White Boilers	40s. to 48s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 38s.
—— Harrow	32s. to 37s.
—— Tick	31s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	24s. to 26s.
—— Short, small	25s. to 27s.
—— Poland	24s. to 28s.
—— Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
—— —— Potato	26s to 28s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 27s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s. to 23s.
—— —— Potato	24s. to 25s.
—— —— Black	23s. to 25s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	10s. to 13s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
—— York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
—— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
—— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
—— Cumberland	46s. to 50s.	

SMITHFIELD, June 30.

This day's supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves was good; its supply of Beasts and Porkers rather limited. Trade was on the whole tolerably brisk, say with beef at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. Mutton and Veal 2d per stone, with Lamb and Pork at fully Friday's quotations.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"As the end approacheth there will be "everlasting choppings and changes in the "Ministry."

END OF THE WHIGS.

Normandy, 10. *July*, 1834.

The news that has reached me to-day, has not at all surprised me. I always said, that if Lord Althorp were to quit his place, Lord Grey could not remain in his an hour. He was the soul of the concern, and he has appeared to me to have been weary of the concern for a long time. The excuse for the breaking up of this Ministry is a mere *excuse*. It is no one thing that has broken them up: it is the mass of difficulties; that mass, however, greatly added to by the mixture of laudanum and brandy, with a due spice of natural insanity, and a two-fold surplus of jaw. No Ministry on earth would bear up against this: it is the true receipt for destroying a Ministry and destroying a state. The people wanted a parliamentary reform, in order *that it might ease them of their intolerable burdens.* They prayed for a reform on that ground, and on that ground only. They did not want it for measures to pull down the church; for anything about corporations; and, above all things, they did not want it, in order that the poor, that is to say, the working people, might be stripped of their right to relief, and suffered to starve. They never contemplated an overturning of any institution whatsoever; and above all things they did not contemplate the creating of bands of commissioners to add to their burdens, and to make lying reports to calumniate their character. They did not ask for reform that twenty millions of money might be granted to be given to mortgagees of West India estates. In short, they wanted a reform for precisely those things which the reformed Parliament has refused to do. This is, however, a horrible breaking up for the bands of liberals, who are cramming their pockets by the means of *commissionerships*. What is to become of Wood, emphatically called *John*? And there is *pis-aller* Parkes. What is to become of the swarms of poor-law commissioners and church commissioners? What is to become of Tufnell and Johnston? If they had carried their scheme into execution so far as to have built one workhouse, they might all have been shut up in it, and been clothed at the public expense, in workhouse dresses. I do believe, that if this Ministry had remained in power quietly another two years, they would not have left us one single rag of English law to protect us. They seemed resolved to root out every law and every custom to which the people are most attached. They lent a willing ear to every projector whose object was to destroy any part of the old government of the country. We wanted none of their projects: we wanted our burdens to be lightened, and they took care not to do that. However, though it was excessively foolish in Lord Grey to have anything to do with Brougham; though, as I told Lord Grey, when he formed his Ministry, that that step was sure to be fatal to him; though his difficulties have been greatly added to by the projects of this man; still I acknowledge, that it was impossible to go on with the present system: I mean *system of taxation and expenditure.* No man can overcome this difficulty: that system must be changed: in one word, my opinion is, that there must be a reduction of the interest of the debt, of the army, navy, and dead-weight expenditure; or that this form of government will be destroyed by a convulsive revolution. The nation is cured of all the nonsense about

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Whig and Tory. Whoever are Ministers, if they ease the burdens of the people, they will stand: if they do not, they will come down. Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. STANLEY resigned not upon that particular ground that was alleged; but because they saw the difficulties too great to get along with. They saw no chance of giving satisfaction to the people. They found themselves involved in so many projects: they found themselves deluged by such a torrent of quackery, flowing everlastingly from that exhaustless Scotch brain, that they were glad to wade out, and get to something like land on any terms. If there come a Ministry ready and willing to set seriously to work to lighten the burdens of the people, and to encourage them to hope for better days, they will be supported, let them be called what they may. What may happen, no man can tell; worse than that which was taking place, cannot well come. The bills before the House of Commons and one just passed by it, must, if passed by the Lords, have produced most dreadful consequences. From these consequences we shall probably escape. A any rate, I am glad of a change; because it takes power out of the hands o BROUGHAM; and because it must break up his bands of all-devouring commissioners; and must put a stop to the scandalous job of emigration.

TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

POOR-LAW BILL.

Normandy, 7. July, 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

THIS bill has now passed the Hous of Commons; and I deem it to be m bounden duty to lay before you th history of that passing; and also a correct an account as I am able to giv you of the last effort which I made t prevent the passing of a bill which, i passed by the Lords, and attempted t be carried into effect, will, in m opinion, be productive of consequence of the most fatal description, as wel with regard to the people themselve as with regard to their rulers.

Upon the motion of Lord ALTHORP, that this bill be now read a third time, which motion was made on Tuesday, the 1. of July, Mr. HODGES (one of the Members for West Kent) moved, that the bill should be read that day six months; that is to say, to throw the bill out; his reasons for which motion he urged in a speech of considerable length, abounding with observations the most pertinent; he anticipated all the fatal consequences to be expected from such a measure; he insisted on the injustice of it; and, while he expressed his deep regret at being compelled to differ from Lord ALTHORP, he told him that it was his bounden duty to protest against this measure. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY, in a speech of considerable length, containing a commentary on many of the provisions of the bill, and descanting on those provisions with great force and great ability, seconded the motion of Mr. HODGES.

Mr. BENETT (one of the Members for South Wiltshire) spoke on the same side; and made a speech, which ought to have been heard, if possible, by every man in this whole kingdom. You will please to perceive, that one of the great means of delusion has been this; namely, that the people in *the north* are less generally chargeable upon the parish, than the people in *the south*; and that this goes regularly on, their being less and less chargeable from PEVENSEY in Sussex to the county of SUTHERLAND in Scotland. This fact is undeniable; and, therefore, it is concluded, that the poor-laws are worse administered in the south, where a man with several children, though in full work, has something out of the poor-rates to make up for the deficiency in his wages. "Oh, oh!" say the philosophers, "the poor "people in the south are *worse off*, than "the poor people in the north; they "are *degraded*: we will prevent them "from having relief in the present way, "and thereby we will *elevate them to* "*the high moral state of the people of* "*Scotland.* They are ground down, "poor creatures, by the farmers: we "will elevate them by putting a work-"house dress upon them; and by

"taking, even from the magistrates, "the power of giving relief." Mr Benett, a very great landowner himself, and a magistrate also, of thirty or forty years' standing, well knowing that the people in the south were better off than the people in the north, took the pains to produce the *proof* to the House. He took the accounts laid before the House by the Ministers themselves. He took his standard of the yearly pay to a man with a wife and three children, employed in agriculture. He confined himself to England, including one or two counties of Wales: and he found the yearly pay of such man to be as follows:

In fourteen southern counties, *forty-eight* pounds a year.

In fourteen midland counties, *forty-one* pounds a year.

In fourteen northern counties, *thirty-six* pounds a year.

Mr. Benett, to whom the whole nation is indebted for this statement, said, that he had in every instance given the turn of the scale to the northern counties; he referred to the returns on which he built his statements; and he challenged the Minister, or any body else, to question the accuracy of his statement. He had his statement upon paper, and he handed it to Mr Whitmore and other members who held opinions different from himself. He received no answer, and he could receive no answer. The jet of his argument was this: You do not consider the difference in the circumstances between the south and the north, the difference in the habits of the people. Thirty-six pounds may do in the north, where the people will live contentedly on a cheaper sort of food; but that will not do in the south. Mr. Benett received no answer. A slight observation from Lord Althorp, that he did not know where Mr. Benett discovered that men in the midland counties received forty-one pounds a year, seeing that they paid but nine shillings a-week in Northamptonshire was, in fact, no answer at all.

The defence of the measure was on this occasion the feeblest that ever was heard in the world. A very feeble attempt to defend the emigration-clause on the part of Mr. Whitmore, made no impression upon anybody. Mr. Slaney (member for Shrewsbury) insisted upon a *surplus of labour* in the country; and with regard to the superior management of the north, compared with the south, he cited as proof those riots of the south, which were not imitated in the north, in 1830. This induced me to rise; and it is my duty to lay before you an account of what I said in this my last most solemn protest against this bill. I shall not attempt to give you the report of my speech, about which, as a speech, I care not a straw; but I will state to you, as nearly as I can, the substance of the arguments and facts which I made use of. To give you more than the substance would be impossible, as it took me much about an hour to make the statement, which, I must do the House the justice to say, it heard with exemplary patience.

I began by observing, that I should not enter into any of the details of the measure; but merely confine myself to what I believed to be its *real ultimate object*, and to the showing that that object was unjust, unconstitutional, and that it contemplated an end which, if attempted to be enforced, must prove the subversion of the Government itself. I will now proceed to state the substance of this speech in the form of propositions, which, though very dry work, is very *plain* work; and affords the best possible chance of having one's meaning clearly understood. This is the most important subject that ever was agitated in this country in my time. This bill is beyond all measure of more importance than the Reform Bill was; its provisions come home to the very means of existence of every working man in the kingdom. Already we hear the angry voices of the labourers in the fields and along the lanes. Already their menaces are heard; a dreadful convulsion I verily believe is at hand, unless the Lords shall *take time* to reflect on this bill; and if they take time, I am sure that their wisdom and their sense of justice will avert this dreadful calamity from the country. I now proceed

to state the matter of my speech in the form of propositions.

THAT all that I should now meddle with were, the REAL OBJECTS; and the fatal CONSEQUENCES, if this bill should pass. That, however, before I proceeded to these matters, there were two errors to be swept away, both of which we had heard from the lips of the hon. Member for SHREWSBURY: the first was, the notion of a *surplus population*, or *surplus labour*; and the other was, the idea that the mal-administration of the poor-laws by the magistrates *caused the riots of* 1830, in the south of England.

THAT, with regard to the first of these, we had upon our table a report, made by thirty-seven of the greatest landowners in the House, having amongst them many gentlemen of great literary ability, and most extensive knowledge of rural affairs; and they stated to us, and produced evidence in support of their statements, that the lands of England had fallen greatly out of cultivation; that in some cases farms to a great extent were wholly thrown up to waste; that in other cases they were only half cultivated; and that in no case were they sufficiently cultivated; and were altogether much less productive than formerly. And, what is the cause of this? *The want of a sufficiency of labour bestowed upon those lands!* This also is told us by that committee; and yet (hear it all the world!) here are we sitting to contrive how we shall *get away the labourers out of England!*

THAT, in the year 1828 (month of July), the House ordered to be printed a report, laid upon the table by the hon. Member for SHREWSBURY himself, coming from a committee of which he was chairman; a committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the increase of pauperism. The hon. Member pushed all the witnesses upon the point of surplus population. Amongst others he had before him, Mr. BOYES of WALDERSHARE, in Kent, a great farmer, and a most intelligent and upright man, well known to all the members for the county of Kent. Being asked, "whether the labourers in his parish were all employed," he said, "that he had the mortification to see forty young men drawing "gravel carts, like horses, that morning "before he left home." "Well, then, "you have too many people in your parish." His answer was, "that there "was not a man too many; that they "were all wanted upon the land; but "that, owing to Peel's Bill and the "weight of taxation, the farmers had "not the means of employing them, and "that the lands were falling out of "cultivation." After this, to hear talk of a *surplus labour*; to hear talk of *a new colony*, with bands of projectors and speculators, leading farmers and labourers to their certain ruin, is really enough to deprive a man like JOB of his patience; but, at any rate, I do hope that the Right Hon Secretary for the Colonies, who sits there, will not, by the flatterers in the newspapers, whose object is to plunder poor farmers and labourers of their little money, their health, and their lives; I do hope that he will not, by these flatteries, be induced to believe, that, compared with him, his two predecessors were obstinate, ignorant, and conceited men, because they refused to give countenance to these at once wild and greedy projectors; above all things, I hope that he will not be induced to give the countenance of the Government to these at once ignorant and unprincipled speculators.

THAT, with regard to the riots in the south, so far were they from having been caused by the mal-administration of the poor-laws by the magistrates, they were caused principally by the *hired overseers* created by STURGES BOURNE's bills, which bills had taken the power of interference out of the hands of the magistrates; or, at any rate, had greatly limited their power. That, when I made a similar statement in the House before; when I ascribed the breaking out of the riots to the hatred in which the people held the hired overseers, and mentioned particularly the county of Sussex, I was flatly contradicted by the hon. member for SHOREHAM (Mr. GORING), who thought it becoming in him to ascribe the riots to *my speeches* and

my writings, and who trumped up the old story about THOMAS GOODMAN *and his confession*. That in proof of the truth of what I had stated, and of the error of the hon. member for SHOREHAM, I might refer to a great deal better and fuller testimony; but I would take the report of the Poor-law Commissioners themselves. At page 26, they inform us, that the labourers met throughout the rape of HASTINGS, and entered into resolutions, the first of which resolutions related to their wages; and the rest stated *that there should be* no *assistant-overseer*! At page 33, a magistrate, whose name is suppressed, tells us, "that he is quite sure, that there would "have been no riot in the parish of "BREDE, had it not been for the reso-"lution of the labourers to *turn out the* "*assistant-overseer.* Some of them "proposed to go to a magistrate to re-"late the treatment which they had re-"ceived from this overseer; others op-"posed this, as they had so often ap-"pealed in vain" (N. B. Sturges Bourne's bill took the power of redress from the magistrate). "He is sure that "they had no idea of a riot, for several "of them said that they *would not mind* "*being poor, if they could but be used* "*with civility*. There was *not a man of* "*them who wished to do mischief*, but "all were resolved to get rid of ABEL, "the hired overseer." At page 57, of the same report, comes Mr. COURTHOPE, chairman of the magistrates, at BATTLE, during the riots. He, being asked for information respecting the causes of the riots, gives this answer: "The several "causes of discontent to which I allude "were, the reduced allowances from the "poor-rates, principally effected by the "*assistant-overseers*, which rendered "them the first objects of attack by the "labourers." Now, if I were in the place of the hon. member for SHORE-HAM, I would at once acknowledge my error; but, whether he do, or not, wholly forgiving him on the score of THOMAS GOODMAN and his curious confession, I will say this; that super-excellent as the county of Sussex is, in all respects whatsoever; pattern as it is, to all the rest of the world, even to the counties of England; surpassing, as it does, every other spot of God's earth, in able and adroit workmen, in cleanness of houses, cleanness of dress, neatness of gardens, manliness in the men, and delicacy in the women; still I am very far from saying, that this excellent and admired county, or any portion of it, is *quite* worthy of being represented by the hon. member for SHOREHAM.

THAT, with regard to this most portentous bill, which was then to receive the final decision of the House, the REAL OBJECT was, in my opinion, to reduce the people of England to the state of the people of Ireland; to make them live upon potatoes, at best; and to submit to occasional famine, in order that the landlords may put into their pockets, not only the amount of the poor-rates; but the amount of one-half of the wages which the labourers now receive. That I, by no means, imputed this wish to a majority of the landlords, or to any considerable portion of them, thinking them much too wise, as well as too just, to entertain any such wish; but that I most firmly believed this to be the real object of the inventors of this revolutionary project, and of its official supporters; and that, I would now, under the indulgence of the House, proceed to give my REASONS distinctly, one after another, for entertaining that belief.

THAT, in the first place, there were three countries, over whom this Parliament had to exercise supreme power: in one we found, in spite of all the fatal changes that immense taxation, and destructive monopoly, created by paper-money, had produced: we still found, generally speaking, the labourer, particularly in this reprobated south, lodged in a cottage, with a clean floor, with his bed up stairs, his little table set with a cloth upon it three times a day; that cottage surrounded by a neat garden, decorated more or less with flowers; containing a variety of vegetables, with a * * *, situated in that spot dictated by decency, by native modesty, and by purity of manners and of morals. We have another country, where the labourer has earth for the floor of his dwelling; where

a few boards knocked roughly together form his bedstead; where his bed is *heather*, or straw, and his bedding the most miserable of rugs; where table cloth, knife, fork, or plate, never appears; where an iron pot, a *brose* (oats coarsely ground) bowl, and a bit of cow's horn for a spoon, are his only goods, furniture, and utensils. We have a third country, where all the household goods put together is a pot, wherein to boil the roots, upon which the family and the pig all live together, in a shed without a chimney, and covered with sods. In the first country all persons are clad from head to foot: in the second, a large part of the women and the children, have bare legs and feet; in the third, even the bodies of a large part are half-naked, and some quite naked.

THAT there is, perhaps, not another assembly in the whole world; not another six hundred and fifty-eight men, got together under one roof, who, having these three countries at their absolute command, would not set to work instantly and never cease till they had made the last two countries like the first; instead of which, we are at work to make the first country like the two last; or, rather, like the third; and professing, all the while, that we want to better the lot of its people. This is my first reason for believing that which I have stated to be true.

THAT my second reason is, the manifest insincerity which appears upon the face of the whole proceeding. The general instructions to the poor-law commissioners laid down this, as a rule to be observed, "that if the poor-rates "were found to be *diminishing*, or even "*stationary*, then it would be desirable "not to attempt to make any change "at all." A return lies upon our table, showing that they have *diminished* 3½ per cent. in England and Wales, during the last year. Yet the scheme is persevered in contrary to the professions of the schemers themselves. Here, therefore, there is manifest insincerity; and where you find that the professions are false, always suspect the real object.

THAT (as to my third reason) the great stalking-horse pretence is, that, if the poor-rates be not put a stop to, they will *devour up* the land. Speaking in round numbers, there are eight millions a year collected by the overseers. Pretty nearly three millions of these are for county-rates, and other purposes, not at all for the relief of the poor. Not a word is said about the land being devoured up by *these*; not a word is said about *reducing the amount of these*; and yet these have gone on increasing *much faster than the rates paid in relief*. So that, if the poor-rates could be abolished altogether, here would be still something to devour up the land: this, therefore, is another false pretence.

THAT the poor-rates were never so low as they are now, in proportion to the taxes which the labourers pay. They have very much increased, certainly, within the last forty years; but what man of sense and of sincerity, will not ascribe the increase to the increase of the taxes, and to those fatal changes in the distribution of farms, which have arisen, not out of any change of character or manners in the people, but out of those injurious monopolies, created unwittingly by this House.

THAT these things are so well known to be true; it must be so well known to every man of common sense, that if half the poor-rates could be lopped off by this revolutionary project, nothing would be accomplished in the way of saving upon the whole. These things are so manifest to common sense, that one must conclude that there is something at the bottom, which has not been explained to this House, and which the projectors of this measure have thought it prudent to disguise.

THAT the bill provides for getting rid of the working people by taxing the parishes to send them abroad; that, in order to get a pretence for doing this, a circular question was sent to numerous gentlemen throughout all the counties of England and Wales. The question was this: "What do you think would "be the effect of an enactment enabling "parishes to tax themselves, in order "to facilitate emigration?" This question (Appendix, B. I. part 5,) is put to

1,717 persons, gentlemen, magistrates, clergymen, overseers; out of whom two hundred and one seem to approve of the project, seven hundred and seven deprecate it; great numbers say they have not a man too many; a considerable number say that they have not enough in harvest time; one gives an answer in the word "*horrible*," and nothing more; the rest either give no answer at all, or express their doubts as to the propriety of adopting such a project. And yet this emigration provision is contained in the bill; and a new colony is to be formed, and a company of speculators is to be formed for sending the farmers and labourers out of the country. This is another and a striking proof, that the projectors of this measure mean something that they dare not openly avow.

THAT the *distress of agriculture* is imputed to the poor-laws; and that, therefore, the bill is necessary to remove that distress; that this question, or rather these two questions: "Is the amount of agricultural capital in your neighbourhood increasing or diminishing? and do you attribute such increase or diminution to any cause connected with the poor laws?" These questions are put to 1,717 persons, as before. With two or three exceptions, they all say, that the agricultural capital is diminishing; that is to say, that the farmers are poorer than they were. But, in answer to the second question, four hundred and one positively assert that the poor-laws have had nothing to do with the matter; eleven hundred and twenty-nine ascribe the distress to other causes, and state that those other causes arise principally from PEEL'S BILL; while only one hundred and fifty-nine ascribe the distress to any thing connected with the poor-laws, or their administration; and of those one hundred and fifty-nine, FOURTEEN ARE ANONYMOUS, and TWO *of them are stipendiary poor-law commissioners themselves!* That here, then, we have the opinions of the noblemen, the gentry, the clergy, the magistrates, the most considerable farmers, the guardians of parishes, no measure of this sort can afford relief to agriculture; that when, therefore, in the face of all this, we see this project persevered in, we must conclude that there is something at the bottom not openly avowed; and that something quite other than *bettering the lot of the labourer* or *the farmer* is at the bottom of the scheme.

THAT, however, in addition to all these reasons, which are founded on the evidence suggested to our senses by the nature of the case, let us see what is recommended to us by the papers laid upon the table by the noble lord. If the noble lord has not thought proper to give the House time to read these papers, or a fiftieth part of them, we are certainly at liberty to conclude that the noble lord had *read the papers himself*; otherwise it is, in reality, "the blind leading the blind." There are two commissioners of the names of TUFNELL and JOHNSTON, whose report I find in Appendix A, part 2. After telling us how the heritors of Scotland, assisted by the parish ministers, contrived to evade the Scotch poor-laws, and to reduce the people to the greatest misery, they give their noble employer this advice: "If then it can be shown, "that in spite of these advantages, "wherever poor-laws have been introduced, evil has resulted, it will go far "to prove that the sound policy is to "aim at their entire abolition...... "That the very *basis* on which all "poor-laws must be founded, the giving "to the distressed a right to relief, is "essentially *productive of evil*...... "We would not be understood as recommending the IMMEDIATE abolition of the *English poor-laws*; we "are simply desirous of stating the "conclusion to which we have been led "by the evidence, that ALL POOR-LAWS are in their *essence impolitic* "and uncalled for, and that consequently their FINAL ABOLITION "ought to be the *ultimate object of any* "*change* that may be made; an object, "however, that it is not supposed can "be attained without being preceded "by years of *careful preparation for it*.

"E. CARLETON TUFNELL.
"P. F. JOHNSTON."

THAT the noble Lord has certainly read this before he laid it upon the table; and yet I hope he has not; for, in another of the papers of these hireling commissioners, I find *myself libelled by name* seven or eight times. What ought to have been was this: the noble Lord should have read the papers carefully in manuscript before he laid them on the table of the House, and moved for them to be printed. I hope, and believe, that he did not read that paper which contains the libels on me; for, if I could believe that he deliberately procured the printing of these papers by the House, and thus effected the infamous libelling of me with impunity, I should speak of him and think of him very differently from what I hitherto have done.

THAT, however, with regard to this recommendation of TUFNELL and JOHNSTON, he shall not tell us, that this is not the ultimate object of his bill; he shall not tell us, that he means to stop with "*correcting the abuses in the administration of the poor-laws*"; he shall not tell us that he does not mean to abrogate them altogether, as soon as he can; and he ought to have avowed the object, and then we should have known what we were about. How stands the matter? The noble Lord lays a manuscript upon our table; by a motion he obtains our consent to the printing of that paper; he puts that paper into the possession of us all, as containing information and recommendations, upon which he asks us to pass this bill. And we find in this paper, that *all poor-laws ought to be abolished*; that their utter abolition ought to be the *ultimate object* of any measure adopted upon the subject; but that, in England, there ought to be a *careful preparation* for that ultimate object. Now, are we not to conclude that this is the object of the noble Lord? Let him deny that this is his object; and then we will ask him why he laid that paper upon the table? But, in further proof, if any were wanted, we have the *recent promotion* of TUFNELL, who gives this recommendation. TUFNELL is, it appears, to be one of those commissioners who are now going to Ireland, to ascertain what can be taken from the church there! Aye, and if there be any friends of the church present now, let them take warning; for they may be assured that one fragment of her property will not be left to her, if this bill be passed into a law. Put the circumstances together of TUFNELL, who is to go and decide as to the property of the church, and who is "a *student* at law." He was found to be a fit man for such a purpose, having given this specimen of his regard for the rights of the poor. His doctrines, as laid down in the paper which I have read, made him a favourite. His Irish commissionership is a reward for his Scotch report. To tell us after this, that this is not the intention of these projectors, is to insult us in the grossest manner.

THAT here are a sufficiency of REASONS for my believing, that the ultimate object is, to grind down the English labourers to potatoes and sea-weed; that, however, there is still another reason, which will, I think, make the measure run over. A barrister was appointed to draw up this bill; and it was necessary to tell that barrister *what purposes the bill was intended to answer*. It was necessary to give him written INSTRUCTIONS with regard to those purposes. He had such instructions given him; and those instructions ought to have been laid before the House; because the bill itself did not discover any ultimate intention; but it is boundless as to the power which it gives to the commissioners, who are to be appointed by the Ministers, and *removeable at their pleasure*. The commissioners are to take away all power out of the hands of magistrates, overseers, and every body else all over the country, and to make rules and regulations for ordering and governing the poor. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that the House should know something about *the intentions of the Ministers*, as to what *sort of rules and regulations* will be adopted when they once got the bill passed. I had heard something about the contents of these *instructions* given to the barrister who drew up the

bill, and I wished the instructions to be laid upon the table of the House, but this Lord ALTHORP refused. When, therefore, I was stating my REASONS for believing that the project was to reduce the English to the state of the Irish labourers, I mentioned these instructions, and the refusal of Lord ALTHORP to produce them; and I added, "I have "not *seen* these instructions; but I have "seen a gentleman who has seen them; "and on that gentleman's word, I can "and will rely. Concerning those in-"structions I *assert, positively assert*, "two things; and on the back of them, "*I believe*, a third. FIRST, I assert, that "the instructions express, that it is "desirable to accustom the people of "England to a COARSER FOOD than "they now live upon: *second*, I assert, "that those instructions express an in-"tention of establishing about *two hundred workhouses* for the twelve or "fourteen thousand parishes; that is to "say, FOUR TO A COUNTY, on an "average. And, then, I declare my "*belief*, that there is a POLICE "FORCE to be stationed at every "workhouse. This is my belief only, "but it is my sincere belief, that it will "be attempted." The noble lord may laugh at the belief; but he must deny the assertions, or admit them to be true; but I am sure that he will not deny them, without, at any rate, producing a copy of the instructions upon the table. POTATOES AND SEA-WEED are not MENTIONED in the instructions; nor is BROSE; that is to say, oats coarsely ground, and not dressed fine enough for very little pigs; these are not *named* in the instructions; but "COARSER FOOD" is named; and as the noble lord has several times said that he wants to bring the discipline of the *north* to the *south*, the *brose bowl* is the very best that the Sussex labourer can expect, if the noble lord can have his will. And, then, when the plan is ripe for execution, send your prowling commissioners into the villages of Sussex, and tell them that you mean that they shall live upon "*coarser food*": let the philosophers, by whom I am surrounded here, go and tell them that to their faces! Let TUFNELL and JOHNSTON, who laud to the skies a parish minister in Scotland, who had saved the heritors in Scotland six shillings and three pence a week, by putting TWO old women and ONE *old man to live day and night together in one room, for which he paid sixpence a-week*; let the philosopher TUFNELL, who is now an Irish church commissioner, go into Sussex and tell two old women, that he means to put them into a hole with an old man, where they are to sleep and dress, and undress, *and so forth*; let him go and tell that to an old woman in Sussex; and if she have use of either arm or leg left, let him come back to the noble lord and give an account of his exploits. Let the feelosofers go and tell them at once, that they mean to elevate them to the "*high moral state*" of the Scotch, by giving poor old people "a *penny a day*," in the way of relief, or by sending them about to beg, with a beggar's license in their pocket and a beggar's badge upon their shoulder, as is done in thrice-happy Scotland, by the "generous" heritors, and by the "*Christian* ministers" of their several parishes. And if the stubborn-necked people remain unconvinced of the propriety and justice and mercy and Christian charity of this, let the commissioners refer them to the hon. Member for Middlesex, who, though not now in his place to answer me, will doubtless be ready to show, that the way to raise a "high moral character" in a people, and to make them "*independent*," is, to take away their *right* to demand relief, to give them a beggar's badge, to shut up two old women and an old man in a sixpenny room, to dress and undress themselves, and so forth, and to send them out as vagrants by hundreds into an adjoining country, and then to be taken back in caravans to be tossed down in their native country, there to starve.

THAT there now remains not a shadow of doubt, that the real object of this bill is, to put an end to the poor-rates, and to put the money into the pockets of the landlords; and, if there were the shadow of a doubt, it would

be removed at once, by looking at the monstrous provisions of this bill, which gives *six votes* to the landlord in the vestry, and enables him to vote *by proxy*. So, while he is voting for this hard treatment of the working people, without whose labour his estate would be worth nothing, he himself, like the Irish landlord; he himself is to keep out of sight, and out of reach; and throw all the odium upon his middleman, or his proctor! Ah! if there be any English landlord, who calculates thus, what an egregious simpleton must he be! It is easy enough for Scotch heritors and Irish domain-owners to be absentees. This abused south of England is a place of safe refuge for them; but whither is the English absentee to go, when become uneasy in his mansion?

THAT the object is clear from the provisions which so effectually take the poor-rates out of the hands of the farmers; that this is done, because the farmer knows, that by starving his labourers he would *only add to his rent*. Take off the farmer's poor-rates and his tithes too, and the landlord demands them both, in addition to the former rent. In Scotland the poor-rates are next to nothing, and there *are no tithes*. Yet, do we ever hear of English farmers *changing England for Scotland*! What strange fellows these English farmers must be! They are harassed, poor souls, with tithes and with poor-rates; and there is Scotland with neither; and yet not a mother's son of them will stir an inch. Plenty of them go to the United States, and a great many have been *fools* enough to go to Canada. And yet, there is Scotland, a better country than either, take it altogether, and not a soul of them will go across a river to get to that happy land; a river, which the Americans would call a "*creek*," or a "run of water." Why, then, they are the most perverse dogs that ever lived. Oh, no! It is not perverseness: it is common sense; that plain, unsophisticated, common sense, for which they have always been renowned. That tells them, that they cannot be, and that they ought not to be happy, unless those who till the land have a fair living out of its produce; they know that tithes have existed in all times as far as they have ever heard, without impoverishing the farmer; and they know, above all things, that that which they pay for the relief of the poor and for the maintenance of the church, they would have to pay to the landlord.

THAT, having now clearly shown the *real object* of the projectors of this bill, let me now say a word as to its CONSEQUENCES. I deny the *rightful* power of this House to pass this bill. I know the House has the power; but I say that it has not the *rightful* power. A maxim of our law is, that an act of Parliament, which is directly contrary to the law of God, is void of itself. There is the highest authority for this. NOYES, in his maxims and principles of English law, has this passage: "If a statute "were made, directly contrary to the "law of God, as, for instance, if it were "enacted, that no one should give alms "to any object in ever so necessitous a "condition, such an act would be void." I did not state this in the House. I had not then seen this passage; but, monstrous as it may seem, these wretched poor-law commissioners actually maintain, that all charity which consists of givings to the poor, *is an evil*; so that, if they be right, one of our first steps ought to be, to burn the Old and New Testament.

THAT, however, my denial of the *rightful power* of the House to pass this bill rests upon these grounds: first, that the right of the necessitous to be relieved by their wealthier neighbours is a prescriptive right, enjoyed at all times, and in all ages; that it is founded on the Divine law, and makes part of the very constitution of England. That BLACKSTONE, in his book on the "RIGHTS OF PERSONS," declares it to be the right of the necessitous to demand relief. These are his words: "The law not only regards *life* and *member*, and protects "every man in the enjoyment of them, "but also *furnishes him with every* "*thing necessary for their support*. "For there is no man so indigent or "wretched, but he may *demand* a supply "*sufficient for all the necessaries of life*

"from the more opulent part of the "community, by means of the several "statutes enacted for the relief of the "poor; a humane provision *dictated* by "the *principles of society*." HALE, the severest advocate for the sacredness of property that ever lived, in remarking on the doctrine of the foreign civilians, and particularly GROTIUS, who maintains the right of the poor person to take from the rich what he wants to satisfy his hunger, or cover his nakedness: HALE, in observing upon this, concludes by saying, "that this never can be justified in England, *because*," says he, "sufficient provision is made "for the supply of such necessities, by "*collections for the poor* and the *power* "*of the civil magistrate*." "Charity," says HALE, "is here reduced to a sys- "tem, and *interwoven with our very con-* "*stitution*. THEREFORE, our laws "ought by no means to be taxed with "being unmerciful for denying this pri- "vilege to the necessitous." Pass this bill and you destroy the constitution as far as relates to the necessitous. Obliterate the Act of ELIZABETH, as this bill in fact does, and the reasoning of HALE against the doctrine of GROTIUS falls to the ground: you dissolve the social compact, as far as relates to the working people. There must be two parties to an obligation: without protection on one side there can be no right to demand obedience on the other. Read the 28. chapter of DEUTERONOMY. You will there find, and in the next chapter, what is to be the fate of those who are the oppressors of the poor; amongst the number of whom I trust that this House will never stand.

At the close of this speech, I said that, which I do not think it proper to repeat here; but I am fully convinced, that all the consequences which I there described, will take place, in their most frightful form, and in the most extended degree, if, unhappily, this bill should finally become a law.

After a very neat, sensible, and impressive speech, from MR. LEACH, member for West Surrey, the debate closed, Lord ALTHORP having spoken before Mr. LEACH. The noble lord very solemnly professed, that his intentions were not to harden the lot of the working man; and he said, in the most serious manner, that, if he thought that the bill would have that effect, he would now abandon it. I cannot say, that I do not believe that he was sincere; because, his rank, his situation, all things considered, it seems to be impossible, that he should seriously have the intention of doing injury to those who perform the labours on the land; or, who perform labour of any sort in this kingdom; but, at the same time, I will not disguise from you, my friends of OLDHAM, that I believe him to have been worked upon by this band of projectors and false philosophers, until, as far as relates to this matter, he has been bereft of that sound understanding which is his great characteristic. His having a thousand times the sense of these Scotch quacks forms no objection to this conclusion. How often do we see men of the brightest talent, and of the best of qualities, misled by brazen and persevering fools! These quacks have but one object in view; and that is, to live upon public money. What care they for the lives which noblemen and gentlemen are to lead in the country. BURKE says, "Let a man tell you his "tale every day for a year (whatever "the tale may be); and at the end of "the year he is your master." Lord ALTHORP is much about in this state.

His answer was really no answer at all. To Mr. BENETT's statement; to some very striking statements of Sir H. WILLOUGHBY; to the speech of Mr. HODGES; to that of Mr. LEACH, he really gave no answer at all. He said nothing upon my assertions relative to the instructions to the barrister; he said nothing with regard to the recommendations of TUFNELL and JOHNSTON; he did not deny that TUFNELL was appointed to go and have a touch at the church in Ireland: he evidently felt himself abandoned by his immense majorities: he saw the House comparatively empty: he had a majority of about four hundred to about twenty upon the second reading of the bill, and he now saw

the whole House with less than half the number of that majority. When the House divided there were *a hundred and thirty-seven* for the bill, and *fifty-two* against it. I wish that I could give the names of the majority: those of the minority I here subjoin; and I shall always feel proud that I and my colleague made two of that minority. Mr HODGES was the fittest man, perhaps, in the whole House, to divide it upon this question: his excellent character; his moderation in politics; his known attachment to Lord ALTHORP; his long and most extensive experience in country affairs; his admirable conduct as a magistrate, made him the fittest man that could have been found for this undertaking. Mr. ROBINSON, the Member for WORCESTER, made an excellent speech upon this occasion; and he very pertinently noticed, that the partisans of this bill found it convenient to represent its opponents as hostile to any alteration of any sort, in the management of the poor: when every man of us says the contrary; but, because we do not wish to strip the gentlemen, the magistrates, and the clergy of that, which more than all the other things put together, connects the people with them and them with the people; because we do not wish to overturn the local governments, which are in fact, the real governments of England, we must, forsooth, like "*parish-jobbing*," as they call it, a thing never heard of in eleven thousand, nine hundred, out of the twelve thousand parishes of England and Wales BLACKSTONE and HALE both say, that the Act of ELIZABETH is interwoven with the very constitution of England; and because we oppose the nullifying of this Act, we are to be accused of being in favour of "*parish jobbing*." STURGES BOURNE'S Bill ought to be repealed: they were a violent attack upon this part of the constitution. They did more to destroy the peace of England than any thing that has been done for a hundred and fifty years. Repeal those two odious acts: do every thing that law can do to induce the farmers to take the young people again into the farm-houses; then you have done all that can be done, as to this matter, as long as the present load of taxes shall remain.

Thus, my friends, I have endeavoured to discharge my duty on this occasion. It was my duty to cause you clearly to understand the whole of this matter. My apprehensions as to the consequences if the bill should pass are such as I will not particularly describe, and such indeed as I could not describe without furnishing a handle for calumny to malignant persons. We will therefore wait for the event without expressing our wishes upon the subject. I can form no judgment with regard to what the Lords may do in this case. They labour under the great disadvantage of seldom or never conversing with men of experience in such matters. Those whom they listen to first find out the bent of their minds and then flatter that bent. I have no idea that any considerable portion of them (the *English* peers especially) wish to add to their incomes by pinching and oppressing the poor: they must know that it is not amongst the working people that the foes of either the peerage or the church are to be found. Amongst them they have no *rivals*: not a man amongst all the millions is there who can be said to be an enemy of their order. It is amongst the money-mongers, the upstarts of all sorts, the conceited, the theoretic crew who laugh at tradition and prescription and who are content with nothing that is six months old. If the Lords could hear the language of the *feelosofers* who are the real authors of this bill (the two bishops being nothing more than something to give a little respectability of appearance to the thing); if the Lords could hear *the talk* of these men when they are over the bottle, and could take a view of all the grand "*benefits to the human race*" which they have in store, they would begin to think that the sooner they stopped in following their advice the better. They would find that those who could thus sport with the rights of the poor are by no means nice with regard to the rights of the rich; but without driving their Lordships to the orgies of this philosophical

tribe, they may know that, of all the newspapers in London only *one* has uttered a word in defence of this bill, and they may also know that that one has boldly maintained the absolute necessity of SPEEDILY REFORMING THE HOUSE OF LORDS!

However, their Lordships must do as they like. Their choice is plainly before them; the act will be theirs, and theirs must be the consequences.

I am
Your faithful friend
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Of Fifty-two, Tellers included, who voted, July 1, against the Third Reading of the Poor-Law Amendment Bill.

Attwood, M.
Attwood, T.
Bainbridge, E.
Baines, E.
Baring, F.
Blackstone, T. W.
Brotherton, J.
Burrell, Sir C.
Cobbett, W.
Duffield, T.
Duncombe, Hon. W.
Egerton, W. T.
Faithfull, G.
Fielden, J.
Fitzsimon, C.
Fryer, R.
Guise, Sir W.
Gully, J.
Halcomb, J.
Hulse, J.
Hardy, J.
Hughes, W. H.
Humphries, J.
Kennedy, J.
Leech, J.
Lister, E. C.
Lowther, Col.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, J.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, M.
Parker, Sir H.
Potter, R.
Rider, F.
Robinson, E. R.
Ruthven, E.
Scholefield, J.
Somerset, Lord G.
Spiy, —
Stanley, E.
Thicknesse, R.
Towers, C.
Vigors, N. A.
Vivian, Sir R.
Walter, J.
Williams, Col.
Willoughby, Sir H.
Wilks, J.
Young, G. F.

Tellers.

Hodges, T. L. Bennett, J.

Paired-Off.

Tennyson, Right Hon. C.

I have inserted below, from the *Times* newspaper, first a letter of a country magistrate on the Poor-Law Bill, which ought to be read by every man in the kingdom. That is followed by a letter taken from the same paper on emigration, which is equally well worthy of attention. Next comes an editor's article from the *Times* on the Poor-Law Bill; next, the very important proceedings in the parish of MARYBONNE; and, lastly, an article in the *True Sun* in answer to what I said with respect to its writings upon the subject of this emigration scheme. Before these there is a letter from Mr. LITTLE on *Scotch* Poor-Laws, which Mr. HUME *ought to read;* and a letter from a gentleman who went to *Exeter Hall* and questioned the schemers upon the spot. I think I never have inserted in any one *Register* so much really useful matter as is contained in this.

SCOTCH POOR-LAWS.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

Annan, 30. *June*, 1834.

SIR,—In the "EXTRACT" from the "REPORT" of the "POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS" which appears in your Register of the 28. instant, these commissioners state, with perfect accuracy, that Scotland "*offers facilities*" for judging of the effects of poor-laws "which are not to be met with in any other part of the united kingdom"; because, as they justly observe, "*whole counties*" are there to be met with "where the poor-laws have *never been enforced*, and others in precisely the same natural circumstances where they have *existed for a century*." Thus far the commissioners are quite correct, and it would be vain for any man to attempt to contradict them, but when they proceed to report on the authority of what they call "EVIDENCE," that the "progress" of the principle of assessment in Scotland "is marked by an *evident relaxation of industry*, by *an increase of bastardy*, by *the forsaking of aged parents by their children*, and by *the gradual decay of the spirit of independence and foresight*"; when they proceed to report thus, it is clear that they have obtained their "EVIDENCE" only from those who were prepared to deceive, and very probably had an interest in deceiving them, and that they have in consequence been made the instruments of giving a sort of authenticity to a mass of (to say the

least of it) GROSSLY ERRONEOUS INFORMATION.

Of the *five* southern counties of Scotland with which I am best acquainted and which are of sufficient extent to form a pretty fair field for experiment, *two*, WIGTOWN and KIRCUDBRIGHT, are in the *first* positions mentioned by the commissioners, the poor-laws "having never been enforced" in them; *two*, again, BERWICK and ROXBURGH, are in the second position, the poor-laws having "there existed for (perhaps) a century," while the remaining *one*, DUMFRIES, is in a sort of *medium* state, the principle of assessment having been generally adopted in its *eastern* but *not* yet resorted to in its *western* parishes. Here then are two portions of Scotland which stand *directly opposed to each other* on the point in question, while in other respects there is no apparent difference in their "natural circumstances" But will the commissioners venture to say that there is a greater "relaxation of industry," a greater "increase of bastardy," more "forsaking of aged parents," and a greater "decay of the spirit of independence and foresight" in the counties of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh* than in the counties of *Wigtown* and *Kircudbright*? If they do, it is clear that, notwithstanding their pretended inquiry, they YET KNOW NOTHING OF THE MATTER. I assert, as I did in my last letter to you, that the fact is DIRECTLY THE REVERSE: I assert, without wishing to disparage any portion of my countrymen, that the labouring classes in Berwick and Roxburgh, though heavily pressed by the weight of general taxation, are not only in a *better* condition, physically considered, than the same classes in the counties of Wigtown and Kircudbright, but *more* industrious, *more* moral, *more* dutiful to parents, and *more* remarkable both for the "spirit of independence" and for "foresight." If any man dare to contradict me I CHALLENGE HIM TO THE PROOF, I call upon him, instead of appealing to individuals already committed by their previously published "opinions," to examine into the matter as I have done, with his own ears and eyes; I call upon him to visit first the cottages of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, and then the almost Irish cabins of Wigtownshire and Kircudbright; I call upon him to compare the condition of the inmates of these cottages and cabins in their food, their clothing, their household goods where the latter have any, as well as in their morals and general conduct, not forgetting to note down in which district most prevails the love of "ARDENT SPIRITS"; I call upon my opponent, should there be one, to perform this task, and if after doing so he shall still be of opinion that the commissioners have reported *well* and *truly*, then all that I can do is to pronounce him incorrigible.

But the commissioners, by way of supporting their doctrine, have hinted at a few of their *authorities*, and though their hints are very scanty indeed, I thank them for their condescension in this respect. They first allude to the REV. DR. CHALMERS and to his SCHEME for causing the "*aged, lame, and impotent*," of his populous parish in Glasgow, to be maintained by the *charity* of their *poor* neighbours rather than by an *assessment on the property* of their *rich* ones, taking care, however, not to let slip the secret that the reverend doctor, though almost sworn to live and die with his docile flock and to make them *happy* by keeping aloof *the odious English poor-laws*, ran away from them in a hurry for a little piddling professorship at St. Andrews, *just at the moment when his* SCHEME *ought to have* TAKEN EFFECT! They next refer to the REV. MR. MAC LELLAN OF KELTON, of whom it is enough to say that his parish, which is in Kircudbrightshire, lies in the midst of a district by far the most prolific in BEGGARS of any in Scotland! And their last authority to which I shall allude (for I know nothing of the proceedings of the REV. MR. MONTEITH OF DALKEITH and of LORD NAPIER), is the REV. DR. DUNCAN of RUTHWELL, of SAVINGS BANK notoriety; of whom I have simply to say, *first*, that he is my near neighbour, and consequently well known to me; and *secondly*, that he is the *very man* who gave the certificate for BEG-

GING in favour of his "*orphan*" parishioners "*subject to convulsion fits,*" which was quoted in my last letter, and who, after giving that certificate, *did all the other strange things relative to the object of it, of which that letter gave a description!*

In their zeal to make good their favourite position, that "*all* poor-laws are in their essence *impolitic* and *uncalled-for,*" the commissioners founding, I presume, on the authority of Dr. Duncan, represent Ruthwell as a parish in which, owing to the absence of an assessment, the people have never been "*degraded*" by a departure from the "*ancient Scotch economy,*" while of Caerlaverock, a neighbouring parish, where the poor have *certain* support from the interest of a mortified sum of money, they say, that "*all the evils* of a poor-rate have been *created by the* FATAL *gift of Dr. Hutton*"! From this, taken in conjunction with the general scope and tenor of the report, a stranger would naturally suppose that *Ruthwell* is exempt from *idleness* and *immorality,* while *Caerlaverock* abounds in those vices, and that while *want* and *misery* prevail in Caerlaverock, there is nothing but *plenty* and *happiness* in Ruthwell! Than such supposition however nothing could possibly be more erroneous. Both parishes are well known to me, so that I can speak with perfect confidence regarding them, and I assert, still challenging the contradictor if there be one, *to the proof,* and desiring him to come and take a look at what is called Ruthwell Village, that, while *Ruthwell* is positively one of the poorest and most miserable, *Caerlaverock* is on the other hand one of the most comfortable parishes in the western part of Dumfries-shire, the condition of *all* the industrious classes, not omitting the *farmers,* being decidedly superior in the latter to what it is in the former! So much for the inference drawn from what the commissioners have been taught to style "the *fatal* gift of Dr. Hutton!"

Not having time at present for further comment, I conclude by remarking, that if the report on the poor-laws of England be similar in point of veracity to the report on the poor-laws of Scotland, then Parliament is at present legislating upon a mass of misrepresentation.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. LITTLE.

P. S. Pray who is the Mr. "P. F. Johnston" that signs the "extract" as to the poor-laws of Scotland? We know nothing of him here. I never heard of him before.

EMIGRATION DELUSION.

Sir,—On reading your *Register* of this week, it gave me great pleasure to find that you were first and foremost in directing the attention of my fellow-workmen to the evil of this new emigration project of the political economists. Happening to get hold of one of their prospectuses, I was induced to attend a meeting at Exeter Hall. I found rather a large number of persons assembled, considering that it was held at a time when labouring men, persons best fitted for a colony, were at their several employments. I soon found, however, from the manner in which the claptraps, "redundant population," "profitable investment of capital," &c., were received, that there were but few working men present. That the company were composed for the most part of those sympathizing gentry who seek to remove the *effects* of evils, rather than inquire into the *cause* of them; and of those whose prolific brains are ever conceiving new fields of adventures for others to cultivate, for *their* profit and advantage. Sir, they managed their business in a novel, and I think a very cunning manner. The chairman would not suffer any observations or objections to be made, until what he called the whole of their plan was before the meeting, until all the persons elected for moving and seconding the resolutions had exhausted the patience of the meeting, when the resolutions were put and carried altogether. Previous however to this being done, I managed, with some difficulty, to put the following questions to the chairman, and as they have not yet appeared in any of the stamped papers, in the form I put them,

perhaps, sir, you will have the goodness to insert them in your *Register*. Mr. D. Wakefield, who I believe is a counsellor, professed to answer them (after he had put them in the form he pleased), whether he did so or not, those who have read his reply in the reports of the meeting, will, if you insert them, be enabled to judge.

I had no opportunity of replying to him, if I had, I think I could have shown the meeting that which he called answers were anything but satisfactory ones to the questions I proposed. Wishing you may live to enlighten and convince my fellow-labourers of the true cause of the evils that curse them, and that you may see and enjoy the fruits of your exertions, a happy and cheerful population spread over the cultivated gardens of England, is the ardent wish of

W. LOVETT.

15, *Greville street, Hatton Garden, July* 5. 1834.

To Mr. Cobbett, M.P.

QUESTIONS TO THE CHAIRMAN.

1. This plan is stated to be a "profitable investment of capital." Now I want to know whether this capital is to be *lent* to the emigrants at a *fixed and known interest*, or whether the capitalists are to possess the power (having once got the emigrants into a strange and distant country) of combining amongst themselves to give the *least possible wages to the labourer*, and thus reap the principal share of the produce of labour, for the use of their capital.
2. I further wish to know, what chance the poor emigrant who may accumulate a few pounds by his industry, will hereafter have, of purchasing a few acres of land, when agreeable to your prospectus, the capitalists of the colony and of Great Britain, have the power of buying up and monopolizing, whatever quantity they please, of the most productive [illegible]itably situated lands.
3. You further say in your prospectus, that they are "to be governed by laws enacted expressly for this colony." Now I want to know what power the emigrants will possess in the making, or hereafter in the alteration of those laws, whether the labourer who is to enrich the colony by his labour, is to have his equal share of political power; or is it to be confined *to capitalists and men of property*, as in this country.
4. I further wish to be informed whether the capitalists who are or may be engaged in this project, will have the power of sending their sons and dependents to eat up the produce of the colonists, in the shape of governors, commissioners, legislators, bishops, parsons, teachers, excisemen, and collectors.
5. Further, if this be a plan in reality to benefit the working classes, and not a mere money-getting speculation; would not the same means and talents invested in a system of home colonization be productive of greater advantages, more especially as there are fifteen millions of acres of waste land in this country which could be profitably cultivated. For as it is an axiom of the political economists that land, labour, and capital, are the elements of wealth; it seems paradoxical to take labour and capital away *from so much land*, which *they themselves* admit capable of cultivation.

NEW POOR-LAW BILL IN THE LORDS.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—The country, and more particularly that part of the country who have nothing to offer but their thanks, are bound to thank you most sincerely for your efforts in resisting and exposing the bill, which has now in its course reached the House of Lords, for revolutionizing the old poor-law system of the country. Permit me, sir, to join

you in so praiseworthy a task, and to offer through your columns some reflections which have occurred to me, who have for some time been conversant with the labouring part of the community, on the effects likely to be produced on their condition by the menaced measure.

But in the first place, will the bill pass? I fear it will, if great exertions are not made to defeat it, as I know great exertions are made to carry it through; and that not on the part of disinterested theorists, not on the part of political economists only, but by the most industrious and zealous of all partisans, by men personally interested in the result, by the expectants of place under its provisions, by the objects of the patronage which it audaciously creates and confers on the Ministry: for, sir, singular as the fact may be, I have no doubt that the late meeting at the large room in the Strand, for the colonization of Australia, is intimately connected with the anticipated success and the general working of the new Poor-Law Bill. The Poor-Law Bill will render the labouring population indifferent to their homes; and the colonization-men will be then ready to catch them and toss them on a far distant coast.

Sir, do not you yourself suppose, and still more, do not suffer the public to suppose, that this is mere surmise: the connexion in principle, and even in letter, may be traced and laid open in a manner so luminous as to banish doubt, for in a production of perhaps the most able, certainly the most theoretic of the poor-law commissioners, Mr. Senior, published some two years ago, is the following passage: "Emigration is not "only the sole immediate remedy, but "is a remedy preparatory to the adop-"tion, and necessary to the safety of "every other"; and further, in a report on the poor-laws, dated June 30, 1819, by a committee, of which Mr. Sturges Bourne was chairman, (as he is also one of the members of the poor-law commission), is to be found the following passage:

"Your committee would anxiously "direct the future attention of the "House to such measures as may be "calculated ultimately to relieve pa-"rishes from the impracticable obliga-"tion of finding employment for all "who may at any time require it at "their hands, and to confine the relief "derived from compulsory assessments "to 'the lame, impotent, old, blind, "'and such other among them being "'poor, and not able to work.'" The committee also recommend, "that all "obstacles to seeking employment, "wherever it can be found, even out "of the realm, should be removed; and "every facility that is reasonable af-"forded to those who may wish to "resort to some of our own colonies."

It is clear, therefore, sir, emigration —I must say, for I shall immediately prove it, compulsory emigration—is the soul and object of the new or revolutionary Poor-Law Bill; and that in addition to the patronage at home which it originates, as commissioners, sub-commissioners, perhaps also travelling architects and surveyors, for the construction of the new workhouses, we shall have to provide for governors abroad (with their secretaries and other underlings) of the colonized regions. I have already heard the name of a future governor of Australia mentioned, a writer on political economy, and of course a warm advocate of the present plan: he is also a member of Parliament. But I maintain, sir, that the emigration contemplated, and in reality enforced, by the bill, is, and is meant to be, compulsory. For what does the bill say? That able-bodied men for whom work cannot be found in their several parishes, and who cannot in consequence maintain themselves and their families, are not to be relieved but with the consent of the commissioners, except in the new district workhouses. View such men, therefore, immured in these workhouses. The human mind would despair, the human frame would sink, under such confinement, in healthy subjects, if there were no hope of liberation. But there is a hope of liberation; the prisoners need not stop a day longer than they please; Australia offers

them its hospitable shores and boundless plains; they will be conveyed thither free of expense. Is it not clearly therefore the object of the bill,—is it not the avowed opinion of all those on whose recommendation the bill has been framed,—that the British labourers, of whom these political economists say there is a redundance, should be forced to seek an escape from prison by for ever quitting their native land? Now we see what is meant by Mr. Senior's expression above quoted—"that emi-"gration is not only the sole remedy, "but it is a remedy preparatory to the "adoption, and necessary to the safety "of every other." Extreme pressure is to be created on the poor, and emigration is the safety-valve.

I have spoken above of my apprehensions that the bill may pass; but the Chancellor, I think, has applied an argument that may cut both ways. He has indicated the necessity of passing the bill, in order absolutely to preserve the Peers "in possession of their estates." But is there no fear of what an inflamed population may do—the destruction of property? He has said that it "would conduce little to delibe-"ration, little to enlightenment, to open "their ears to all the representations "which might reach them from parish "jobbers and country agitators." What have "parish jobbers or agitators" to gain, I ask, by any representations they may make to the Peers during the recess of Parliament? Nothing whatever. But can the same question be asked and answered in the same manner with respect to those gentlemen upon whose recommendation the bill has been brought in? They have something to gain, and one place creates many expectants. The motives for which they press its execution are obviously personal and selfish. Is it not also degrading to the Peers to have it recommended to them as a motive for passing a bill, that whatever may be its effect upon the country, they thereby serve their own interests best?

Still, sir, I am not without hopes of the Peers with respect to this most ominous bill. Delay in such a case is gain; and I find the Peers bound by a report of one of their own committees, in which they acquiesced, not to pass a bill of this magnitude at so late a period of the session, and when Parliament cannot be sitting to watch its progress and operation in the country.

The following extract from a report of the Lords' Committee on the poor-laws in 1817 will explain what I mean:

"The advanced period of the session "will of course preclude the possibility "of any immediate alteration in the "present laws; but, so far from "considering this circumstance as a "matter of regret, the committee are "of opinion that more advantage will "ultimately arise from affording time "for deliberation upon the different "suggestions which have been made, than from hastily adopting alterations, which, however useful they may at present appear, might possibly hereafter in the detail be found inconsis-"tent with a more general plan of im-"provement in the system itself."

Now, sir, I do not know at this moment, nor is it worth the while to inquire what was the nature of the change in the poor-laws which was then under the consideration of their lordships: suffice it to say, that it could not be of a twentieth part of the magnitude and importance of that which is now proposed; and I must maintain, therefore, that they are bound by the tenour of the preceding extract to suspend the measure now first introduced to them in the month of July, 1834, when they found themselves restrained from entertaining a measure of much less consequence on the same subject at so late a period of the session as the month of July, 1817. Nor is this all: for I find their lordships bound also, by a report of the same committee, to reject totally and finally any measure of so portentous a nature as that which is now offered to their acceptance. I humbly entreat the attention of their lordships to the following extract from the report of the same committee:

"From lapse of time and a departure "from the true spirit of the act of 43

"Elizabeth, arising frequently from the "humane exercise of its supposed "powers, abuses have undoubtedly "been introduced into the general ad- "ministration of the poor-laws of Eng- "land; but the committee are never- "theless decidedly of opinion, that the "general system of those laws, inter- "woven as it is with the habits of the "people, ought, in the consideration of "any measures to be adopted for their "melioration and improvement, TO BE "ESSENTIALLY MAINTAINED."

This, sir, I say, is a direct condemnation of the measure now before the Lords; and I must hope, therefore, that while there is consistency in that assembly, such a measure can neither finally be carried even in the next session of Parliament; and that it cannot be entertained, even for a moment longer, at the close of the present. And this argument will appear the stronger when their lordships are aware, as I hope they will be aware, that in the midst of the crowded state of business in the Commons, the endless divisions of that body into committees, and of course the partial attendance of the members as a whole, fatigued, distracted, transferred from sitting to sitting, from subject to subject, the measure has really never obtained half the steady consideration which it ought to have done in the Lower House.

I am, sir, &c.,
A Country Magistrate.

June 3.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir.—At present the scheme for founding a new colony, and for creating a class of persons whom none but our friends and fellow-countrymen the "West Britons" can be privileged to call into existence, I mean non-resident emigrants, is so imperfectly developed, that it is not very easy to understand the motives of its projectors. One matter, however, there is, which is so intimately connected with the scheme, and which by its connexion therewith may be productive of consequences so mischievous, and ruinous, and fatal, that I trust you will feel it your duty to put the public and the legislature on their guard by calling their attention specifically to it without delay.

I always believed that the Poor-Law Amendment Bill was itself a great job, and I have never ceased to suspect that, as Falstaff was at once witty himself and the cause of wit in others, so the Poor-Law Bill would be not only itself a job, but the means of a thousand other minor jobs, by which the concoctors and the supporters of the measure would thrive and flourish.

Among these subordinate pieces of trickery I never doubted that the emigration clauses were to be numbered, though I confess that their precise tendency was not until now made visible to me even "as in a glass darkly." The emigration clauses ran thus:

"And be it further enacted, that it "shall and may be lawful for the rate- "payers in any parish, and such of the "owners of property therein as shall in "manner hereinbefore mentioned, have "required their names to be entered "in the rate-books of such parishes "respectively entitled to vote as "owners, assembled at a meeting to be "duly convened and held for the pur- "pose, after public notice of the time "and place of holding such meeting, "and the purpose for which the same is "intended to be held, shall have been "given in like manner as notices of "vestry meetings are published and "given, to direct that such sum or "sums of money as the said owners "and rate-payers so assembled at such "meeting may think proper, shall be "raised or borrowed as a fund, or in aid "of any fund or contribution for defray- "ing the expenses of the emigration of "poor persons having settlements in "such parish and willing to emigrate, "to be paid out of or charged upon the "rates raised or to be raised for the relief "of the poor in such parish, and to be "applied under and according to such "rules, orders, and regulations of the "said commissioners shall, in that be- "half, direct; provided always, that "no such direction for raising money "for such purpose as aforesaid shall

"have any force or effect unless and "until confirmed by the said commis- "sioners, and that the time to be limited "for the repayment of any sum so "charged on such rates as aforesaid "shall in no case exceed the period of "five years from the time of borrowing "the same; provided also, that all "sums of money so raised, as last here- "inbefore mentioned, and advanced by "way of loan, for the purposes of emi- "gration, or such proportion thereof as "the said commissioners shall, by any "rule, order, or regulation, from time "to time direct, shall be recoverable "against any such person, being above "the age of 21 years, who or whose fa- "mily, or any part thereof, having con- "sented to emigrate, shall refuse to "emigrate after such expenses shall "have been so incurred, in such and "the like manner as is hereinbefore pro- "vided with respect to relief, or the "cost price of relief, given, or consider- "ed to be given, by way of loan to any "able-bodied person, his wife, or fa- "mily.

"And be it further enacted, That "where it shall be lawful, under the pro- "visions of any of the herein recited acts, "or of any local act, or of this act, to "raise or borrow any sum or sums of "money for the purpose of purchasing, "building, altering, or enlarging any "workhouse or workhouses in any pa- "rish or union, or for purchasing land "whereon to build the same, or for de- "fraying the expenses of the emigra- "tion of poor persons having settle- "ments in any parish, and being will- "ing to emigrate, it shall be lawful for "the overseers or guardians of such "parish or union, with the consent of "the said commissioners, to be testified "under their hands and seal, to make "application for an advance of any sum "necessary for any such purposes to the "commissioners appointed under an "act made and passed in the 57. year "of the reign of his late Majesty King "George the Third, entitled 'An Act to "'authorize the issue of Exchequer- "'bills, and the Advance of Money out of "'the Consolidated Fund, to a limited "'amount, for the carrying on of pub- "'lic works and fisheries in the United "'Kingdom, and employment of the "'poor in Great Britain in manner "'therein-mentioned'; and the said "Exchequer-bill Loan Commissioners "are hereby empowered to make such "advances, upon any such application "as aforesaid, upon the security of the "rates for the relief of the poor in such "parish or union, and without requiring "any further or other security than a "charge on such rates."

No man even moderately acquainted with the condition of the country could for a moment hesitate to pronounce these most imprudent and most mischievous clauses. For years past the Parliament and the public have been stunned with bitter complaints that there should be added to the burdens of national taxation so heavy an additional burden, in the shape of local taxation, as 10,000,000*l*. a year. There are at present sitting committees of the House of Commons whose duty it is to consider how the weight of this local grievance can be alleviated. But what does this clause propose? Why, simply that to national taxation, and local taxation, and national debt, there shall be added parochial debt also. Each parish is not only to lend its shoulder to the support of the general burden of the state, but it is to have hung on to it its own indvidual bundle besides. It would be difficult to make such a nation as this break down; but if that work of destruction be ever achieved, it will be by adding new permanent weights to the several pillars that support the entire fabric.

In this point of view, then, any man who was not blinded by self-interest, or lured away from the plain beaten track by the 'will-o'-the-wisps' of the poor-law commissioners into the filthy slough of political economy, must have rejected the clause.

But besides their own natural gift of common sense, our legislators had plain, palpable, and glaring beacons to warn them against these new and false lights; and I beg to remind the public, through your columns, what these beacons are.

There have been several committees

of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into emigration, and the evidence taken before those committees has established beyond all doubt, these two points:

1. That our parishes are too heavily burdened to contribute towards the expenses of emigration.

2. That every *vacuum* created in England and Scotland by means of emigration must shortly be filled up by labourers from Ireland.

The second report of the emigration committee, which is dated the 5. of April, 1827, contains the following passage:

"Your committee by no means express their opinion that upon future "occasions, and when the subject shall "be better understood, funds may not "be raised from parish-rates for the "purpose of relieving themselves from "the burden of their redundant population; on the contrary, they have had "frequent applications to this specific "effect." "But," adds the committee, "*we deem it necessary in candour to* "*state*, that so far as our inquiries have "gone the funds of the districts to "which our present report alludes *are* "*so far exhausted*, that no such assistance on their part can be fairly calculated upon."

What the committee intended by saying "when the subject shall be better understood," it will not be easy to discover, unless the expression have reference to the concluding passage of the same report, I mean the passage that regards the influx of Irish labourers into England and Scotland, and to which I have just adverted. It runs thus:

"Your committee cannot, however, "conclude this report without expressing their deep conviction, that what"ever may be the immediate and urgent "demands from other quarters it is "vain to hope for any permanent and "extensive advantage from any system "of emigration which does not prima"rily apply to Ireland, whose popula"tion, unless some other outlet be "opened to them, must shortly fill up "every vacuum created in England or "in Scotland, and reduce the labouring "classes to a uniform state of degrada"tion and misery. And your committee "therefore pledge themselves to devote "their most anxious attention to the "state of that country, and the practi"cability of applying emigration as a "means of relieving it from its present "overwhelming population."

This passage is repeated by the committee at the conclusion of their third report. The committee say, that "finally they beg in the strongest man"ner to confirm the opinion expressed "in their second report at the earlier "part of the present session, which "states their deep conviction that what"ever may be the immediate and ur"gent demands from other quarters, it "is vain to hope for any permanent and "extensive advantage from any system "of emigration which does not *prima*"*rily apply to Ireland*, whose popula"tion, unless some other outlet be "opened to them, must shortly fill up "every vacuum created in England or "in Scotland, and reduce the labouring "classes to an uniform state of degra"dation and misery."

Now as Ireland is, at present at least, in an equally distressed condition as it was in 1827 (the date of this report), as no means have been taken to provide better for its population at home, or to withdraw any large portion of it by means of emigration or otherwise abroad, it must be quite clear that now, as in 1827, the vacuum created by emigration from England or Scotland would be shortly filled up by labourers from Ireland, and therefore that the money spent on English or Scotch emigration would be thrown away.

Upon the showing, therefore, of these emigration committees, the House of Commons is premature in applying the emigration scheme to England.

But they are worse than premature. They know that our own parishes are more heavily burdened now than they were in 1827; and yet the emigration committees tell us that the funds of parishes were then so much exhausted, as to be incapable of furnishing assistance to any plan of emigration. The House

of Commons, therefore, introduce the emigration experiment, not only too soon, but even with less prospect of advantage than existed at the period when these emigration committees refused to recommend that it should be tried.

Even this is not the extent of the folly and the mischief of the emigration clause; for, while the experiement is premature, rash, and dangerous, the clause not only admits its trial, but actually invites that trial. The clause, you will see, is not permissive only, it is persuasive. The emigration committees declare that though parish funds were exhausted, parishes would willingly have had recourse to emigration This they could have done by borrowing, and only by borrowing; and loan-making under such circumstances the committees would not sanction, because they were at once honest and prudent men. They knew the money would not be repaid, and they knew, moreover, that it would be thrown away, because the Irish labourers would fill up the vacuum created by English and Scotch emigration. The emigration clause facilitates and tempts parishes to borrow by furnishing them a lender, and asking for no valid and satisfactory security.

Here for the present I pause; but, *liberare animam*, I must be allowed to express my suspicion that it is intended that this Joint-Stock Emigration Company and the emigration clause in the Poor-laws' Amendment should work together, and I therefore say to the public generally, "Take care of your pockets." Let it be recollected that though Mr. S Rice, the present secretary for the colonies, has sanctioned the scheme, yet that a man much more shrewd at least, the late secretary for the colonies, Mr. Stanley, declared it to be his opinion that "it was impossible "for any sane mind to entertain it with- "out some private object of lucre or "gain."

I ought to add, that I do not think the scheme one jot the less innocent because Mr. Gouger appears as secretary. Is it true, as reported, that Colonel Torrens is to be the governor of the new colony? X. Y. Z.

We have received and publish to-day a letter respecting the new colony project, signed "X. Y. Z." which places that speculation in a new point of view. We may, on another occasion, enter into the matters discussed by our correspondent in his letter; but for the present we content ourselves with directing attention to the letter itself, as containing suggestions well worthy to be weighed, both as regards this colonizing crotchet and the Poor-Law Bill; for between these two absurdities our correspondent appears to us to have established something very like a close and intimate connexion.

We publish also another letter, bearing the signature of "A Country Magistrate," which is equally deserving of the consideration of our readers, and which also touches upon the joint-stock juggle for getting British paupers scalped by bushmen in Southern Australia To one part of this letter of the "Country Magistrate" we are most desirous of calling attention, and it is that which refers to the Lord Chancellor's speech in favour of the Poor-Law Amendment Bill.

His lordship was pleased to tell the Peers, that in determining whether they would or would not pass the Poor-Law Amendment Bill, the question was, whether they would or would not take the measures necessary for preserving their estates. Even if Lord Brougham could make good that which, being notoriously at variance with fact and common sense, we defy him to make good —namely, that this bill will lessen the gross amount of money levied upon the community for poor-rates—still, no one will pretend that it can, by possibility, diminish that tax so far as to enable any lord to give his lady another jewel, or his stud another quadruped. Does Lord Brougham then think that, supposing this style of supporting the bill to be in good taste or in good judgment, the Lords are such people, that they will starve the poor for the purpose of saving themselves a few pence in the course of the year, and for the further purpose of supporting in competence twelve hangers-on of the Mi-

nisters who are to rejoice in the titles of Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners with salaries varying from 1,000*l.* a year to an amount very little, if at all, less? Lord Brougham may depend upon it that the question is simply whether the Lords will support a large establishment at a certain expense, for the sake of the remote probability of diminishing the poor-rates by frightening the poor from applying for relief; and if it be true that the question of preserving or of losing their estates does arise in this matter of the Poor-Law Bill, it can arise only from a consideration of the fearful dangers to the life and property of all men which the passing of such a measure must necessarily create

But, good heaven! what an appeal is this with which the Lord Chancellor by way of prologue ushers in what ought to be a calm deliberate discussion of a transcendently important subject! Can men, however high in station, take a cool dispassionate view of a subject, when at the very opening their fears are awakened for the loss of their estates? Is not this putting them under a sort of duresse? Can men reason in a panic? We have been unjustly accused of using vehement language, and inflaming the minds of the poor against the rich. Is it more excusable to set the rich against the poor, and, in a case, too, where the rich are to be the judges of the cause of the poor men brought before them? Alas! that we should live to see such an argument proceeding from the lips of one whom the people have been taught to look upon, whom we have a thousand times taught them to look upon, as the friend of the poor.

But Lord Brougham also cautions the Peers against "parish jobbers and country agitators" Whatever Lord Brougham may condescend to think good sport for him, we have no hesitation in declaring that, for us, "parish jobbers" are in these times game much too small for our shot. We know of a preserve upon which we have a right to sport, and which abounds in much larger game, we mean Ministerial and Government jobbers; and to speak the truth, it occupies so much of our time to frighten them off the corn, that we have no leisure to look after the sparrows who peck at cherries in parishes. Let Lord Brougham only confine his inspection to the immediate sphere of the Government; and if he desires to put down jobbers, he will find quite enough to do there from his own personal observation, without declaiming, upon the authority of others about parochial peculators, of whom he can know nothing, and who at their highest, are not, his lordship may be assured, big enough to be made stalking-horses, that will cover the approaches of poor-law poachers who have persuaded the House of Commons that, instead of being what they really are, mere poachers for their own personal benefit, their character is that of game preservers for the country gentlemen. If this poor law job succeed, we think the Prince Hohenloe, or the fire king, or any other juggler, who failed, will have reason to consider himself an ill-used person, for the legerdemain of neither of these persons was so palpable as this is.

As to "country agitators," we say nothing. If the bill should pass, we are quite sure that Daniel O'Connell must hide his diminished head before our Ministers, who will have become agitators of the first water, as the state of the country before Christmas next will unhappily prove, without any reasoning of ours. In this sense, and in this sense only, we tell the Peers that the question is, "whether or not they "will take the measure necessary for "preserving their estates"; but we would not have said this, or aught else which our bitterest enemy could have construed into an attempt at dictation or intimidation (and we really mean it not to be either), if the example had not been set us in so high a quarter, and forced us to put forward the real unvarnished state of the case.

Let the Lords only take time to consider the bill, and we have no doubt a to the result of their deliberations.

THE POOR-LAWS BILL.

(*From the Times, 7. July, 1834.*)

On Saturday a meeting of the vestry of the parish of St. Marybonne took place at the Court-house, for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee appointed to examine the Poor-Laws Bill, now waiting for a second reading in the House of Lords, and to consider how far it would be advisable to forward a petition to that branch of the legislature, praying their lordships not to pass the bill. The meeting was fully attended, and amongst those present were, Lord Kenyon, the Rev. Dr. Spry, rector of the parish, Sir Samuel Whalley, John Smith, Esq., M.P., Captain Brenton, &c.

Captain WARDELL was in the chair, and after some local matters were disposed of, the report of the committee on the Poor-Laws Bill was brought up and read. It stated that the committee had proceeded to examine the bill, but, as a former committee had already reported on the principal provisions it contained, and more particularly with reference to the law of settlement, and the bastardy clauses, they did not think it necessary to repeat the objections which were then stated, but they begged to draw the particular attention of the vestry to the proposed appointment of a central board of commissioners, to which they strongly objected as arbitrary and unconstitutional.

On the motion of Mr. Wilson, the report was ordered to be received and adopted.

Mr. WILSON then rose to move that a petition be forthwith prepared and forwarded to the House of Lords against the bill. (Applause). He observed that his objections to the bill, so far from being decreased by the amendments it had undergone in the House of Commons, were stronger than before, for he could not but consider that the measure in its amended shape was open to still greater objections than when it was originally brought forward. The bill had now passed the House of Commons, and as an early day had been appointed for the second reading in the House of Lords, he conceived that no time ought to be lost, but that the vestry were bound to forward a petition to their lordships, stating their objections to that most atrocious bill. He regretted that there was no time to get up a public meeting, for he felt convinced that if there had, the whole parish of Marybonne would come forward as one man to condemn the measure. He was happy to find, however, that the bill would be opposed in the House of Lords, and he hoped that the opposition would take place on the second reading, and that their lordships would not allow the bill to go into committee. He considered that the whole principle of the measure was centred in the appointment of the board of commissioners, and he therefore trusted that the opposition of the House of Lords would be directed against that particular point. The commissioners were appointed by the preamble of the bill, and, in fact, the whole measure turned upon that appointment. If, therefore, the commissioners were taken away, the measure would be nugatory, and the bill must fall to the ground. He did not deny that some slight improvements had been made in the bill, but the worst features of the measure still remained, and he for one would never consent to the monstrous proposition that a board of three commissioners should ride rough shod over the 15,000 parishes of England and Wales. (Hear, hear). He was surprised to think that such a bill could have been passed by a reformed House of Commons, and that the principal opposition which it met with there was from the Tory members, who were generally supposed to desire that the prerogative of the crown should be extended, however they might interfere with the interests of the people. In speaking of the petitions which had been forwarded against the bill by local boards, Lord Althorp had rather disingenuously stated that these petitions contained only 9,000 signatures, and from this circumstance the noble lord wished to draw the inference that the people generally were in favour of his bill: but it should be recollected that the persons who forwarded those petitions were the repre-

sentatives of large bodies of persons, whose feelings and opinions were conveyed through them. The Lord Chancellor, too, on referring to these petitions in the House of Lords, had preferred a most unfair charge, for he said it was true there were petitions against the bill, but they had emanated from parish jobbers and persons interested in continuing the old system of corruption and abuse. Now, he would ask was that the way in which the petitions of the people ought to be treated by the first subject in the realm? (Hear, hear). He would only say that if he were one of the persons so represented by the noble and learned lord, he would throw back the charge with the disdain which it merited. That noble and learned functionary had also told their lordships, that in viewing the bill they ought to look to their own interests, for of this he was satisfied, that if they rejected the measure, their estates would no longer be secure under the present system. Now, so far from that, he (Mr. Wilson), on the contrary, believed that their lordships' estates would be in far greater danger if the bill now before them should be passed into a law; for he anticipated nothing from it but heartburning, violence, and bloodshed. He then refered to the evidence taken before the poor-law commissioners, on which the bill was founded, and contended that the statements made by the majority of the witnesses had been subsequently proved to be false. He particularly alluded to the evidence of Mr. Richmond, of the parish of St Luke, which had been flatly contradicted by the authorities of that place; and after mentioning other instances, he observed, that such was the evidence and such the proof on which the House of Commons had acted, and, on which the Lord Chancellor and the hon. member for Middlesex had founded charges of self-interest and corruption against the parochial authorities who had felt it their duty to oppose the bill. He believed that the measure, if it should unfortunately pass, would never be brought into operation in the parish of Marybonne, but he felt bound, notwithstanding, to give it all the opposition in his power. After alluding to the extraordinary powers given to the commissioners, he contended that the parochial authorities would be but mere tools in the hands of those persons. Certain clauses in the bill directed that the votes of parishioners should be taken from house to house by persons acting under the commissioners, and appointed for that purpose. Now, he would ask why was such a provision introduced, if not for the purpose of packing parish boards to procure majorities in favour of such measures as the commissioners should think fit to adopt? (Hear, hear). Then came the system of voting by proxy, which gave the power to persons residing abroad of delegating others to vote for them. He contended that if this principle were allowed, parish boards would be completely swamped by proxy votes, and there would at once be an end to the free exercise of opinion. The political economists having failed in extending their favourite principle of emigration, were now desirous of forwarding their schemes by means of the Poor-Laws Bill, and their great anxiety was to apply a portion of the poor-rates to effect their object. Witness the late meeting of the South Australian Company, who were no doubt desirous to dip into the funds of the parish poor in order to transport people from their native country. They saw the opening which was offered to them of putting into execution their long-cherished plans, and no doubt they would gladly avail themselves of it if the Poor-Laws Bill were to pass. But was this the way, he would ask, that the landed interest was to be relieved by diminishing the poor-rates? He contended that in all those parishes where the principle of representation had been applied the evils of the poor-laws had been considerably ameliorated, and the poor-rates reduced in proportion; and he therefore argued that there was no necessity for the bill, inasmuch as the evils of the existing system were likely to be generally abated without the intervention of a law so arbitrary and unjust in principle, and so

repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen. In conclusion, he produced a petition to the House of Lords which he had drawn up for the purpose, and in moving its adoption by the vestry, he earnestly hoped that their lordships would act upon the suggestions it contained, and throw out the bill on the second reading. (Applause).

The petition was then read, and the motion seconded by Mr. Savage.

Dr. SPRY, the rector, then rose and said he fully agreed in the propriety of forwarding this petition to the House of Lords, although he had objected to a similar petition to the House of Commons, because he had hoped that the bill would have been so amended in the committee of that House as to render remonstrance unnecessary. He was sorry to say, however, that the bill had not been at all improved; and as it was the duty of the vestry to protect the rights of the poor, he felt that they were now called upon to do so. (Hear, hear). He suggested, however, that the wording of the petition in one or two instances ought to be altered. He alluded to the passage in which it was stated that the objects of the promoters of the bill was "to oppress the poor and drive them from the country." He did not think that those were the objects of the bill, although it was calculated certainly to produce such effects. (Hear, hear). He considered also that it would be better to object generally to the alterations made in the bill by the committee of the House of Commons than to suggest that the local boards should have the sole management and control over their respective parishes. His hope and belief was, that in consequence of the inquiry which had been set on foot, and the general attention which the question of the poor-laws had excited, the country was now so alive to the evils of the present system, that if it was left to itself for twelve months a material change would be effected for the better. (Hear, hear, hear). He was perfectly satisfied of the truth and justice of this principle, that when evils had arisen in a wide-spreading system connected with the social habits of the people, it was always the safer and better course to allow the people by their own good sense to right themselves, than to endeavour to force them to do so by legislative enactments. (Hear, hear). With that impression he was extremely anxious that the bill should at once be thrown out by the House of Lords, and he was satisfied that the moral remedy to which he had alluded would soon follow. As to the observation that the bill, if passed, would not apply to the parish of Marybonne, or to those other parishes in which a reform had already taken place, he would only say that the bill, when once passed, would be equally applicable to all parishes, although he did not mean to say that the commissioners would be over anxious to apply it to the parish of Marybonne in particular; but there was nothing in the bill to prevent them from doing so whenever they might think proper, and he believed that if the commissioners could once manage to put a finger on the funds of the poor, their whole hands would soon follow. It was idle, therefore, to suppose that any one parish would be exempted from the operation of the bill. The rev gentleman concluded by repeating his approval of the petition, with the exception of the passage to which he had referred.

Mr. WILSON said he was quite willing, in compliance with the suggestion of the rev. rector, to expunge from the petition the words which he had pointed out.

Mr. NELMES then rose to propose an amendment. He defended the principle of the bill, and said if he could once bring himself to believe that its effects would be to oppress and grind down the poor, he hoped he had sufficient humanity to raise his voice against it. In his opinion, however, the effect of the bill would be precisely the reverse, for its object was to relieve the poor from the abject misery and distress in which they were plunged, owing to the operation of a pernicious system of poor-laws, which refused relief to this independent and honest labourer, and bestowed it on the profligate and idle pauper. He considered that the bill

was a benevolent measure, and he had heard nothing that in his opinion weighed against it, either from any member of that board or elsewhere. The various parochial boards would still exist as before the passing of the bill, subject only to a controlling power, which he considered to be absolutely necessary, to prove which he read various extracts from the report of the commissioners, showing that under the present system the parishes, particularly in the rural districts, had remained nearly stationary for the last 50 years, as the authorities felt no inclination to amend the abuses which time and bad management had introduced into them. It was therefore necessary, he contended, that a controlling power should exist to purify existing abuses, and compel indolent parish officers to do their duty. The commissioners woul l interfere only in such cases. He concluded by moving an amendment to the effect, that as Government had brought forward the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, in order to afford better security for life, liberty, and property, the vestry hoped the House of Lords would pass the bill without delay.

Mr. EDWARDS seconded the motion, and contended at some length that the bill had been considerably improved by the committee of the House of Commons, in compliance with the suggestions of those who opposed it. The Tory party had been lauded because they had lent a hand to throw out this "atrocious" measure, as it had been called. The Tories, however, were not in this instance entitled to the praises which had been lavished upon them, for everybody knew that they would oppose any measure of the present Government. He considered that the suggestion of the worthy rector, that the bill should stand over for a year, was founded in good sense, but he at the same time felt that the bill had now gone so far that it was impossible to stop it progress, and when he recalled to mind the men who had supported it in the House of Commons, and who had always advocated the right of the poor on other occasions, he confessed that if he had any scruples himself upon the subject, the support which those gentlemen had given to the measure was calculated to remove them.

Sir S. WHALLEY commenced by observing that one would suppose, from what had fallen from the mover and seconder of the amendment, that the bill contained all that was good, without the mixture of any one bad quality. He was far from believing, however, that any good would flow from the measure to counteract the evils with which it abounded. He was willing to admit, however, that the bill had been considerably improved, and that it was no longer the vile and atrocious measure that it was when it was first brought forward. He would say, that if any copy of the original bill should exist in after years, it would be sufficient to damn the Whigs for ever. (Hear, hear). The Tories had been taunted for not having brought forward liberal measures when they were in power. But the Tories dared not—nay, he believed they would not, have brought forward such a measure as that, although they took their stand upon the principle of supporting the aristocracy and the crown, and preventing encroachments upon either. In the instance of this bill, however, the Tories had shown that they were ready to resist also an encroachment on the rights of the people. (Applause). The hon. Gentleman then proceeded to describe the various alterations which the bill had undergone in the committee of the House of Commons, many of which he considered to have improved the measure, but he complained that the exact nature of the amendments could not be ascertained, as they had not been printed, although the bill had been read a third time and passed, a mode of proceeding which he believed to be contrary to all practice. The bill had certainly been improved, but although so far it was not liable to all the objections entertained against the original measure, he still felt an insuperable repugnance to it. Lord Althorp told the landed interest when the measure was first brought forward, that he meant it as a

boon to them, because it would reduce the poor-rates; but he (Sir S. Whalley) confessed he could not bring his mind to think in what way the bill could produce that effect. He believed that the original object of the bill was to refuse all relief to the poor unless they consented to live within the walls of the workhouse. He contended that, as the bill now stood, it would increase rather than diminish the poor-rates, because the natural result of the measure would be to raise the price of labour; and he was sure that it would produce great distress, heartburnings, and resistance, amongst the lower classes, because it would tend to snap asunder the links by which the humbler classes were united to the higher, and the poor would thus believe that the richer classes, to whom they naturally looked up for support, had cast them off for ever. He agreed with the rev. rector that this bill ought to be delayed until the people had time to examine its provisions. The report of the commissioners had been so far beneficial as to induce many parishes to act upon their suggestions and reform themselves, and by waiting another session the example already set might be generally followed. He denied that the board of commissioners would not have the power of interfering with local boards, for they would issue general orders, and every parish would be bound to obey them He was convinced, however, that the commissioners would find themselves beset by so many difficulties, that they could not go on. For instance, it would be extremely difficult for them to frame rules and regulations for the general guidance of parishes without interfering with some existing act of Parliament. He believed that every parish in the kingdom that had not a local act of Parliament of its own would be laid prostrate at the feet of the central board of commissioners. This would be the result as regarded the rural parishes; and general misery and discontent would surely follow. He contended, that with every disposition to do good, it would still be impossible that any one board of commissioners sitting in London could manage in a satisfactory manner the local details of distant parishes. He therefore entertained the greatest objection to the appointment of such a board, which he agreed in considering the main feature and principle of the bill, and hence his continued hostility to it. He remembered, when the Slave Emancipation Bill passed the House of Commons, that Mr. Stanley, the then Secretary for the Colonies, declared that it would be impossible to carry it through Parliament, unless the consent of the local authorities in the West Indies was previously obtained, and that consent was obtained accordingly. Now, he would ask, why had not the same principle been applied to the Poor-Laws Bill? (Hear, hear). The poorer classes as yet knew nothing, or, hardly any thing, of the present measure; but when they became acquainted with its nature, and felt the misery and degradation to which it would subject them—when they learned that they must expect to be relieved no longer by those to whom they were used to look up to for assistance and advice, and that they would be thrown on the tender mercies of a heartless board of commissioners, their hopes would sink at once, general discontent and despair would follow, which would break out into overt acts, and the country would then have the misery of witnessing once more those scenes of lawless riot, burnings, trials, and executions, which were exhibited not long since. (Hear, hear).

Mr. JACKSON contended that the preponderance of weight and talent in the House of Commons was in favour of the bill. (No, no). To prove that his statement was correct, let any man look at the divisions that had taken place, and he would find that the great majority of the most eminent in that assembly had voted for the bill. He was aware that there was one distinguished exception, and that Sir Francis Burdett had given a conscientous vote against it, but he believed that his was the only distinguished name that would be found in the minority. (No, no). Their respected member, Sir S. Whalley, even

he had said that the bill was considerably improved, and that, in fact, it was no longer the same measure. Now, he believed that if the hon. member would speak out, he would say that the bill was a good bill. He owned he felt some degree of surprise to hear the hon member say, that the effect of the powers given to the board of commissioners would be to oppress the poor.

Sir S. Whalley.—I beg to observe that I said no such thing. I said that the effect of the bill would be to snap asunder those links by which the poorer classes were united to the higher, to whom they naturally looked up for support.

Mr. Jackson said he understood the hon. member to have condemned the bill for not allowing the local board to grant relief to the poor out of the workhouse.

Sir S. Whalley.—I said I believed that such a plan as that was originally intended.

Mr. Jackson then proceeded to speak in favour of the bill, and after remarking on the singularity of seeing Tories and Radicals join their forces to throw out the bill, he observed that if the measure should be defeated the vestry might be assured that they would never see another government in the country who would have the courage to propose such a bill. (Hear, hear, and laughter).

Mr. Potter said that nearly all the Irish and Scotch members voted against the bill, and he hoped to see the House of Lords make a bold stand against it. (Hear, hear). The vestry had been taunted with inconsistency because, after having condemned the House of Lords on other occasions, it now sought their support, in order to get rid of the bill. Now where was the inconsistency in blaming men when they acted wrong and giving them due praise when they happened to act right? For his own part he was not altogether in love with the House of Lords. He condemned the plan which they had of voting by proxy, and of allowing spiritual peers to interfere in secular matters; but he would not therefore say that the House of Lords were always in the wrong, and that they might not, as on this occasion he hoped they would, act for the general good of the people when an opportunity arose for doing so. With regard to the Tories generally, whatever might be their political faults, they were good landlords, and it could not be denied their purses were always open to the poor. (Hear, hear). He attributed the bill to the overweening desire of the Government to get patronage into their hands. After alluding at considerable length to the various provisions of the bill, and commenting on their tendency, he concluded by hoping that the petition would be carried, and that the noble peer who was present (Lord Kenyon) would not only give it his support, but state the feeling which prevailed generally in the parish with respect to the bill. (Hear, hear).

Mr. Hovendon (the barrister) then proceeded to address the vestry. He observed, that however bad the machinery of the old system of poor-laws might be, that was no reason why the country should be called upon to sanction the machinery of the present bill. He did not mean to say that the measure had not been improved by the alteration it had received in the committee of the House of Commons, but the bill must still undergo far greater alterations; for although he was satisfied that an alteration for the better had taken place, yet of this he was equally sure—that no three Englishmen would be found to approve of it as it at present stood. He therefore hoped that the House of Lords would throw it out at once, or so alter it as to render its provisions less obnoxious to the people. The learned gentleman then proceeded to enumerate the several clauses in the amended bill which had been altered, when

The Chairman said the learned gentleman was out of order, as the questions before the vestry had reference to the petition, and the amendment moved upon it, and not to the details of the bill.

Captain Brenton was of opinion that the bill was calculated to mend the condition of the poorer classes. If a

central board were established, to-mor row, he was quite sure that it woul not act in the arbitrary way that som gentlemen appeared to anticipate. A a guardian of the poor he had no ide of a sturdy fellow coming to his hous and telling him that he would hav money. He contended that farmers in the country were laid at the feet of in solent impostors, who actually dared to threaten if they did not obtain all tha they demanded. Such a system mus be put a stop to, or the industrious oc cupiers of land would be compelled t abandon their homes,

Mr. METCALF said—What! is th vestry of Marybonne to set up their opi nion against that of a majority of th House of Commons? For himself, h could not think of doing so, and he should therefore support the amend- ment.

Lord KENYON then rose to say a few words on this most important subject; but first he wished to set himself right both with the vestry, of which he was a member, and the public, with regard to the motives by which he was actuated in commenting in that place on a mea- sure which he should have occasion to remark upon elsewhere. He should indeed feel ashamed if, in discussing a question in which the country at large was so deeply interested, he should al- low himself to be influenced by any fac- tious or unworthy motive, or any feel- ing whatever but the good of the coun- try; and whether the present bill pro- ceeded from Whig, Radical, or Tory, he should feel ashamed if he did not openly express his opinion upon it, and give his vote according to the dictates of his ho- nour and his conscience. (Hear, hear). He considered the question as one wholly divested of party feeling, and would treat it as such. He did not think that any alteration which the bill was capable of undergoing could remove his objections to the establish- ment of the proposed central board of commissioners in whose hands a dan- gerous degree of power would be vested, and he considered that the whole plan embraced in the Poor-Laws Amend- ment Bill was founded on the views of political economists, and, he did not mean to use the term offensively, visionary schemers, who endeavoured to subvert the wise and charitable enact- ments of Elizabeth, for laws suited to their own peculiar views. He was fully aware that abuses existed in the present system of poor-laws, but at the same time he was not aware that any man could justly say that he had been wronged or oppressed by that system. But the more immediate point for con- sideration, in his opinion, was this: would it be desirable that the control over the poor, and the funds applicable to their relief, should be taken out of the hands of the parochial authorities, and placed in those of a board of com- missioners residing in London, who might, at pleasure, be reduced from three commissioners to one only, and who, notwithstanding, would have the entire management of every parish in the country? He considered that it would be wrong to place the poor under such management, and thus induce them to believe that they were no longer coun- tenanced and supported by the rich. As far as his experience as a magistrate went, either in the counties of Sussex or Flint, he never knew an instance of a poor man applying for relief to the magistrates who did not feel grateful on receiving such assistance as his necessities ap- peared to require. Now, all the better feelings of the poor would be at once destroyed, if a board of commissioners sitting in the metropolis were to take out of the hands of parish officers in the country the power of dispensing relief. He considered that if such a system were acted upon the poor would at once be driven to emigration. He considered that the feelings of the peo- ple ought to be consulted on a subject in which their interests were so vitally concerned. Under these circumstances he should be extremely sorry that the bill should pass in its present shape, and he did not think it would be materially altered in committee. He was there- fore most anxious that it should stand over, in order that all the evidence pro- duced might be fully and fairly sifted and examined by the public, and he

had no doubt but that great good would result by the adoption of such a course. (Applause.)

After a few words from Mr. Savage and Mr Green,

The Chairman put the amendment, which was negatived, there being but six hands held up for it.

The original motion was then put, and a division being insisted on, the numbers were,

For the petition........34
Against it 2
Majority......—32

It was then moved by Mr. Wilson, and seconded, that the Right Hon. Lord Kenyon be requested to present the petition to the House of Lords on Tuesday next, and that his Lordship be requested to support the same.

Lord Kenyon said he accepted the trust with pleasure, and would endeavour to induce other noble lords to join him in opposing the bill.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the vestry broke up.

(*From the True Sun.*)

Mr. Cobbett has devoted almost the whole of his last *Register* to the subject of emigration, and the *True Sun* comes in for a pretty good share of the abuse heaped upon the projectors of the propoposed colony at Spencer's Gulf. Mr. Cobbett is pleased to charge us with *puffing* this project, and aiding and abetting a deceit upon the labouring classes. Mr. Cobbett, however, has permitted his passion to blind his judgment, as he may see by a reference to the articles upon which his charges are founded. We have said nothing in favour of the new project, beyond what the excellency of the principle upon which the colony is to be founded, and the apparently open and ingenuous mode of proceeding adopted by the committee extorted from us. We recommended that a fair hearing should be given to the *exposé* promised at Exeter-hall, and that the objects of the committee should be judged of by that. This may be *puffing* in Mr Cobbett's estimation, but it is not so in ours.

Mr. Cobbett contrasts our remarks upon the emigration project, with our expressed sympathy for the working-classes, in order to deduce an inference against our consistency. But in truth, there is no inconsistency. Our opinions are the same on the subject of emigration as they always were. We are still as strongly opposed to the plan of taxing one portion of the community to enable us to transport another, as we ever were. We still denounce the idea, that parishes should be allowed to force men to expatriate themselves by a threat of refusing relief if they remain here. We still execrate that policy of our rulers which leads them to the endeavour of keeping down the number of the population here, by any and all means, to just that amount which will serve to render them submissive and tractable; and consequently we have opposed and shall continue to oppose all schemes founded upon these principles. But, do we, therefore, wish to render England one wide prison, from which the labourer, heart-sick at the sight of oppression and weary with the struggle for subsistence, shall never be able to escape, however bright may seem the prospect afforded to him by other lands? Do we desire that there shall be no outlet for those whose only prospect here is misery and starvation? No. We wish that whatever freedom the laws may allow Englishmen should be theirs, that they should be free to go and free to stay, as they may deem most consistent with their interest. We do hope and believe that a time may come when England will be worth living in, and we even believe that such a change may arrive within a very few years. Let those, then, who can stay, remain, and indulge a hope of better times, which even their remaining may serve to hasten; but if the condition of any here be unbearable, or if they are strongly moved by the hopes which a colony offers of immediate comfort and ultimate independence, we say to them, go; and we hail the assistance of any one to enable them to carry their wishes into effect.

It is on these grounds that we rejoice

in the sanction which the proposed colony has received from Government. No force can, under this plan, be exerted to compel any to emigrate; and on those who have possessed the inclination, but have hitherto lacked the ability to avail themselves of the prospects which emigration may appear to hold out, it will confer a great and permanent good, if those gaurantees against jobbing which have been promised by the projectors be but fully realized; and we are, at all events, called upon to give them a fair trial.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 7.—The arrivals of Wheat and other grain from Essex and Kent as well as Suffolk, have been moderate; those of Wheat, however, proved more than adequate to the demand, the millers purchasing with reluctance the better qualities at the rates of this day se'nnight, while secondary and inferior parcels barely supported the previous quotations.

Some Kubanka Wheat in bond sold at 32s. for export.

There were few samples of Barley offering, and both distillery and grinding sorts fully maintained last week's currency. For bonded qualities we heard of no inquiries, and prices must be considered almost nominal.

Malt hangs on hand, even the better qualities, though prices are unaltered.

The arrival of English, Scotch, or Irish Oats since Friday have not been large, but several cargoes have been received from abroad. Dealers and consumers evinced little disposition to purchase, and the trade ruled dull at the prices of last Monday, except where vessels required clearing, when rather lower terms were acceded to. A few sales of bonded samples were effected, at about 13s. at which rates tolerably good feed parcels might be obtained.

Beans did not attract much attention, and the quotations unaltered. Bonded qualities might have been bought at rather cheaper terms.

Peas are scarce, and boiling qualities worth rather more money than on Monday; in maple and grey no alteration but prices firm. In bond high rates are being demanded for good samples, say 38s. to 40s.

The Flour trade is steady, and fresh country marks saleable at former prices, as the supply is limited, owing to many mills being prevented from working in consequence of the want of water.

Fresh ship marks of Flour were saleable at last week's currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	44s.	to 50s.
—— White	48s.	to 55s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s.	to 46s.
—— White, ditto	44s.	to 51s.
—— West Country red	44s.	to 47s.
—— White, ditto	48s.	to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	38s.	to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s.	to 46s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	36s.	to 42s.
—— White, ditto	42s.	to 44s.
—— Irish red	36s.	to 40s.
—— White, ditto	38s.	to 43s.
Barley, Malting	30s.	to 32s.
—— Chevalier	30s.	to 32s.
—— Distilling	29s.	to 30s.
—— Grinding	27s.	to 29s.
Malt, new	37s.	to 47s.
—— Norfolk, pale	50s.	to 56s.
—— Ware	52s.	to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	38s.	to 40s.
—— Maple	39s.	to 43s.
—— White Boilers	45s.	to 49s.
Beans, Small	33s.	to 38s.
—— Harrow	32s.	to 37s.
—— Tick	31s.	to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	23s.	to 25s.
—— Short, small	24s.	to 26s.
—— Poland	23s.	to 26s.
—— Scotch, common	23s.	to 25s.
—— —— Potato	26s.	to 28s.
—— —— Berwick	25s.	to 27s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s.	to 23s.
—— —— Potato	23s.	to 25s.
—— —— Black	23s.	to 24s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	10s.	to 13s.
Flour, per sack	43s.	to 46s.

RADICAL PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE CARTWRIGHT CLUB and Visiters hold their next Anniversary Dinner on Monday, the 21. July instant, at Highbury-barn Tavern, Islington, to celebrate the memory of that truly honest and real Reformer, Major Cartwright,

WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.,

IN THE CHAIR.

Tickets 5s. each (dessert included) may be had of Mr. Nicholson, 15, Fenchurch-street; Mr. George Rogers, 58, High-street, St. Giles's; at the bar of the Tavern; and of

THOMAS CLEARY, HON. SEC.

12, Alfred-place, Bedford-square.

N.B. As the Tickets are limited an early application is recommended.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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INTENSE HUMBUG.

IN whatever department the Irish are extravagant and wild, they are more extravagant and wild than any other people, the Yankee only excepted; but, then, this species of half madness comes to the Yankees rarely, while it is apt to take hold of the Irish very frequently. A Yankee, when he turns speculator, thinks no more of millions of any thing, than a sober-minded man would think of units. Our Irish brethren are not quite so extravagant; so outrageously careless of consequences; but they are quite sufficiently so when they take this turn. I say this in the way of preface to the noticing of one of the maddest schemes that ever came into the head of mortal man, under the name of the "NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND," the detail of which scheme I insert below. When I have inserted it I will make a remark or two.

NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

The following abstract of the conditions of this company is submitted to the public, who can be supplied with prospectuses, detailing full particulars, by application, in writing, as at foot.

1. That it be denominated the "National Commercial Bank of Ireland."

2. The capital *to be five millions* in one million shares of *five pounds*.

3. That the shares be allotted to the several towns in Ireland, in respective proportions.

4. That the towns be divided into first, second, and third classes.

5. That residents near be considered as belonging to such towns.

6. That no individual to hold more than 300 shares, nor no family more than 600 shares.

7. Every shareholder to have one vote, to be given by ballot.

8. Application for shares to be made for the present to the solicitors of the company, in writing.

9. In first-class towns, when applicants shall amount to 30, and in shares to 1,000, a branch shall be formed by calling a meeting of the shareholders, and electing four directors into whose hands the first instalments of ten shillings per share, and one shilling per share for expenses, shall be paid. The directors to sit twice a week to forward such branch, and report to Dublin.

10. In the second-class towns, number of shares required to form a branch, 600; applicants, 15.

11. Third class; number of applicants, 12; number of shares, 400; to be organized in the same manner.

12. Provides for the re-election of permanent directors at the end of two months.

13. Provides that the directors shall assemble at Dublin to form a conference.

14. That the assembled directors shall proceed to consider the laws in detail.

15. That as the institution extends, the branches shall be divided into districts, each district to contain within it a first-class town, the other branches to correspond with this head.

16. First-class towns to have greater accommodation; more accountants, clerks, &c.

17. Provides for directors of district.

18 Provides for a court of directors in Dublin of seven or twelve of the largest shareholders, to have supreme control.

19. Provides for the election of a secretary, who must be a large shareholder.

20. Provides that all bank notes be signed by five authorities before issue.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

21. Provides for travelling accountants, who shall perpetually traverse the branches.

22. Provides that no proprietor of other bank stock can be a director or other officer of this bank, though he may hold shares.

23. Regulates how all persons are to open accounts with the bank.

24. Provides for the allotment of the million shares to all towns in Ireland.

25. Stipulations regarding sale or transfer of shares.

26. Empowers the court to create new shares for particular districts.

27. Provides for the creation of provident shares to be purchased by small monthly or weekly payments.

28. Provides for the protection of provident shareholders; and if a mechanic or working tradesman authorizes the directors to open a cash account for double his subscribed amount, if continued five years previous.

29. All investments of surplus capital to be made in well-circumstanced landed estates, either by purchase or mortgage.

30. Authorizes the law agent of the company to see after landed property coming into the market, with a view to make either purchases or investments.

31. That in case of a disagreement between the superior authorities of the bank, the matter to be settled by a reference to the directors at large both Dublin and provincial.

32. That the shares be subscribed for in instalments of ten shillings, the first on the election of provisional directors, the second two months after, the remainder when called for, of which 60 days' notice will be given by the directors.

33. Profits to be divided half yearly.

34. That the laws can only be changed by consent of the majority of the proprietors.

35. Periodical reports of the whole transactions of the Company to be published in the newspapers.

Application for shares to be for the present as follows:—from parties stating real name and business, the leading trades of the town, market days, &c.

NATIONAL COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

Messrs. William Bailey Wallace and Sons, Solicitors, No. 12, North Great George's-street, Dublin.

All letters must be post-paid.

No applicant will be bound by any act of this Company until he shall sign the deed of co-partnership.

Any gentleman can have a copy of the project through the post-office for a single postage, by applying as above, or at the office of this paper.

Now, if this be not madness, it is so little short of it, that one ought not to be restrained from using the word as applicable to it. First, five millions of money, divided into five-pound shares, require a million of men in Ireland, each of whom has five pounds to spare! There are eight millions of people in the country: one half of these are females: one half of the males are boys under age: there are two millions left, and of these two millions, one million are to have each of them five pounds to spare; though it is notorious that nine-tenths of them have not the means of buying a bit of meat or bread. But this absurdity, arising from the mere numerical representation of the state of the people, is not the great thing to be observed upon; the great, the gross, the monstrous delusion is, that an establishment of this sort, if it could succeed, would be a benefit to the country itself. Mark! if you please; it would make every man of any property a banker; it is proposed that he shall *gain* something by being a banker; *and whom is he to gain from*? Why, from himself, to be sure! He is to lend money to himself, and to put the interest into his own pocket. When a certain small portion of the community become bankers, and receive real money, or goods, as interest for the paper that costs them nothing, there is sense; there is roguery, there is deception, there is fraud; but there is sense. But, for the whole of the money-owners of a country to GAIN by making paper-money and lending it to themselves, is an idea that must have been born in Bedlam; though it is got over to

Dublin, it must have gone from St. George's Fields. Here are ten of us, for instance, all equal in point of property; we have five pounds a-piece to spare. We make a common stock of it, and set to work in grinding paper-money to three times the amount, or no matter what. We then lend the paper-money to ourselves; and we pay the discount to ourselves! Poh! this is nonsense; but nonsense as it is, it is upon a level with the scheme of Mr. Hume, who actually recommended to the Government that it should issue paper-money, and *give the profit to the people*! Oh! God Almighty, do let me live to see this nonsense extirpated from the mind of man! Just as if a people could profit from *gains made out of themselves*. We often talk of the "improvements of the age," of the "spirit of the age," and God knows what; but, if our forefathers had not had more sense than we have, this kingdom would have been a desert, instead of being what it is. Oh, no! There cannot be men so mad as to have invented this scheme for the *benefit of the public*; they mean, to be sure, to get, somehow or other, the means together to set up a Scotch Bank, by which a comparatively *few* persons shall gain at the expense of the community at large, as they do in Scotland, where *tradesmen* and *farmers* are little better than the mere *bailiffs* and *shopmen* of these combinations of cunning paper-money makers; where the property of the *active traders* is all made over to, and is in fact the property of, the bank-paper people.

But, there is another view of this matter, which must be taken. The idea is, that money will be made *more plenty* by this scheme. That is impossible, without producing a *blow up*, not only of this scheme, but of all the paper-money in Ireland. No, no! The right to demand gold in England is the bridle in the mouths of all these projectors; and, in spite of Lord Althorp's legal tender, which is to come into force directly, it will be impossible to get out a greater quantity of paper, without producing a *panic*.

But, do these projectors shut their eyes with regard to the United States of America? Do they know nothing of the blow which their glorious countryman, Jackson, is giving to the whole system of paper-money all over the world? And do they not blush on reflecting, that it is owing to the good sense and the virtue of "*the Irish*" in the United States, that the President is enabled to pull down the monsters of paper-money in that country? Can they read the resolutions, the sensible resolutions, of their industrious countrymen at New York, showing how it is that paper-money robs the working man, and declaring their resolution to extirpate it altogether; can they read these resolutions, and not be ashamed of the promulgation of this plundering scheme in Ireland itself? Are these the sort of measures by which the rights of labour are to be asserted and maintained, and by which Ireland is to be brought to a state of justice, peace, and happiness? Doubtless Ireland has suffered from other causes, which, possibly, might have been removed; but from all the other causes put together she has not, within the last fifty years, suffered so much as from this one cause. And, is this accursed cause to be now added to, amidst all her other troubles and afflictions? I am never in haste to cast blame on the Government for the calamities of Ireland; because, having put the question to myself, what I would do, if I had it in my power to do what I liked, I have never been able to give myself a satisfactory answer. The Government of England started badly in the reign of Elizabeth, with regard to Ireland. All the *alleged* causes, do not account for the state of that at once fine and wretched country: but, at any rate, we have an indubitable proof of the fact, that the paper-money has been one great cause of the sufferings of that country. We know that hundreds of thousands of families have been totally ruined by it: we know that there was a time when a man with bank-notes to the amount of a thousand pounds in his pocket, could not get a leg of mutton at Cork; and, with the recollection of these things in their minds, will the industrious part of

the Irish people listen to a project like this?

It has long been my wish to go to Ireland to see things with my own eyes. I have seen every other part of the kingdom more in detail than any other man alive. Ireland, the greatest sphere in this world for the exercise of those faculties of discernment and of judgment which ought to be exercised very diligently by every man who meddles at all with public affairs in this kingdom; this Ireland I have never seen: I ought to see it; for, in such a case, you cannot *know* without seeing with your own eyes. I intended to go at the close of this session of Parliament; but I hesitated: this banking scheme has decided me: I am determined to go to the spot, and challenge the projectors to meet me face to face. It is possible that measures may be suggested to make Ireland as happy as it is fruitful; but all the wisdom in the world can never suggest good to it so long as it is afflicted with this damnable scourge, which these projectors would make greater than it ever was before. It is, in fact, an effort to counteract any good that the Government might otherwise be able to do for Ireland. As such I consider it; as such I will treat it: as such I will speak of it in the faces of the projectors themselves, if they dare to meet me. I say, that tithes, that church-rates, that all other things are as nothing, compared with the want of a *metallic currency*, and of a *just provision for those who labour*. These are my opinions, and these opinions I will maintain, if I live, in the hearing of the Irish themselves.

WM. COBBETT.

CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.

FIRST of all I ought to give my readers a *narrative* of this embroiled and embroiling transaction. On the 1. of July, the Ministry seemed to have been reorganized, after the secession of Mr. STANLEY and Sir JAMES GRAHAM. I heard, indeed, a whisper on that day that Lord GREY was about to resign. Regarding this as a matter in which I, as a Member of Parliament, had no sort of concern, I paid very little attention to it, and was, indeed, inclined to disbelieve it. After this those transactions took place of which the following is, I believe, a correct statement.

That, on the THIRD of July. Mr. O'CONNELL disclosed that Mr. LITTLETON, had told him, that Lord ALTHORP and some other portion of the cabinet disapproved of some part of the Coercion Bill, and that he himself also disapproved of that part of it; that in the course of a dispute upon this subject, Lord ALTHORP declared, on the same day, that *now* all the cabinet were of accord as to the whole measure.

That, however, it now appears that, on the NINTH of July, Lord ALTHORP sent his resignation to Lord GREY; whereupon this latter resigned also; and that both of them, in the separate Houses of Parliament, announced their resignations on the evening of that day.

That what has since been said or done by Lord BROUGHAM, by Lord MELBOURNE, or by any body else; and how the matter may terminate; who may at last be the Ministers; these are matters of very little consequence to the people, compared with the *real cause of the resignation of Lord* ALTHORP, which resignation is by no means satisfactorily accounted for upon the ground of the dispute about the Coercion Bill; for, observe, Lord ALTHORP, on the 2. of July, said that the cabinet were all of a mind with regard to it. Mr. LITTLETON had committed a blunder in making the communication to Mr. O'CONNELL. But how often have Ministers *laughed off* such adventures as that! Mr. LITTLETON was *cheered by the House*. There he was triumphant. What *reason* was there, then, for the resignation of Lord ALTHORP; as to Lord GREY, he says that he resigned *because* Lord ALTHORP did; and that was sensible and sincere, for he could not have gone on without him; he knew that the House of Commons had, in fact, supported, not the *measures of* Lord GREY, but the person of Lord ALTHORP. To how many persons have I said, in the House and out of it, that it was Lord ALTHORP *alone* that upheld the Minis-

try. Indeed, it was he, and he alone, that enabled Lord GREY to form a Ministry at first: it was his character, very justly possessed, that gave the country confidence that something would be done towards relieving it of its burdens. There was great confidence in the integrity of Lord GREY; and the conduct of his whole life warranted that confidence; but he was in the other House; the other was the manager of the purse; and he was able to do that which could never have been accomplished by any other man at that time, that I have any knowledge of; and it is quite impossible that I should have been in the House of Commons, without perceiving that that House was under the control of its unshaken reliance on the judgment and on the integrity of that one man.

Therefore, Lord GREY, who knew this better than any man living could know it, had too much sense to think of remaining in place without Lord ALTHORP. What, then, was the real cause of the resignation of Lord ALTHORP? This is the question of interest to the country; because, on the solution of this question turns another and still greater question; namely, *whether any Ministry will be able to carry on this system any longer.*

Let the reader remember then, that, on the 7. of July, five days after the dispute between Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. LITTLETON; five days after Lord ALTHORP had said that the cabinet were of one accord as to the Coercion Bill; five days after Mr. LITTLETON was *cheered* and remained *triumphant* (*in the House*) over Mr. O'CONNELL; five days after this, Lord CHANDOS made a motion, very much to his honour, which pledged the House *to a reduction of the burdens on agriculture.* The minister opposed this motion, the House divided upon it, and there appeared 171 for it, 187 against it, leaving Lord ALTHORP with a majority of *sixteen*, which, deducting the Treasury bench, and other persons *in office* (exclusive of pensioners and dead-weight people), and there was Lord ALTHORP in a MINORITY of not less than forty, in a House containing three hundred and fifty-eight members? It was impossible for him not to perceive *who* were his supporters, and *who* were his opponents. The Tories were a mere handful; the great-town members were generally with him; and this thumping minority consisted chiefly of those very men, without whose support he well knew that he could not carry on the affairs of the Government in that House; yet, his duty, the bounden duties of his office; his engagement to his colleagues, compelled him to oppose this motion, and to do his utmost to prevent its being carried; my opinion is, that his real failure in this case was the immediate cause of his resignation.

If any doubt had existed in my mind on this subject it would have been removed by the speech of Lord ALTHORP of the 9. of July, which speech I will here insert, word for word, as reported in the *Times* newspaper.

"Lord ALTHORP (NINTH July) rose "and said—Sir, having been placed in "a position which renders it necessary that I should state to the House the "reasons which have governed my conduct, I asked for and obtained his Majesty's permission to make that statement to the House. When the re‑'newal of the Coercion Bill was first 'brought under the consideration of 'the cabinet, I felt it my duty to con‑'cur in the renewal of it, with the "omission only of those clauses of it "relating to courts-martial. I hope I "need not say that I did so with the 'greatest reluctance, and that nothing 'would have induced me to do so but "my conviction of the absolute neces‑"sity of the case. Afterwards private "and confidential communications, how‑"ever, from the Lord-Lieutenant of "Ireland to individual members of the Government brought the subject again "under the consideration of the cabi‑'net in the week before last. I may 'as well say that it was at this time "that my right hon. friend the Secretary 'for Ireland suggested to me the pro‑'priety of telling the hon. and learned 'gentleman opposite that the question 'was not yet finally decided, and that 'the bill was still under consideration.

'I saw no harm in this if it proceeded 'no further (hear), and I am bound to 'say in my own justification that I 'begged my right hon. friend to use 'extreme caution in his communica- 'tion, and by no means to commit 'himself in what he said. As I have 'said, these private and confidential 'communications from the Lord-Lieu- 'tenant of Ireland to an individual 'member of the cabinet brought the 'subject again before the cabinet the 'week before last. From the nature 'of these communications I was led to 'believe that the three first clauses of 'the act—those, I mean, which refer 'to meetings in the parts of Ireland 'not proclaimed, were not essentially 'necessary, and that they might be 'omitted from the new bill without en- 'dangering the peace of Ireland. 'Under this impression I objected to 'the renewal of those clauses. ('Hear, 'hear,' especially from the Irish mem- 'bers). My right hon. friends the 'members for Inverness, for Cam- 'bridge, for Edinburgh, and for Co- 'ventry, coincided with me in taking 'that course, and in making that ob- 'jection. I need not state to the House 'that we were in a minority in the ca- 'binet. The cabinet decided against 'us, and we had to consider whether 'we would acquiesce in this decision, 'or wether we would break up the Go- 'vernment. We decided that it was 'our duty to acquiesce. Upon the most 'careful consideration which I have 'been enabled to give the point since, 'after considering carefully the course 'which we then pursued, I am pre- 'pared to say now, as then, that I am 'convinced that with the imperfect in- 'formation we then had of what had 'occurred we were right in taking that 'course. (Hear, hear). I do not 'mean to disguise from the House that 'I felt in coming to that decision that I might be, under such circumstances, 'placed in a situation of great diffi- 'culty and embarrassment in conduct- 'ing the measure through this House. 'But when, on *Thursday* (THIRD 'July) last, I heard the statement of 'my right hon. friend the Secretary for "Ireland, and then for the first time "was made aware of the nature and "extent of the communication which "he had made to the hon. and "learned gentleman, I certainly thought "that it was most probable the "difficulties and embarrassments which "I should have to encounter would "prove to be *insuperable*. The de- "bate *on Monday* (SEVENTH July) "night on the motion of the hon. and "learned gentleman proved to me that "they were so, and convinced me that "I could no longer conduct that bill or "the general business of Government "in this House with credit to myself or "with advantage to the public. (Hear, "hear). I accordingly *wrote that night* "*to Lord Grey*, and requested him to "*tender my resignation to his Majesty*, "which his Majesty has been gracious- "ly pleased to accept. I am autho- "rized by my right hon. friends to "whom I have already alluded, to say "that they approve of, and concur in, "the step which I have taken. (Hear, "hear). I have stated to the House "the reasons which induced my right "hon. friends and myself to take that "course. I should be extremely sorry "if the course which I and my right "hon. friends have pursued on this oc- "casion should not be approved by my "fellow countrymen (cheers); but I "should be still more grieved if it "should not be approved of by that "large body of gentlemen in this House who have reposed so much confidence in me, and who, by their handsome and steady support, have 'enabled me to maintain a position for 'which my abilities would otherwise 'have so little qualified me. (Cheering). 'I should be deeply grieved indeed if 'those gentlemen did not approve of 'my conduct. (Cheers). Having 'made this statement to the House, I 'have nothing further to add, but that 'I hold my office until my successor 'is appointed, and that until that is the 'case I shall feel it my duty to conduct "the ordinary business of the Govern- "ment in this House."

Now, mark! on the 3. of July he thought that his difficulties would be

insuperable, in consequence of the communication made by Mr. LITTLETON to Mr. O'CONNELL. But still he had no idea of quitting office; on the contrary, he sustained Mr. LITTLETON, and said, that there was the most perfect concurrence between the Irish Government and the Government here, with regard to the renewal of the Coercion Bill; and he also said, that Mr. LITTLETON had tendered his resignation, but would hold his office at the request of Lord GREY and his Majesty's Government, "who "were anxious to retain him, and who "would not lose him upon any such "grounds." This was said during the debate on a motion of Mr. O'CONNELL for the production of papers relative to the Coercion Bill. This motion Mr. O'CONNELL lost by a majority of a hundred and fifty-six against seventy-three. This was on the 7., observe; and here was Lord ALTHORP with a stifling majority on hand against Mr. O'CONNELL on that night; and he on that very night saying, that the whole of the Government were of one accord with regard to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. Yet that very night, or rather early in the morning, he goes home from the House at a quarter past three o'clock, and at once sits down and writes his resignation and sends it to Lord GREY! Why, this was the act of a madman.

Oh, no! This was not the cause. After the debate on the Coercion Bill, the motion of Lord CHANDOS came on. His speech upon that motion was such as to prove that he was greatly embarrassed, and in great fear of the division: he endeavoured to prevail upon Lord CHANDOS to withdraw his motion. It was impossible for him not to be ashamed of the silly stuff that was uttered by others in support of him. The division convinced him, that he could no longer go on in the manner that he had done; and it was *this division*, and not the division that took place on Mr. O'CONNELL's motion, which made him, *that very night*, send in his resignation.

Once more, mark, that it was on the *third* of July, that Mr. O'CONNELL made the exposure relative to the communication made to him by Mr. LITTLETON. He then thought that the difficulties which this communication would occasion him would be insuperable; but that night he boldly said that the whole of the Ministers were of accord as to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. He seemed perfectly confident, notwithstanding the exposure made by Mr. O'CONNELL. On the *seventh*, when Mr. O'CONNELL stirred up the subject again by a motion for papers relative to the Coercion Bill, he spoke with equal confidence; put a direct negative on the motion, and beat Mr. O'CONNELL by a majority of more than two to one. How could this cause him to resign? But after this came the motion of Lord CHANDOS. There he was, in fact, left in a minority, having, speakers on his side, Messrs. HUME, HAWES, Major KEPPEL, and some others. It was this, and this only, that was the immediate cause of his resignation, unless we were to conclude that he was bereft of his senses, which was very far from being the case.

His office never could have been a thing to his taste. He wished for a parliamentary reform, and he wished for a great change in the state of the country; and my opinion is, that when Lord GREY's administration was formed, he made it a positive condition that Lord ALTHORP should be Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that he would undertake to be Minister on no other condition. I never was told this; never heard any one say it; but I have always believed it; and I am very sure, that even the Reform Bill would not have been carried, had not this one man had the management of carrying it through.

For a long while I have been quite satisfied in my own mind, that he was weary of his office; that he was doing many things, and leaving many things undone, contrary to the bend of his own mind; that he was using arguments, suggested by the necessities arising out of the duties of his office and his engagements. Many indications must, long ago, have convinced him that the best and stanchest of his supporters adhered to him from respect to himself, and not from approbation of his measures. These appearances had been

gradually increasing for some time; and the result of Lord CHANDOS's motion must have convinced him that it was impossible for him to carry on the taxing system to the present amount, any longer, without a change in the value of money, or without an undisguised resort to the bayonet. Neither of these could he screw up his mind to: his engagements compelled him to maintain the taxes; and he, therefore, resolved to release himself from those engagements.

I by no means accuse him of deceit or hypocrisy in resigning upon the ground of the Coercion Bill. That was ground sufficient, if he disapproved of any part of the bill. It was ground quite sufficient; and he had not only a *right* to avail himself of it; but, perhaps, it was his duty to do it; for, if he found himself incapable of supporting the present system of taxation, he might fairly consider it unjust towards his colleagues, and towards the King, to *denounce* that system, and thus render it impossible for his successor to carry it on.

The conclusion is, then, or, at least, it is my conclusion, that this is the great source of all the difficulties that harass the Ministry, who seem entirely to have forgotten, that the people had not prayed for a reformed Parliament, that it might supply them with *new projects*; they had asked for a reformed Parliament that it might put a stop to new projects: they had not called for new and improved laws; they had called for a *restoration to the old laws*; they had not called for any change in corporations, in church affairs, in local courts; in the forms or declarations in pleadings: it was nothing of this sort that they called for: they had called for a reduction of their burdens. They had not called for an augmentation of the army, but for a reduction of it: it was not Lord GREY's early-promised rigour that they called for; but for mild and just government, such as their forefathers had left them: they had not called for new barracks built like palaces; but for a sale of the old ones: they had not called for a police establishment, terrific to behold: they had not called for a subversion of the poor-laws, stripping the natural magistrate of all his power, and abrogating all those local governments, without which real freedom cannot exist. They had, in short, called loudly for a reform of the Parliament, that it might take off the malt-tax, the hop-tax, the soap-tax; that it might release small properties from the grasp of the stamp-tax; or, at least, put them upon a level with large properties; and they soon found, that the Ministers had no intention of making the reform efficient for the purposes for which the people wanted it.

The Ministry was formed upon the basis of a hope, that it was possible to carry on a system such as had been before carried on with regard to taxing and expenditure; and with merely making changes in matter of form, in conformity, as Lord GREY expressed it, "with the advancing spirit of the age." Alas! the people did not pester themselves about the spirit of the age; but, if the "spirit of the age" required a standing army of a hundred thousand men in time of peace, demanded a barrack like a palace near every great town; demanded two hundred per cent. tax upon the labourer's beer, and only a twenty per cent. tax upon the Champaign wine, drunk by the nobility, gentry, and parsons; if the "spirit of the age" demanded that the landed estates should be exempt from the enormous duties on legacies, and on descents; if "the spirit of the age" demanded that the money-monger should receive three bushels of wheat for one, while the weaver was reduced to water-porridge, and the labourers to potatoes and salt; then the "spirit of the age" would not do for the people. And, no Ministry could carry on that system. Had the malt, hop, and soap taxes been repealed, that alone would have given the Ministers quiet and security, and would have saved the Attorney-General the trouble of innovations on the common law, and Lord ALTHORP the toil, vexation, and embarrassment of being compelled to support the Scotch project for altering the poor-laws.

These are my opinions respecting the cause of the resignation of Lord ALTHORP. He has led the House of Commons to do many things that I disapproved of, and some that I detested; but, he has not been an arrogant man, and has performed, as far as I recollect, no act of incivility towards any one but myself; and, though I could not approve of those acts, all the effect which they produced upon my mind was, a feeling of satisfaction that I had never been placed in a situation to compel me to act a similar part. To say that he is an "honest man," would be saying very little of a man whose only private trouble must be, how he shall make shift to get rid of his income, far surpassing the annual worth of the "*kingdom* of HANOVER." But, I know him to be a clever man, to possess great experience in public affairs; I believe him to wish well to all his fellow-subjects, and to be anxious for their happiness; and I say all this with the perfect knowledge that he was in favour of prosecuting me in 1831, which I could not believe at the time, otherwise I would have subpœnaed him to take his share of the basting which I gave to his colleagues. I am afraid that the Scotch feelosofers have been suffered to ding into his ears, their Malthusian doctrine, till they have half converted him into an opinion that "*civilization*," "concentration," "centralization," "surplus-population," "accumulation," "emigration," and all the other "ations," not excepting "damnation," are absolutely necessary to the improved spirit of the age; and that nothing in the world, even to the very door-posts, ought to remain, if they be more than about nine months old. I am afraid of this; but this I know very well, that these doctrines will be much less dangerous when supported by any other man.

The newspapers tell me that it is likely *he will go back into his office*, at the request of certain members of the House of Commons. *I do not believe this*: it would give the lie to all that has been said in favour of his excellent character. In the first place, it would have the possible construction of his having resorted to a sham resignation, in order to get rid of Lord GREY; a construction which it would not be easy to get rid of, seeing that Lord GREY has retired upon the ground of *old age*, as well as upon that of the secession of Lord ALTHORP. A return to office would be, besides, so childish a thing, over and above the thousand other difficulties which this temporary resignation will have created. Members of Parliament do not like to devote themselves to the support of a man who is in the habit of resigning, and leaving them, poor dears, to shift for themselves. They do not like this; and, therefore, if he were to come again, he would not be precisely the same man. If, therefore, I had been asked to sign the requisition to him to come back to his office, I should have refused upon three grounds: first, that it was suggesting to him to do a childish and dishonourable thing, and especially if he came without Lord GREY; second, that it was a most impudent interference with the undoubted prerogative of the King, by assuming, that a man might be a Minister, if he would, if that House chose that he should be a Minister: but, third, and a ground still more important, it would be an endeavour to keep him in his place, when I know that my duty to my constituents ought to make me endeavour to keep him out of it; because their interest requires that taxes to a large amount should be abolished; and because I am convinced that he has more power than any other man to prevent taxes from being abolished.

Let me now turn to the occurrences of Monday, the 14. of July. The papers of Tuesday morning bring me an account of the statement of Lord MELBOURNE in the House of Lords on Monday, which statement is reported to be as follows:

"Viscount MELBOURNE said, it was "almost unnecessary for him to state to "their lordships what must already be "known to their lordships from report, "namely, that on the dissolution of the "late Government, he was desired by "his Majesty to attend him for the

"purpose of advising and consulting on "the formation of a new administra- "tion. As soon as that wish was ex- "pressed by his Sovereign, he of course "obeyed it; and the respect which he "owed to their lordships would induce "him, when the business had assumed "a proper shape, to lay the necessary "information before their lordships. "(Hear, hear). He trusted their lord- "ships would feel, as no declaration "had been made on the subject up to "the present moment, that the arrange- "ments were not yet in such a state as "would justify him in making any "communication to the House. He had "already stated, that his Majesty had "honoured him with his commands "to lay before him a plan for the "formation of a new Ministry, such a "Ministry as should appear to him to "be competent to carry on the business "of the country efficiently at the pre- "sent important crisis, He had under- "taken the task; but as it was not "concluded, their lordships could not "expect him to make any disclosure "on the subject. (Hear, hear). He "might, however, be allowed to ob- "serve, that he should not discharge "the duty which had been confided to "him without securing the co-opera- "tion of his noble friend the Chancel- "lor of the Exchequer, and the sanction "and approbation of his noble friend "who was lately at the head of the "Government. He had nothing fur- "ther to add, except to assure their "lordships that it was impossible for "them to be more sensible of the in- "capacity of the individual to whom "this difficult and delicate task was "intrusted than he was himself. No- "thing but the deep feeling which he "entertained of gratitude and duty "towards his Sovereign, and a know- "ledge of the extreme difficulty in "which both his Sovereign and the "country were now placed, could have "induced him to act on this occasion. "(Hear, hear)."

The House of Commons having adjourned until Thursday the 17., it is likely that we shall hear nothing, for a certainty, respecting the new Ministers, until Friday, when it is my intention to be in the House. But, though we do not know who the King may choose for his servants, we do know that, be they who they may, they cannot carry on this system for any length of time. They must pull down the ancient institutions; they must carry on their government by military force; or they must reduce the taxes to a less sum than thirty millions a year, wheat being at six shillings a bushel. It is the pressure of the taxes which is producing all the difficulties which the Ministers have to experience: the riots, the fires, the poisoning of cattle, the ham-stringing of cows and of sheep; all these new and horrid deeds; all the new jails, all the tread-mills, all the new and severe laws; and in the face of all these, the fearful increase of crime: all these proceed from the pressure of taxation, taking up the resources of the country, impoverishing the towns and villages, sending the wealth to be expended in places of fashionable resort, or out of the kingdom; diminishing the means of the middle class, and reducing the working class to a state of half starvation. Were there only the bare fact, that seventy thousand pounds have been permitted to be expended on one gate-way to a palace, it would be enough to convince any man that this system cannot be suffered to go on; but, when we are brazenly told, that it is just and necessary for us to have four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty admirals in our pay; and that it is proper for us to pay the people who never pretended to render any service at all, more money than would be necessary to carry on the whole Government of the country; when we are brazenly told this, are we still to wish for a Minister whose weight in the House of Commons is calculated to give longer durability to such a system? I say, no! to such a proposition: for this reason I am glad that Lord ALTHORP has ceased to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Our* business, and almost our sole business, is, to prevail upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give up taxes; and the stronger he is, the less likely are we to

prevail upon him to make the surrender. It is nothing to my constituents what is the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or whence he came, or what is his character; but it is a great deal to them whether their ale be sixpence a pot, or only three halfpence. They will surely be for the three-halfpenny Chancellor of the Exchequer; and it is my duty, as well as my inclination, to be for him too. And I do pray God, most fervently, that no Ministry will be found to last one lunar month, who will endeavour to prevent the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap taxes; and this, I think, will very soon be found to be the case.

The *Morning Chronicle*, which is pleading most desperately for the preservation of a Whig administration, tells us, "that no Ministry can stand *without the people at its back*"; but, being in the hands, and perhaps the property, of some of those who live upon the taxes, the poor old superannuated soul does not tell us *how* a Ministry is to get the people to be at its back; and I will tell the old creature that it is not by appointing a score of commissioners, consisting of all the gossiping mare's-tail riff-raff from all the inns of court, and enabling them to know the taste of different sorts of wine, and to swagger about in frilled shirts and new coats, instead of being blacking shoes, or weeding in the corn, or hop-picking; that it is not the giving of *pis-aller* Parkes eighteen hundred pounds a year, for the devil knows only what; that it is not by continuing to give a pension of 213*l.* a year to the Rev. Thomas Perusse, who has two livings in the church, and who has had this pension for twenty-one years, under the pretence of his having been, for five months, chargé d'affaires at Florence, in the absence of the envoy, who was one of the Wyndhams, to whose children he was tutor at the time; it is not by continuing to do things like these that the people are brought to the back of a Ministry; it is not by charging those with "*ungentlemanly feeling*," who want to know upon what grounds pensions have been granted to swarms of women and children, belonging to the nobility, gentry, and parsons; while it is asserted, that we are to "*listen to no feeling at all,*" while we are discussing a bill relative to the treatment of the poor, who till the land, make the clothes, make the houses, and who cause to come all that we enjoy.

This is not the way for a Ministry to have *the people at its back*. The people are not to be brought to the back of a Ministry even by measures for breaking up the church. We may like it well enough; not be sorry for it at any rate; but it is not easy for Lord Althorp to persuade us, that the landlords would not get what the parsons get now, and that we should get nothing by the change; but, when he comes to tell us, that it would benefit us by taking from us, in case of necessity, all parochial relief, and giving the amount of the poor-rates to the landlords, we laugh in his face. It is difficult, too, to make us see how we shall be the fatter, by giving the dissenting ministers a share in the honours and emoluments of the two universities, or how we should be made better off by dissenters being buried in church-yards, or by their being married by their own priests. All these are, I suppose, in conformity with the "spirit of the age"; but being an eating and drinking people, these things are too high and refined for us: one penny taken off from the pot of beer, or even one farthing, would bring more people to the back of the Ministers than all the "concentrations," and all the "*liberalities*" in the world.

But this mode of bringing the people to the back of the Ministers is the last thing that the *pis-aller Chronicle* thinks of. Parkes now, for instance; and Wood, emphatically called John, would delight exceedingly at seeing the people at the back of the Ministers; because it is back after back the people back the Ministers, and the Ministers back *pis-aller* Parkes and Wood, emphatically called John; but the perverse people will not come, as long as the malt-tax remains; and if the malt-tax be taken off, the *pis-aller* and the empha-

tical *John* must do what the Irishman in Phœnix-park told the lady he must do if she did not give him three shillings, and which made him shudder with horror but to think of; that is to say, GO TO WORK. But there are different sorts of work: cracking stones and raking the kennel may, indeed, make delicate persons shudder but to think of. *Haymaking* now; keeping birds off cabbage-seed. Oh! what would I give for roaring RUSHTON'S voice at this moment! A plot of savoy-seed, and a plot of early cabbage-seed, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from one another, occupy from daylight till dark two little urchins, whose voices are hardly sufficient to make a finch balance before he fixes on his prey. If I had RUSHTON, he would drive them all away, if there were a patch of seed in every field on the farm. Get him upon a bank, and turn him round now and then, and all my seed would be safe; and as to the sight of him, if dressed in his robes and his wig, let me see the rook bold enough to come within two miles of the place. For the want of such a person I am driven to all sorts of expedients; to bring the seed and hang it up in bunches to dry at the side of the house and the barn; for these devils begin upon it before it be ripe; and if you pull it up too soon, the seed is not so good. During the day and the evening boys can keep them off; but you cannot get them out of their beds before daylight, and it is the moment that the day dawns that the birds begin their ravages. When RUSHTON considers all these things, and especially the humanity he would display in preventing these little things from being bundled out by their cruel fathers at daylight, and kept from those schools where their minds might receive cultivation, and be stored with intellect; when he considers these things, I am not without hope that he will, as soon as the corporation-commission can spare him, come to my assistance. If, in the meanwhile, he would send me his wig, that, put upon the top of a well-dressed shoy-hoy, would be of very great service.

We are very apt to generalize and "beat about the bush," as it is vulgarly called, when we dare not utter that which we know to be the fact: accordingly, the poor old *Chronicle* in the midst of its alarms, talks about every thing but the real thing. It has dismal forebodings: it talks about the people coming to the back of the Ministers: it recommends a "*liberal policy*": it says that there must be "*no half-measures*"; and it runs on with a string of qualifications and of doings, but *not one word does it say about the taking off of taxes*; and yet without that, nothing will be done to please the people; nothing will be done to bring the people to the back of a Minister; the difficulties will be just as great as they have been: there will be change after change, till at last nobody will be found to expose themselves to the odium and the danger of carrying on a system of taxation and of expenditure so wholly incompatible with the well-being and the tranquillity of the country.

If we wanted any proof of this, what more do we want than that which we have in the conduct of the Tories at this moment? They could come into office directly if they would. But they could do nothing there, unless they resolved to obey the voice of the people, which demands a reduction of taxes. They know that, to make that reduction would overturn their whole system; and, therefore, they stand aloof from those offices which are open to receive them.

LORD GREY'S DEFENCE.

I SHALL here put upon record Lord GREY'S speech of the 9. of July when he announced his resignation to the House of Lords. I wish to be understood as asserting to the correctness of no part of it. I do not wish to say any thing ill-natured of him, but I agree with the Duke of WELLINGTON, that more severe punishment has been inflicted under this administration, than under any one that has existed for many years. It has been four years of

punishments of the people. He began by threatening us with "rigour," and "rigorous" enough has he been. I hear a great deal of indignation expressed against the Duke of WELLINGTON for his want of compassion towards Lord GREY on account of the *age* of the latter. A man should not be Minister if he be too old for it; besides, Lord ALTHORP told us that we were to divest ourselves of all feeling when we were discussing the Poor-Law Bill; that *reason*, and not feeling, was to be our guide. There are divers parts of this speech of Lord GREY which must be commented upon and exposed. At present I shall merely insert it along with that of the Duke of WELLINGTON, and that of Lord BROUGHAM, in order that I may have them to refer to, and in order that my readers may read them at their leisure, and in order that they may see what is likely to happen by the difficulties with which they see these men beset.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 9. July, 1834.

Earl GREY rose, and, in a low tone of voice, proceeded to read the title of a paper which he held in his hand, and which he laid upon the table. It was, as we understood, a copy of the treaty between France, Spain, Portugal, and this country. It was ordered to lie on the table.

The order of the day was then generally called for, it having been read, for bringing up the report on the Irish Coercion Bill.

Earl GREY again rose. The noble earl was evidently labouring under considerable emotion. After a pause he began:—"I rise, my lords."—Another pause succeeded, which was broken by cheers from the opposition benches, intended to give confidence to the noble earl. His lordship then occupied himself in arranging his papers on the table, and, after endeavouring in vain to collect himself and regain self-possession, at length, at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, who came to his succour, resumed his seat. The opposition lords cheered several times during this interval.

The Duke of WELLINGTON then rose and presented about forty petitions from places in Ireland, praying protection to the established church.

Nearly ten minutes having elapsed,

Earl GREY again rose, still labouring under strong emotion, and spoke as follows:—My lords, I really feel quite ashamed (cheering) at the sort of weakness I have shown upon this occasion. (Renewed cheering). I have very recently been honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and the personal kindness I experienced, my lords, has quite overpowered me. (Cheers). I have, however, a duty to perform; and, whatever my present incapacity, I will to the utmost of my ability discharge it; and in rising to propose that you should agree to the report which has just been brought up, I have to state that I no longer do so as a minister of the crown, but as an individual member of the legislature, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing the Act, in order to invest the Government of Ireland, into whatever hands it may fall, with a power which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of law and order in that country. (Loud cheers). My lords, I should be unworthy of a seat in your lordships' house if I were not to take upon myself the discharge of what I consider an imperative duty, notwithstanding the distressing circumstances of my position at this moment, even at the risk of any representation that may be made against me, at the risk of any obloquy. (Hear, hear, hear). I should be unworthy of the situation I have held in the councils of his Majesty if I were to shrink, on account of the circumstances that have taken place towards myself, from proposing to your lordships to permit this bill to proceed to its further stages, a bill I have already stated to your lordships to be essential, and absolutely necessary for the safety and peace of Ireland. The ground upon which that opinion is founded I have before had opportunities of stating to your lordships. Reflection has confirmed me in that opinion, and it has been, I can assure your lordships, most painfully wrung from me by a ge-

neral consideration of all the circumstances connected with the situation of Ireland, as they have come before me by public dispatches for the Lord-Lieutenant, by communications made from different quarters, and by those documents, my lords, which have been laid on the table of the House; and the result, upon the whole, is a sincere conviction on my part that Ireland cannot be safely left to the ordinary protection of the law, but that Government must be armed with some extraordinary powers. (Cries of hear). My lords, having gained your assent to this opinion on a former occasion, it cannot be necessary for me to add anything more upon this part of the subject, more especially as at the time I introduced the bill I went into a statement at considerable length of all the circumstances which appeared to me material. But, my lords, on this occasion it will be naturally expected by your lordships that I should enter into some explanation of the circumstances which have occurred, and which have produced the new situation in which I now stand. (Hear). It cannot be necessary that I should recall your lordships' recollections to what passed very lately in this House upon certain questions put and answers given. (Hear, hear). I was asked, my lords, whether in any communications that had taken place upon this subject with a person known for the strong part he has taken in the affairs of Ireland; I do not wish to use any other terms with respect to that individual; he must be sufficiently known to your lordships; I was asked whether I had been any party to those communications. I stated then, and I repeat it now, that those communications were not only made without my concurrence (cheers), but without my knowledge. (Loud cries of hear, hear). And had I been previously apprized of them, there is no power or interest which I possessed that would not have been exerted to have prevented them from taking place; for well knowing as I did, as events have since proved, that no communication, not even the slightest, could be held by any person connected with his Majesty's Government with that quarter, (cheers); impressed as I was with that opinion, I never could have given my consent to the holding of such communications, or have omitted any effort to prevent them. What I have next to state, my lords, having already repeated to you my opinion of the necessity of the measure now on your table, my real statement is that from the time that that opinion of the necessity of this measure was formed, founded upon the grounds I have detailed, it never for one moment has undergone the slightest change. (Loud cheers). Up to the 23. of June I had no reason to believe that a doubt as to its necessity did or could exist anywhere. It was the opinion of myself and my colleagues, in consequence of all the previous communications that had been made to us, that the renovation of that act was indispensably required. (Cries of hear, hear). I had myself given instructions to the Attorney-General to frame a bill for its renewal, which is now on your lordships' table. But on the 23. of June a new state of things took place. My lords, it is painful to me to go into a statement of circumstances which never ought to have been heard; but, my lords, the fault is not mine, and if by imprudence those circumstances have been brought before the public, and have produced the results which they have produced, it is necessary that I, standing here, charged with an imperative duty to my Sovereign and my country, and for my own character's sake, should state to you in the clearest manner and without disguise every thing that has taken place. My lords, on the 23. of June I received a letter from the Lord-Lieutenant, a private and confidential letter, which I never would have mentioned out of the cabinet had I not been obliged to do so by the necessity of the circumstances in which I am placed, and which did appear to me to give a new view to the subject, and which I felt it to be my duty to lay before my colleagues in office. My lords, that letter appeared to have been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious

person, of whom I cannot speak too highly, and who, in this part of the transaction, as well as in every other, I am certain, acted from the most conscientious desire to discharge his public duty—that letter, my lords, I say, appeared to have been produced not so much by the original view of that illustrious person of the state of Ireland, as by certain considerations which had been suggested to him by others, (cheers); without my knowledge and without my privity, affecting the political state of this country, rather than referring to the state of Ireland. (Cheers). My lords, I certainly thought the view that had been suggested upon that matter to the Lord-Lieutenant was completely erroneous. (Hear, hear). I immediately, without the loss of a single post, wrote to him to desire him to reconsider the matter. Subsequent letters arrived, and the result of the whole undoubtedly was, that the noble marquis did express an opinion that, if it would promote other objects here, the three clauses of the bill in question might be dispensed with, as not essential for the safety of Ireland, and more particularly if, by that omission, an extension of the term could be effected. My lords, from that view, which I beg to say the noble marquis submitted for consideration, but which he did not offer as a recommendation, I certainly did feel myself compelled to dissent. It became the subject of much deliberation in the cabinet, and I now, my lords, come to circumstances which ought never to have been made known. There has been, I must admit it, it cannot be concealed, a considerable difference of opinion; but ultimately we all agreed that the bill should be introduced in that form in which I introduced it, and this determination has since received the full sanction and concurrence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. So far the case is clear. There has now been adopted a new practice, a new circumstance which has never before occurred in the political annals of this country. (Hear, hear). Questions have arisen, and disclosures have been called for, of what had passed between the confidential advisers of the crown and the subordinate officers of the Government. With the result alone of such communications had Parliament or the public to do. But to ask what was the course of the discussions in the cabinet (hear); what particular opinion was entertained by each particular member of the cabinet (hear, hear), what were the different views that prevailed at different times, and under different circumstances, among the members of the Government, the adoption of such a practice would be at any time fraught with difficulties, but at the present time rendered it absolutely impossible to carry on the Government. (Cheers). It was with considerable pain and surprise that I heard it stated by those who I think ought to be anxious above all party considerations, to preserve the peace of Ireland, anxious to preserve the privileges of the Government; it was with the greatest astonishment that I heard them, in support of a motion of an hon. member of the other House, call for the production of documents which were not of a nature to be laid before the House. The letters in question were not addressed to me as a Minister of the crown, but were of a secret and confidential nature; and, whatever may have transpired respecting these communications, I do not think that the nature of them was such that the production of them could properly be called for. I have already stated to your lordships that the communications made to a particular individual were made without my knowledge. The making of those communications was an extreme of imprudence which it was hardly possible for any one to anticipate; but I am compelled to acknowledge that such communications were held. The effect of them was this:—A member of the other House, having come by these means to the knowledge of these secret and confidential letters, brought a charge against Government upon the non-production of these documents, stating that the production of them was absolutely necessary before the House could be called upon to pass the bill, and charging a member of the Government with a breach of faith, vacillation, and incon-

sistency, contrary to all precedents and the ordinary course of proceedings in that House. The consequence of this has been that my noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (I have the permission of his Majesty to state these facts), who has the conduct of the affairs of Government in the other House, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and who felt how much of the ground upon which this bill was proposed was swept from under him by these disclosures, felt, in consequence of what had passed in the other House, that he could not with satisfaction to himself, or benefit to the public, continue in the situation which he then held. The consequence was that yesterday morning I received a letter from my noble Friend containing his resignation, and, in a personal interview with him having ascertained that his resolution was final, I submitted his resignation to his Majesty. It then became necessary for me to consider what I should do. I had long felt the increasing difficulties of the situation in which I was placed become so painful, and so much above the remaining strength and energy which I possess, that I have long wished to retire from office. My friends, both my late and present colleagues, well know that I expressed this wish most anxiously at the close of the last session of Parliament. ("Hear, hear" from the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon). They knew that it was my most earnest desire to withdraw, not from any desire to shrink from the laborious and painful duties of office, but because I felt that my remaining energies, if they were ever equal to them, were no longer so. (Hear, hear, hear). I gave up this determination in consequence of the strong and united representations of my colleagues, who represented that my retirement would occasion the immediate dissolution of Government, and might place his Majesty in a painful situation. I met the present Parliament at the commencement of this session as first Minister of the crown, anxious to carry into effect those further measures of improvement which the country required. Since that an event of importance has occurred, and some of the most powerful members of the Government have separated from it. This was most painful to me, on personal as well as public grounds, and, feeling how inadequate I was to discharge the duties of my office, I felt anxious to retire. That resolution was so decidedly taken that I thought nothing could have diverted me from it. I was induced, on the representation of my remaining colleagues, to depart from it; as also in consequence of an application of a great number of the members of the House of Commons, as well as from our anxious desire to carry through those measures which were in progress, and which were essential to the true interests of the country. I also felt how unjust it would be to his Majesty to resign at such a period of the session. The resolution which I then formed, would, in my opinion, have been perfectly justified by the circumstances which had induced me to come to it. In March last, I completed my seventieth year, and at that time, though I might be able to discharge the ordinary duties of office, yet I felt it was impossible, that it would be too much for the strength of any man, at least of mine, blessed though I am with health and the absence of all disorder, to contend against increasing difficulties. (Hear, hear). I felt, however, in the difficult circumstances in which I was placed, that I should have been justified in retiring from office. That intention I abandoned. The places of those who then left the Ministry were filled up, and I had hopes that we could have gone on at least till the measures then before Parliament were completed. Then arose this new circumstance which has deprived me of the assistance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the leading member of Government in the House of Commons, on whom my whole confidence rested, whom I considered as the right arm of the Government, and without whom I felt it was impossible that Government could go on. Former breaches had weakened it. This new breach has placed me in a situation in

which I cannot hope to any useful purpose to continue in the situation which I hold. Receiving my noble friend's resignation I felt myself impelled by necessity, there was no alternative left, but to tender at the same time my own resignation. Those resignations have been accepted by his Majesty, and I now discharge the duties of my office only till such time as his Majesty can supply my place. I trust that in this last scene of my political life I shall receive the candid and impartial consideration of your lordships. It is my wish to lay all circumstances before you without disguise, to submit myself to your censure, if in aught I have been guilty of error, which I cannot doubt; to throw myself upon your indulgence, if my errors have been such as will admit of excuse; to call upon your sense of justice, and even appeal to your kind consideration to make allowance for the difficult circumstances in which I have been placed. (Cheers). My lords, I call upon you to recollect that I came into power at a season of great difficulty and peril. I never would, under any consideration, have accepted my present situation had I foreseen the difficulties I have had to encounter. I never should have been in this situation if I could have persuaded my noble friend near me (the Marquis of Lansdowne) to accept it. I took it only as a matter of duty, in order to obviate, as I thought I might, the difficulties which threatened the peace and safety of the country. The duties of my situation I have endeavoured to discharge to the best of my abilities. When I became the first Minister of the crown, I stated in this House the principles upon which I proposed conducting the Government of the country. I stated that the three great objects of the Government would be the reformation of Parliament, the maintenance of peace, and economical reform. I appeal to this House and the country whether these pledges have not been redeemed? I know that we are told that we have done nothing, that the whole of the present session has passed and nothing done. But I wish your lordships would attend to the quarter from whence these complaints proceed, and you will find that they emanate from those very persons who have been the cause of delay, by occupying the House of Commons, night after night, with motions, the nature of which I will not describe (hear), to the exclusion of all business. The reformation of Parliament! has not that pledge been redeemed? We found the country surrounded by difficulties as to its foreign relations. All these difficulties have not yet disappeared. Many of them, however, have been removed, and the country is now, comparatively speaking, in a position of considerable advantage. The noble Marquis (Londonderry) shakes his head, but I shall be most happy to enter fully into the question with him at any time that he may bring it forward. We leave the peace of Europe, I maintain, with greater probabilities of its duration than have been for a length of time. We have reduced the expenses of all the establishments of the country; we have taken off four millions and a half from the taxation of the country; and we are the more entitled to praise for that because they succeeded the great meritorious reductions made by the noble duke opposite, and former governments, from whom I am not about to abstract an iota of praise. My lords, places to an enormous amount have been abolished. The patronage of the crown has been diminished to what many of your lordships may consider a most inconvenient state; and, as a minister of the crown, being now disposed to speak with truth and honesty, my only doubt is whether the principle has not been carried too far. (Loud cheers). With respect to the internal state of the country, your lordships must recollect in what state it was when we succeeded to office. My lords, we now leave it in good circumstances in every respect; trade in a sound and healthy state, the manufactories generally employed, the credit of the country greatly improved, the revenue increasing; and all, with the exception of one interest, the agricultural interest, and to them the landlords themselves must give relief by a reduction of the rents,

in a generally healthy and greatly-improved state. My lords, the Political and Trades' Unions of which we have lately heard so much have disappeared, and that without Government calling on the legislature for any new or extraordinary powers. Your lordships will recollect how much we have been reproached for a want of energy in not introducing new and extraordinary laws in order to put down the Trades' Unions. We resisted all those applications; we exerted the law as it stood with a firm hand; the result has been successful; and in that instance I will most confidently appeal to your lordships and the country whether there can be any truth in those charges which have been brought against the Government, of a wish or disposition to call for new or extraordinary powers to apply to this country? (Hear). Had such been our wish the opportunity was not wanting. This, then, my lords is the statement I have to submit to you of the reason of my resignation, and in my own vindication. I have stated to your lordships the reasons of my resignation, and I review with satisfaction all that I have done, and the success that has attended my endeavours, and the state of the country generally. My lords, it has been said, nay, it has often been repeated, that nothing has been done. To those who have been in the habit of throwing out such insinuations I would put the question, was the Reform of Parliament nothing? Did the settlement of that difficult question, the slave trade, amount to nothing? Was the settlement of the East India question and the opening of the trade of that country and its neighbours to the enterprise of the British merchant, nothing? Was the settlement of the Bank question, nothing? Were the various improvements in the law, the merit of all which belonged to the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, nothing? Was the reform in the Irish church to be called nothing? And, looking at the last I have mentioned, can it be said, with any degree of truth, that the affairs of Ireland, and the interests of the people of that country, have been in any way neglected? I appeal confidently to the country, now that I am leaving the service of his most gracious Majesty, whether during the time I have served him, much has not been done; and the only regret I feel in leaving is, that those measures for the amendment of the poor-laws, and the settlement of the tithes in Ireland, have not been brought to a final conclusion. My lords, the latter bill, if suffered to pass, will, I firmly believe, do more towards the pacification of Ireland than any other measure that we have introduced. (Cheers). I leave the Government at least with the satisfaction of having done the best in my power for the purpose of carrying into effect those measures of reform and retrenchment which I have considered necessary for the peace of the country. (Hear). I have incurred every species of opposition. (Hear). The manner in which I have performed my duty is before your lordships and the country; and all I ask is an acknowledgment that I have not been idle or remiss in the discharge of the duties of my situation, and that I have not wanted firmness to do what I thought right. (Hear). I have been attacked for not going far enough on the one hand, and on the other for having gone too far. My situation has not been an enviable one, standing as I did in this House deprived of the natural support which a minister of the crown has a right to expect. I feel myself that in such a situation the Government has done as much for the redemption of their pledges as it was possible for men to do; in fact, we have done more in the short space of time that we have held the reins of Government than has ever been done before in the space of half a century for the improvement of all the social institutions, general power, and condition of the country. (Cheers). We have had to contend with evils which have been the growth of ages, and acquired strength in proportion. It is, then, under these circumstances, and under the pressure of those new difficulties that I have detailed to you, that it has not been in my power to avoid that which has taken place, viz., the re-

signation into his Majesty's hands of that trust with which he was graciously pleased to honour me. In so doing I have acted under the belief that the difficulties of the country, and which I do not disparage, would be increased rather than abated by my continuing in office. I have only one other topic to advert to. It has been urged against me that I, more than any other Minister, have used my patronage as a Minister of the crown for the benefit of my own family. (Hear, hear). The noble Earl here observed that it was imputed to him that many members of his family, even only distant relations, got appointments under the Government. Some, indeed, did get appointments from other members of the Government, not from him. He left office with a moderate fortune, adequate, however, to his wants, and with a large family; but not a shilling of the public money remained in his pocket, or in the pocket of any member of his family. Some of his relatives were placed certainly by him in public situations, but they were not sinecures, they were laborious situations. They discharged all the duties attached to them, and he would appeal to their lordships whether he was not justified by circumstances in so acting (hear), whether the individuals were not in every respect qualified for the situations, and might not have been selected to fill them even though unconnected with him? He would appeal to the country, and he felt confident that, in justice, it would be said the individuals whom he had promoted were not unworthy of it, nor had he any occasion to disguise his conduct. Another topic which had been made a ground of charge against him was the measures he proposed in regard to the church, and which, as far as in him lay, he endeavoured to promote. All he should say was, that they were honestly directed to the security and support of the church itself, and to the improvement of the country. With respect to the manner in which his church patronage had been employed, he would appeal to the right reverend bench whether, in the disposal of it, his first object was not to ascertain the fitness of the person, and to see that he was in every way qualified for the discharge of his duties? When he said that no relatives of his retained anything on his quitting office, he must except one who would still remain on the bench behind (his brother, the Bishop of Hereford). He would appeal, however, to those who knew him best, who observed his conduct, whether he was unworthy of the station? (Hear, hear). That appointment, however, was not his. When taking leave of his Sovereign, on quitting office in 1832, his Majesty, as a mark of the confidence he had been graciously pleased to repose in him, desired that his right reverend relation should accept the bishopric then vacant. It was not for him to refuse what was so graciously offered. To this was subsequently added a stall in Westminster, a thing not unusual when a bishopric was a small one. The same course was pursued, and for the same reason, with respect to another right reverend prelate behind him (the Bishop of Exeter). With both promotions the income of his right reverend relative was not more than 4,000*l.* a year. He felt conscious that, in quitting office, his conduct would stand unimpeachable both before the House and the public. He should continue in the discharge of his public duties as long as circumstances required it, and while his Majesty had occasion for his service. Their lordships, however, must see that with respect to the Irish Tithe Bill, and other measures relating to the church, it would be impossible to proceed with them at present. With respect also to the bill then before them, the Irish Coercion Bill, their lordships must see that it would not be advisable to send it up to the other House of Parliament until such time as a new administration was formed. It was contended in the other House that they could not proceed in the bill without the production of further documents; and it would not be prudent to enact such powers as this measure gave without knowing into whose hands they were to fall. What he should propose to their lordships was, to agree to the report at present,

but not to proceed to the third reading until things were placed in such a state as might render it likely that it would pass the other House of Parliment. He had no hesitation in taking upon himself the responsibility of saying that it was necessary in the present state of Ireland. The Poor-Laws Amendment Bill was a question of a quite different nature. It was not a party question, but one which had been forced on the attention of Government by the circumstances of the country, and was recommended, after diligent inquiry, by a commission appointed for the purpose. His intention was to propose the second reading of it on Friday next, when he would, to the best of his power, urge on their lordships the expediency of adopting its provisions. He said before that this would be the last act of his public life. Errors and failings he did not claim to be exempt from more than other men; but he trusted that those who best knew him would not deny that he endeavoured honestly to act up to his principles and professions, and that his conduct in advancing them did not deviate from the manly straightforward course.

The Duke of WELLINGTON said the noble earl had explained very clearly those causes which had induced him to tender his resignation of his office; and had not the noble earl adverted in the course of his speech to various other topics, not necessarily connected with this explanation, he should not have felt himself called upon to trouble their lordships with any observations. If the noble earl had not adverted to previous discussions he should have remained silent, and would be happy to have been relieved from the necessity of saying a word upon the present occasion. The noble earl stated clearly enough the reasons which led him to resign his situation into the hands of his Sovereign; but he did not touch at all, he did not even allude to, the causes which induced his colleagues to resign. He must confess he felt somewhat surprised that the noble earl had not thought proper to advert to this very important point, and to give their lordships some explanation of it; for he must say that, considering the circumstances of the country, if ever there were men in an absolute necessity of continuing in the service of their Sovereign, the noble earl and his colleagues were in that necessity. (Hear, hear). This was one reason which induced him to rise upon the present occasion, for he could not help regretting and feeling disappointed that the noble earl had entirely abstained from any allusion to the resignation of his colleagues. Another reason for troubling their lordships upon the present occasion was that the noble earl had referred to a passage in the speech of a right hon. friend of his (Sir R. Peel) in the other House of Parliament. He concurred in the observations made by the noble earl as to the impropriety of calling for the production of private and confidential papers relating to Parliamentary affairs; but he begged of their lordships to call to mind the circumstances that passed in reference to these papers. A right hon gentleman in the other House of Parliament (Mr. Littleton) in the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland received certain communications from him on the subject of a bill about to be introduced into Parliament, and that right hon. gentleman, then in the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant, made communications to an hon. and learned gentleman, a member of the other House, with whom he should have never entered into conference. (Hear, hear). That right hon. gentleman stated, in his place in the other House, that the Coercion Bill ought to be proposed to Parliament without some of the clauses that were found in it as it passed in the last session. The correspondence laid upon the table proved very clearly to any person who read it that something more must have passed than appeared in that correspondence. The right hon. gentleman to whom he before alluded (Mr. Littleton) said there was some further correspondence which, though it might not bear out the assertion that the Lord-Lieutenant, was of opinion that there were other clauses in the Coercion Bill that it would not be necessary to press,

still that such was a natural inference from the correspondence, and that though the Lord-Lieutenant had not drawn the inference, others might do so. Under such circumstances, and when so much had been already disclosed, Parliament had a right to know what were the opinions actually given, and not have the communications left in such a state as must render them unsatisfactory and unintelligible. Was it allowable that Ministers should enter into discussions on public affairs in the way of private correspondence, and then come forward and say to Parliament, "You may have part of this correspondence, but not so much as will enable "you to understand clearly what the "bearing of it is"? It was in such a state of circumstances that his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) required the production of further information, and he contended that he was perfectly justified in doing so. From what the noble Earl stated upon the present occasion it turned out that the correspondence was, in point of fact, what he suspected it to have been, and that the Lord-Lieutenant merely said, "If such 'and such should be the case, if such 'should be the circumstances in England, I will endeavour to do without 'these clauses in the Coercion Bill." They who objected to this bill, however, had a right to be informed of the peculiar circumstances which drew from the Lord-Lieutenant the expression of any such opinion. It was only fair that Parliament should have the whole correspondence before them when one right hon. Gentleman referred to it in defence of his own conduct, and another hon. Gentleman in support of the views he took in opposition to the measure. Up to this moment the matter was left in an unsatisfactory state. He repeated it, and would say again with confidence, that Ministers had hitherto stated no reasons that could justify his Majesty's servants in their resignation of office. He should have felt happy if the course of observation pursued by the noble Earl had been such as would have freed him from the necessity of entering into any discussion of points not immediately connected with the explanation of the noble Earl; but the noble Earl, without any necessity that he could see, having entered into other matters, their lordships would allow him to trespass for a few minutes longer upon their attention. The noble Earl adverted to the circumstances of the country at the time he entered upon office in the year 1830, and the difficulties in which the country was then placed; but the noble Earl said nothing about the revolution which took place at that period in France and in Brussels. The noble Earl never had the grace to state in justice to those whom he succeeded why this country was then in such a state of difficulty. He must remind their Lordships and the noble Earl that this country was not in a satisfactory state even late in the last spring. Had they not then large bodies of men marching in regular array through the metropolis, at different times, to the great inconvenience and alarm of the peaceable inhabitants? (Hear, from Lord Holland). He ventured to say that more blood had been shed in England, more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects, during the three years and a half since the noble Earl and his colleagues came into office, than in any period of equal duration (as we understood) from 1780 up to the present time. The noble Earl said that one of their pledges on entering office was to preserve the peace of Europe, and that this pledge had been redeemed, that the peace of Europe was preserved. However the noble Earl might take credit to himself for his exertions to preserve peace, he would not hesitate to say, that after all he had done, or attempted to do, the peace of Europe was not a bit more secure at the present moment than it was on the day the noble Earl entered upon office. There was another promise made by the noble Earl when he took office, which the noble Earl upon this occasion seemed to have entirely forgotten. Upon that occasion the noble Earl said that, with respect to other nations, the principle on which the Government was determined to act was a principle of non-intervention. Of this the noble Earl

assured the House on the very first night that he entered upon office. Now how had this promise been kept by the noble Earl? (Hear, hear). Were there not allusions to the breach of this principle throughout the whole of their diplomatic intercourse? Were there not complaints from every portion of Europe of the intervention of this country; intervention too of the worst kind; of that kind most likely to prove injurious to their best interests, intervention in the domestic quarrels of nations (as we understood)? Even on that very evening papers were to be laid upon the table in which would be found stronger instances of intervention than were to be found, at any former period, with the affairs of any country in Europe, except in a time of war. The engagements into which the noble Earl and his colleagues had entered imposed upon this country the necessity of perpetual intervention in the affairs of countries with which they had no more to do than with any other countries in Europe. The noble Earl, in reviewing the measures of his Government, brought up again the question of West India slavery, and said that question, so long an insuperable difficulty, had been finally and satisfactorily settled. It was yet too early to say that it was a satisfactory, or would turn out a successful settlement of the question. It remained yet to be seen, whether the noble Earl was right or wrong, and whether, after an expenditure of twenty millions, the desired object would be obtained. He hoped to God the event would prove that the noble Earl was right; but it was too soon to boast of a final settlement of that great question until they had further time to see how it worked. He might make the same observation with respect to the charter of the East India Company, and the terms upon which it was renewed. The China trade was thrown open, and other important changes were made. Here also, as in the case of West India slavery, they must wait till they saw how the change worked before any person could pronounce confidently whether it was for good or for evil. The noble Earl adverted to the settlement of the Bank question. That arrangement was effected in a great measure through a very voluminous and tedious correspondence, but it did not appear to have been so clearly arranged as to the terms of renewal as to exclude some doubts and serious difficulties. There was a difficulty arising out of one of the clauses of that very bill now under consideration. Had the noble Earl not adverted unnecessarily as he thought, to these points, it would have saved him the very unpleasant duty of making any observations upon them. The noble Earl in the course of his speech, made some observations upon the sort of opposition with which he had invariably been met upon all occasions in that House. For his own part he could conscientiously say that he never was disposed to oppose any measures of the noble Earl unless they were of such a nature that he could not, consistently with a sense of duty, give them his support. Some of them it was quite impossible he could approve of, and from others he differed in some important circumstances, though he might concur in others; but he was always happy to support the noble Earl when he could do so conscientiously. He supported him last session in one of his measures, and was prepared in the present session to support him in the Coercion Bill and the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, if not altered in such a way as he could not approve of. He never opposed the noble Earl's Government but with pain, and from an honest conviction that he was not pursuing the course he thought most conducive to the welfare of the counsry.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that after the extraordinary speech of the noble duke who had just sat down, he must trespass upon the indulgence of their lordships for a few minutes. That he rose under the influence of feelings exceedingly different from those under which he laboured when his noble friend resumed his seat was a point which he should not attempt to disguise from the House. He partook of what he then supposed to be the universal feel-

ing, and what everything which had passed subsequently convinced him was the very general feeling of the House (hear); and that feeling would have indisposed him, indeed it would have deprived him of the capability to enter into a political contention, a party discussion, on the merits of a speech which was an explanation merely, and not an attack. He felt surprised, but there was no accounting for taste,—he felt surprised that this occasion should have been selected for bringing forward such a discussion; and he was confident that if, by any means, the sense of their lordships could be taken on this subject, on this occasion at least he should find himself in a large majority. Nevertheless, the noble duke had dragged him by force into the discussion, unless indeed noble lords, who were judges, deemed it a part of justice that they should hear only one side, and that side the side of impeachment and attack—of impeachment against measures, and of attack against individual Ministers; and that they should dispense with the somewhat inconvenient task of hearing the other side. He had never heard a speech less calculated to excite angry feeling than that which had just been delivered by his noble friend, or less calculated to kindle and increase political animosity. (Hear). He had never heard an address more touching in painting, more candid in pretension, more fair and open in disclosure—one in which blame against anybody, and more particularly against the noble duke, was more cautiously and carefully shunned. (Hear, hear). His noble friend had stated his reasons for his unhappy resolution—for so he (the Lord Chancellor) must call it—of retiring from office, a resolution which no man could deplore more sincerely than he did; and in taking leave of their lordships in his public capacity—in laying down his office—in stating the reasons why he laid down his official life—his noble friend by some slip of the tongue had called it his political life, but God forbid that his political life should yet close for many a long year. His noble friend, in laying down before their lordships his official life in the House of Lords, in taking leave of his colleagues on the one side and his opponents on the other, did, he confessed it, and so too would his noble friend confess it, indulge in a retrospect of what he had done for his country, and of what he could trust to in his retirement for the continuance of his name in veneration among his friends and countrymen. (Loud cheers). His noble friend had taken the opportunity, much exasperated as he was by the foulest and falsest calumnies that public men had ever had to struggle against (hear, hear), to step aside and overwhelm his base and malignant calumniators, by telling to the world the simple truth, that he retired from office, he and his family, not only not richer, but absolutely poorer than he was was before his accession to power, albeit that for three years and upwards he had enjoyed the patronage of office. Was there anything so unusual in one so circumstanced taking a retrospect of his public life while in office? Was there any thing extraordinary in his noble Friend's casting a glance at the charges made by his accusers, which could be fairly said to call forth such comments as the noble Duke felt it his duty to make? But his noble Friend had been represented as making an attack, and as calling for a defence. The noble Duke seemed to think that this attack was made in the noble Earl's allusion to the state of the nation. But could that be said to be an attack which consisted only in his noble Friend's throwing out the challenge in his own manly manner to his accusers, and in an expression of his perfect readiness to meet those accusers on any day when they might bring forward any charges against any measure of his Government? But nevertheless this was the ground taken by the noble Duke for his comments, whether with good feeling or with bad feeling, or without any feeling of either kind, and the consequence was, that he (the Lord Chancellor), who had come down to that House, intending only to be a silent listener to an explanation, was dragged in as a party in a debate. Now on one point on which the noble

Duke had touched he fully concurred with him, and he would take leave to say, that of all men who had ever held office, the present Ministry would be the most without excuse if they could think of leaving the service of their King and their country unless through an unavoidable necessity. (Hear, hear). This had ever been his opinion since he came into office—it was his opinion to the present hour; and he felt that he should not discharge his duty if, at all sacrifice of his comfort—at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so it might be, of his own peace of mind, he did not stand by that gracious Monarch and that country whose support—whose cordial and hearty support—he had received during the three years and a half of which he had been a member of the Government. (Hear). After having said this, he need not add that he had not tendered his resignation. (This last sentence appeared to produce no slight sensation, and was followed by an audible titter along the opposition benches, several peers on which seemed to make it the subject of remark amongst each other. This was perceived by the noble and learned Lord, who went on to say)—Did their lordships think that there was anything very peculiarly merry or amusing in being a Minister at the present time? (Hear). If they did, he would invite them to take a part in the reconstruction of the Government. ("Hear," and laughter). But he thought they knew better. If they were not aware of the annoyance which must attend such a situation, he was; and he would tell those noble Lords that such was his feeling with respect to office, that nothing but a sense of the most imperative duty could have kept him in office one hour after the resignation of his noble Friend. (Hear). His noble Friend had made out his own case; but, according to the opinion of the noble Duke, no sufficient explanation had been given of the resignation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He the (Lord Chancellor) would only say, that he differed widely from his noble Friend (Lord Althorp) as to his resignation. He did think that his noble Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought not to have resigned. No man could admire more than he did the talent and integrity of his noble Friend, and he knew that he did but echo the opinion of the country when he said that a more honourable man in his public and private relations—that one more upright as a Minister, or more virtuous as a man, did not exist in these kingdoms. (Hear, hear). His noble friend had from an over-sense of high-feeling been induced to take a step which he (the Lord Chancellor) trusted his noble friend and the country would not see occasion to rue. He, however, cast no blame, he imputed none. He only said that he differed from his noble friend; but he could not follow his example. That example was not followed by any other member of the Government, save the noble earl at its head. These two were the only resignations which had been tendered. What he had thus said would, he hoped, be considered a sufficient explanation on these points. But the noble duke seemed to think that the noble earl (Grey) had attacked a right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel) in another place for having called for the production of certain private and confidential communications made to the Government as if they were *publici juris*. There was no attack, the fact only was stated, and that course was objected to by his noble friend, and most properly objected to. In speaking on this subject he (the Lord Chancellor) spoke not for one Government, but for all Governments, when he protested against the doctrine laid down by the noble duke in his friendly zeal for his right hon. friend in the other House. Was it, he would ask, to be endured that a Government, acting on its own responsibility, and getting its information from various sources, and amongst others from members of its own body, should be required to produce, not only the grounds on which they came to the conclusion as to a particular measure, but also the fact whether at any time any of them had held a different opinion before that conclusion was formed? Were they now to be told that the evidence furnished as

to the necessity of the renewal of the Coercion Bill, as it was called, was not sufficient, but that they must also have the fact whether, at any time, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland had held a different opinion as to the necessity of the whole or of parts of that bill? If the opinions of individual members of the Government, secretly and confidentially communicated, were thus to be called for, there would be an end of all government. Supposing there had been two meetings of the cabinet on the subject, and that on the first it was a matter of doubt, but that on the next all doubts were removed, would it be a fair ground of objection to the measure to say that it could not be brought forward until the opinions of individuals on the first day were produced? "But then," said the objectors, "we must not only have the "conclusion to which you as a Govern-"ment came, but we must also know "the opinions which some of you held "on some particular day, before you "came to that conclusion." This then was the opinion of those wise, those sensible, those logical statesmen, who by the way were prepared to go all the lengths with the bill from what they had heard of the decision of the Government on the Saturday, but who now stopped short, and called for the opinions which were held on the Friday. (Here some noble Lord expressed dissent). He would demonstrate it in a moment. They had the letter of the Lord-Lieutenant on one day, stating the necessity of the measure. Now what did it signify as to the bill itself what might have been said or done on a former day? It was just as absurd as to object to the conclusion to which the Government might have come on the Saturday, because it did not produce the opinions which might have been given on the Friday. The noble Duke had felt it necessary to enter into the question of foreign politics, though there was not a single sentence in all that his noble friend had said which referred to the situation of this country respecting its foreign relations. If the noble Duke had conceived that that one sentence had justified his reference to our foreign policy, he wished him joy of the discovery. The noble Duke seemed to think that there was nothing in having kept at peace with all Europe in the last three years and a half. Now, what had been said by an hon. Gentleman, a member of the other House, to whose opinion he presumed the noble Duke would attach some weight? The hon. Member to whom he alluded had once been member for, he believed, Taunton, He did not know whether he still represented the same place, but if not he must suppose that he sat for some other borough, for he could not believe that with the peculiar opinions which he once held, he could be now a county member. His opinions were once so strong against the corn laws that he almost headed the mob against that measure in 1815. Of course he could not expect that the hon. Gentleman could now sit for a county, and still less for such a county as Essex; or that he could have influence enough to get returned for that county, and to defeat his noble Friend (Lord Western). But what said his hon. Friend, the hon. Member to whom he alluded, for he still called him his hon. Friend; they were still on habits of private friendship, though he differed from his hon. friend, or rather he should say that his hon. Friend differed from him, for he went away from those opinions which he had once held, but which he (the Lord Chancellor) still continued to hold, but what said his hon. Friend on the accession of the present administration? He remarked that if they kept the peace of Europe for three months it would be a miracle. Well, they had kept it now for three years — for three years and seven months; so that in fact they had three years and four months to spare, and yet they counted it no miracle, (hear, hear, and a laugh), and he (the Lord Chancellor) saw no chance of the peace of Europe being interrupted, unless something stepped in for which they were not prepared to mar the policy of the present administration. Unless some unforeseen interposition of that kind should occur, he would say that the peace of Europe was more secure at the

present moment than when they came into office; and he should consider it no slight praise to their successors in office, whoever they might be, to say in three years and a half hence that they had kept the peace of Europe as well as it was left on the 9. of July, 1834. That he thought would be doing something for which they would deserve well of their country. He did not think that he ought to trespass on the time of their lordships by any further remarks, but there was one point on which he would beg to offer one or two observations. He alluded to what had been sometimes said by a most able and intelligent individual, a member of the other House, out of whose book the noble Duke had taken a leaf on this occasion. In following the example of the hon. and learned person, to whom he alluded, the noble Duke made his remark, not of course in order to attack, not to accuse the Government of his noble Friend, but no doubt out of pure kindness, and as a proof of the disposition of which he spoke as existing at that (the opposition) side of the House to give every support to the Government of his noble Priend, or rather not to oppose it, except on conscientious grounds: that remark was, that since the days of Lord George Gordon's mob in 1780 more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects had not been shed in this country than since the accession of his noble Friend's administration. Now, if the noble Duke had complained, if he urged this as a matter of blame, as showing that the Government was cruel or sanguinary, or too severe or too harsh, the complaint would be understood; but it no doubt was not intended to be confined within the walls of that House, but that the echo of the charge should rebound beyond its walls, like some of the charges of the very eloquent orator to whom he had alluded, and whom the noble Duke himself had blamed for appealing to the excitable feelings of his countrymen in a way which he must know would soon be carried out of doors. He would say that the charge, taken by itself, was one of unmitigated blame, but taken in connexion with the circumstances out of which it arose, no blame could attach to the Government. He would ask the noble Duke to point out any one case in which the law had been carried into execution to its extreme extent by which it had not been called for in the general feeling of judges and jury by whom the case had been tried, and then let the noble Duke say whether the Government deserved that blame which had been sneeringly cast upon it for too great severity, and for having shed more blood than all of its predecessors during more than ten times the period of its administration. His noble Friend the Lord Chief Justice of England was present to defend himself. He (Lord Denman) knew the pains that were taken by the cabinet, the hours they had sat in deliberation before the final execution of the law was ordered on any of the condemned parties, and he could bear testimony to the fact that the few who were executed were much below the number on whom, in the opinion of the reverend judges who tried the cases, the law ought to have been allowed to take its course. This charge was, no doubt, not made by the noble Duke to cast blame upon the Government, but merely, as the noble Duke had said, to show that the noble Earl at the head of the Government had had no easy time of it. His noble Friend (Earl Grey) did not require to be reminded of that fact. He was fully convinced of it before the noble Duke had thought it necessary to allude to it. As far as he (the Lord Chancellor) was concerned in this matter, as a member of the Government, he was anxious to be put upon his trial with respect to it, and he should be able to show, whenever the subject came for discussion, that if the Government had allowed the law to take its course on ten times the number who actually did suffer, they would have had the general feeling of the judges and jury and the country in their favour; but they had tempered justice with mercy, and they had allowed the law to take its course only on those whom it would have been in-

justice to the public to suffer to escape. The consequence of the course which they had pursued was, that internal peace was restored to the country, and his noble friend quitted office with the pleasing consciousness that the state of the country was happy, contrasted with that in which the noble duke had left it on his retirement from the administration. The noble duke had alluded to difficulties which he said had occurred in the administration, and he referred as causes of them to the revolutions of Paris and of Brussels. As to the latter he (the Lord Chancellor) would say nothing. He had on a former occasion expressed his disapprobation of it, and he was still of the same opinion. It was an overthrow of a monarch and a dismemberment of Europe for which he saw no sufficient cause. But the revolution of Paris as it was called, though he did not call it a revolution; he could no more call it a revolution than if the noble lord (Rolle) connected with the county of Devon, and who appeared to dissent from what he said, should become a leading member of the Government of this country, and should begin by putting down the press, by upsetting the leading principles of the Magna Charta, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act without the authority of Parliament, and by dissolving the Parliament itself without suffering it to meet even once after it had been called together; he could call that a revolution which would put an end to the noble lord's power, and to that Government which upheld him. But he must apply it to the noble lord, for no king in this country would do or sanction such acts; but if he did, as he should feel greatly disposed to do, pull down the noble lord from his usurped power and from his violent inroads upon the constitution, the noble lord would no doubt be sent to some convenient place of custody on the coast of Devonshire; yet in all this there would be no revolution. The noble lord would be called the revolutionist, and he (the Lord Chancellor) would be styled the restorer of the constitution. In this sense he looked upon the transactions at Paris, not as a revolution, but as a restoration. But call it revolution if they pleased, he considered it a very proper one. The late dynasty of France had deserved to cease to govern that country, for they were unfit to govern, and the people deserved to be free, for they had the courage to fight for their freedom, and were not afraid to break those chains which imbecile tyrants had tried to weave round their necks. (Hear hear). That was a revolution which was not likely to give much disturbance to this Government. The noble duke had alluded to the West India question as one for which the present Government ought not to claim any credit until they saw how the measure would work. He (the Lord Chancellor) did not think it was necessary to wait any long time to judge of the effect of that measure. There was every reason to hope and expect that it would work well; but without waiting any length of time he thought they ought not to withhold from his noble friend, from party or from personal motives, the praise which was justly his due for that blessed act. (Hear, hear). The noble duke had on this occasion, he (the Lord Chancellor) knew not why, felt it necessary to act on the defensive. He did not know that the noble duke had acted more so since the year 1811. The noble duke had taken on himself the defence of their lordships, but he (the Lord Chancellor) did not know that any attack had been made on their lordships, to need the noble duke's defence. His noble friend (Earl Grey) had not made any attack on their lordships. All he had said was, that in his administration he had had difficulties to struggle with. Surely their lordships would not take that as an attack upon them. They, he took for granted, could not think for a moment that any of those difficulties had been raised by themselves. The noble duke had declared, that he had agreed with the measures of the noble earl's administration where he could, and only opposed it where he could not conscientiously go along with it, and no doubt their lordships at that (the opposition)

side partook of the same feeling towards the administration of his noble friend. His noble friend had cast no blame on any part that was taken by that side. No doubt the feeling was amongst their lordships such as the noble duke described it; but it somehow happened that with all their good feelings their lordships had opposed the Government wherever they could. ("No, no," from the opposition side). Your lordships (continued the noble and learned lord) may say "No" at this side, but we at the other side think differently. (Hear). I have no doubt whatever that your lordships acted conscientiously, and because you wished, as the noble duke has stated, to give your support to the Government of my noble friend, where you could. This disposition to support the Government was illustrated in the case of some bills which had no particular political bearing, in the Local Jurisdiction Bill, for instance. In the case of that bill, your lordships allowed it to be read a second time. You allowed it to go a stage further, and to pass through the committee, in order that it might have the advantage of your lordships' judicial wisdom, and that you might see how far it could be improved. You allowed it to go a stage further, and the framer of it could have no notion that it was not your lordships' intention to give it the full sanction of your judicial experience, by allowing it to pass; but just at the twelfth hour, in the very last stage, when I thought the bill secure, I found an unusual bustle going on in the neighbourhood of this House. Correspondence was carried on to a great extent by the general post, and the twopenny messengers and couriers were seen passing in great numbers through the streets in our neighbourhood, which seemed too confined for the crowds which came down here from all quarters. Even the judicial business of the morning was for a time interrupted by the numbers who came down here to deliver in proxies. When I saw this I at once gave up the bill as lost (hear, hear), though I could not conceive why the decision as to its fate had been reserved to that late stage. It was, however, so arranged, and the bill was lost at that stage. I do not blame any of your lordships for having taken that course. I have no doubt it was done from the pure desire of giving the Government of my noble Friend all the support you conscientiously could. I will not for a moment suppose that it was done with any view to embarrass the Government. The bill was founded on the report of some six Tory commissioners, who would have carried its principle much further than I was willing to go with it; but, nevertheless, its fate was such as I have described. My noble Friend made no charge, or imputed no blame for any embarrassment which was occasioned; all he did was to express his regret that any such embarrassment should have existed. I do not feel it necessary to enter upon the question of the Reform Bill, to which the noble Duke has referred. (It was here intimated that the Duke of Wellington had not adverted to that measure). Well, I thought the noble Duke had expressly alluded to it, but I may infer that he alluded to it, and include it amongst those measures in which the noble Duke would have supported the Government if he could agree with them. But at all events I may allude to it thus far, that there were some divisions on it against its movers, that one of these was in the committee; and it was only when its conductors threatened to cease to go on with the bill that two of its most determined opponents declared that they were ready to bring in a similar bill with some slight modifications. This was another proof of the dispositions of your lordships to support the administration of my noble Friend. I do not think it necessary for me to trespass on your lordships' time with any further remarks on what has fallen from the noble Duke. My lords, I must before I conclude again express my deep regret that the determination of my noble Friend to retire from office is final. This is a regret in which I am sure very many of your lordships participate, and in this feeling I am satisfied I might command a majority of the House. But my sorrow is the more

deep when I know that my noble Friend is still equal, from his robust understanding, from his undiminished ability, and his purely honourable and manly mind, to all the duties of official life; that in every quality of head and heart he excels every statesman of the age; and while I regret that he should retire, I may hope that he may be still spared to the country for many years. My lords, I who have known my noble Friend for thirty years, who have latterly lived with him daily and hourly, who have seen him in his unprepared moments, whereas your lordships may have seen him in moments of greater preparation, I will say, and I can unhesitatingly and gladly bear my exulting testimony, that I never knew him in more perfect intellect, in greater capacity or power to guide the helm of the state, than he is at this present moment. That my noble Friend should, in thus taking his official leave of your lordships and retiring from the administration, appear somewhat dispirited, that he should seem to have somewhat less than his usual share of bodily strength, is what may be expected; it is what I have often seen within the last year and a half, when I have known him to act in distrust of his own force and great power of mind. That he should now court retirement, which, in spite of all he has said, I hold to be premature, I look on as a cruel calamity to the country, of which he is the brightest ornament, and one of whose most precious and most brilliant possessions is my noble friend's public character. My lords, unlike the giddy character of the people of a neighbouring land, who will on one day fall down and worship the idol of their own creation, but who on another day, when his claims to veneration are increased, will cast away that worship, and break to pieces the idol they themselves have fashioned—I say, my lords, unlike to these, the rational, the soberminded people of this country, I mean the people of Britain, including, of course, the Irish, know the value of my noble friend; they rejoice in his character, and deem it their pride and pleasure to give him their undivided confidence; and it is my firm and heartfelt conviction, that for half a century there will have dawned no more gloomy day than that which first announces to the British people the retirement of my noble friend,—that he has ceased to be their chief in all measures of rational and just improvement,—their moderator, when their zeal and unformed opinions would lead them too far, and on all occasions their advocate and protector, and let me add, as truly the Minister after their own heart as he was certainly the servant of the King's gracious choice. (Cheers).

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

BENNETT, R., Worcester, draper.
BIELFIELD, J. H., St. Martin's-lane, toyman.
CORMIE, J., Burslem, Staffordshire, manufacturer of earthenware.
DAVEY, G. C., New Church-street, Lisson-grove, linen-draper.
ELDERTON, C. F., Parson's-green, Fulham, wax-bleacher.
FINCHER, W. & F., Ivy-bridge, Devonshire, paper-manufacturers.
FRANKLIN, T., Walsall, Staffordshire, currier.
LEACH, H. & G., Romsey, Hampshire, iron mongers.
MOSS, R. & I. Brunt, Leek, Staffordshire, silk-manufacturers.
NEWBURY, J., Reading, Berkshire, scrivener.
PLIMPTON, J., Finsbury-square, merchant.
SHARPLES, T., Liverpool, ironmonger.
TAYLOR, J. & S., Castleton Moor and Manchester, Lancashire, commission agents.
TRAFFORD, N., Oxford, Cook.

TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

DYBALL, D., Cambridge, oilman.
EVANS, J. J., St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, apothecary.

BANKRUPTS.

ARTHUR, J. H., Garlick-hill, wholesale-stationer.
BRADY, S., Kingston-upon Thames, grocer.
COX, W., Wombourn, Staffordshire, miller.
CURTIS, H. P., Romsey, Hampsh., scrivener.
DODSON, T., St. Paul's Church-yard, needle-manufacturer.
FULLERTON, W. A., Liverpool, mariner.
HOOPER, F. W., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, carver.

IOUGHIN, P., Liverpool, joiner.
LUMB, C. P., Leeds, commission-agent.
PITMAN, R., Park-lane, Piccadilly, saddler.
ROBERTS, R., Liverpool, ship-chandler.
SMITH, T., Edgeware-road, hosier.
WATTS, I., Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, stationer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CAMPBELL, J. and Co., Glasgow, curriers.
MONCREIFF, R. S., Edinburgh, wine-merchant.

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BOWE, T., Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, linen-draper.
FRANKLIN, G., Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, carrier.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHWIN, W., Aston-juxta, Birmingham, gilt-toy-manufacturer.
BICKERDIKE, G., Huddersfield, victualler.
CHAMBERS, T., Birmingham, publican.
DANIEL, P. H., Razees, Hertfordshire, cider-merchant.
DEVONPORT, J., Nantwich, Cheshire, shoe-manufacturer.
DRAGE, J., Northampton, horse-dealer.
HOLDEN, R, Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire.
PRIOR, H, Ludgate-hill, stationer.
SUTTON, G., New-street, Borough-road, builder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

WATT, J, and D. PIRIE, Glasgow, grain-merchants.

TUESDAY, JULY 8.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

URKINGTON, T., and Winlaw, Leeds, tin-plate-workers.

BANKRUPTS.

GOULDING, J., Basinghall-street, woollen-draper.
MESSENGER, F., Liverpool, corn-merchant.
MITCHELL, G., Bury-street, St. James's-street, tailor.
PALMER, G., Southampton, tailor.
PROUD, W., Bishop Auckland, Durham, banker.
SMITH, J., Rotherham, Yorkshire, grocer.

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

BRIGGS, W., Richmond, Surrey, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

BREWER, R., Walsall, Staffordsh., builder.
CASE, H, Fore-street, grocer.
CLISBY, T. W., Brighton, builder.
COADE, J, Devonport, grocer.
FLINT, J, Siltoe, Bedfordshire, shopkeeper.
HOLMAN, T., Devonport, printer.
HUGHES, R. O., Carnarvon, druggist.
MYERS, H., White-street, Cutler-street, Houndsditch, wholesale-stationer.
NORMAN, W., Mendham, Norfolk, wine-merchant.
NORVALL, T., King-street, West Smithfield, victualler.
OGDEN, J. E., Elland, Yorkshire, corn-miller.
PARKHOUSE, W. D., Tiverton, Devonshire, ironmonger.
SALTHOUSE, W., Poulton, Lancashire, maltster.
THORN, W. R., Southend, Essex, victualler.
TURNER, W., Purleigh, Essex, carpenter
VINEY, J., Crouch-end, Hornsey, carpenter.

TUESDAY, JULY 15.

INSOLVENTS.

EVANS, W. S, Robert-street, Bedford-row, bricklayer.
MASON, S, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, victualler.
RICHMOND, J G., Great Scotland-yard, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, G., Woolwich, linen-draper.
BARNES, J., Manchester, pork-butcher.
BUCKLEY, T., and R. Keenan, Liverpool, merchants.
CHESTER, G. G., Shrewsbury, tailor.
DRAYTON, J. and C., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, woollen-drapers.
EDWARDS, T., Manchester, publican.
EMMITT, W, Bourne, Lincolnshire, grocer.
EVANS, J. J., St. Neot's, Huntingdon, surgeon.
GOODMAN, J., Atcham, near Shrewsbury, innkeeper.
GUMMOW, W., Weymouth-street, Portland-place, furnishing-ironmonger.
HOLROYD, W. R., Great Scotland-yard, Westminster, plumber.
LE COUTEUR, J., St. Peter's-port, Guernsey, woollen-draper.
LANG, W., jun., High Bickington, Devonshire, and Exeter, glover.
MALL, J., Lanteglos, Cornwall, miller.
PHILLIPS, T., Wellclose-square, Lower Thames-st., & Cox's-quay, Lower Thames-street, lighterman.
SANDELL, E., Bristol, stay-maker.
THOMPSON, J., West Harding-street, bookbinder.
TURNER, F. E., Liverpool, wholesale-druggist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CAW, J., George-street, Edinburgh, haberdasher.

M'LAREN, D., Edinburgh, merchant-tailor.

SKELTON, J., Kinross, coach-contractor.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 14.—We had this morning a large show of samples of Wheat from Essex and Suffolk, but from Kent the supplies were more moderate. The millers evincing little disposition to take off even the better qualities at last week's currency, a decline of 1s. to 2s. per qr. was submitted to, and the middling descriptions very difficult of disposal at 2s. per qr. less money. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

Barley continues in short supply, and hardly equal to the demand for grinding qualities, which, in consequence, fully supported their former rates. In bonded parcels nothing doing, and prices nominal.

Malt was extremely dull, and sales to any extent could not have been effected, unless at a decline of 1s. per qr.

The supply of Irish Oats since the close of last week, having considerably increased, and several parcels of English and Scotch being left over unsold from Friday, the trade ruled heavy, and dealers and consumers evincing little anxiety to purchase, prices gave way 6d. to 1s. per qr., and the market closed dull. In bonded qualities there was hardly any inquiry, but holders were not inclined to recede in their demands.

Beans came sparingly to hand, and were unaltered in value.

Two or three parcels of new white Peas were at market, which were held at from 50s. to 52s. For some extra fine for seed 5*l* was asked. The currency therefore of the few parcels on hand is fully supported. Hog Peas met less inquiry, and were rather tending downwards in price. A new parcel obtained 39s. last week.

The Flour trade was firm, and fresh ship's quality remaining scarce, fully supported its former quotations.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s.	to 47s.
—— White	47s.	to 54s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s.	to 45s.
—— White, ditto	45s.	to 50s.
—— West Country red	41s.	to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s.	to 49s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	38s.	to 43s.
—— White, ditto	40s.	to 45s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	36s.	to 41s.
—— White, ditto	42s.	to 43s.
—— Irish red	35s.	to 39s.
—— White, ditto	39s.	to 41s.
Barley, Malting	30s.	to 32s.
—— Chevalier	30s.	to 32s.
—— Distilling	30s.	to 31s.
—— Grinding	27s.	to 30s.
Malt, new	37s.	to 47s.
—— Norfolk, pale	50s.	to 55s.
—— Ware	52s.	to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	36s.	to 40s.
—— Maple	40	to 42s.
—— White Boilers	45s.	to 49s.
Beans, Small	31s.	to 36s.
—— Harrow	31s.	to 36s.
—— Tick	31s.	to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22	to 24s.
—— Short, small	23s.	to 25s.
—— Poland	23s.	to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	23s.	to 25s.
—— —— Potato	26s.	to 28s.
—— —— Berwick	25s.	to 27s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s.	to 23s.
—— —— Potato	25s.	to 26s.
—— —— Black	22s.	to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s.	to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s.	to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s.	to —s. per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s.	to —s.
—— York	38s.	to —s.
Cheese, Dble Gloucester	48s.	to 68s.
—— Single ditto	41s.	to 48s.
—— Cheshire	54s.	to 74s.
—— Derby	50s.	to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s.	to 60s.
—— Cumberland	46s.	to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, July 14.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock, was, both as to numbers and quality, for the time of year, moderately good. In the early part of the day trade was unusually dull, but the salesmen seeming disposed to submit to but little abatement, beef ultimately began to move off slowly, at a depression of 2d. per stone; Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, quite as slowly, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a third of the beasts were short-horns; at least three-sixths about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Welsh runts; and the remaining about equal numbers of Scots and Irish beasts, and Town's-end Cows, with a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of Southdown and white-faced crosses, about a fourth Southdowns, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

I trust that the people of Nottingham, always the foremost in deeds praiseworthy, will now, by choosing Mr. EAGLE, show, that they are what their fathers were.

THE MINISTRY.

Bolt-court, 22. July, 1834.

When I wrote the last *Register* I was not in possession of all the facts relating to this affair. They have all now come out; and now I can lay the history fully before my readers. I was not in possession of dates so exactly as I am now.

On the 18 *of April* the Marquis of Wellesley informed the Government here, that it would be necessary to *renew the Coercion Bill in all its parts.* There were certain clauses in it that enabled the Lord-Lieutenant to suppress public meetings of every description, in every part of the country, though held for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, whether that part of the country where the meeting was held, was in a state of disturbance or not. This part of the bill was for the purpose of suppressing that which is called *political agitation;* and the Lord-Lieutenant particularly said, that it was necessary to suppress this. The court-martial clause, or, what I have always called it, the red-coat-court-of-justice clause, it appears to have been agreed, on all hands, not to renew, but all the rest of the bill a majority of the cabinet determined to renew.

On the 23. *of June* Lord Wellesley wrote over that he was willing to carry on the Government without the renewal of that part of the bill which related to the *political agitation.* Upon the strength of this Mr. Littleton told Mr. O'Connell, that that part of the bill would not be renewed, and he appears to have told him that he was authorized by Lord Althorp to tell him so; and, that he *had* told him so was discovered by Lord Althorp on the 7. of July.

It appears that the letter in which Lord Wellesley expressed himself as willing to go on without the clauses that interfered with political agitation, was a *private* letter to Lord Grey, written in consequence of representations made to Lord Wellesley by Mr. Littleton. This letter was communicated to the cabinet, which came to a division on the subject, when it appears, that those *for* and *against* the clause stood as follows:

FOR.

Lord Grey,
Lord Lansdowne,
Lord Auckland,
Lord Melbourne,
Lord Carlisle,
Lord Brougham,
Lord Palmerston,
Mr. Poulett Thomson.

AGAINST.

Lord Althorp,
Mr. Spring Rice,
Mr. Ellice,
Lord John Russell,
Mr. Abercrombie.

On the 7. of July Lord Althorp, finding that his name had been mentioned to Mr. O'Connell, who, of course, had been softened in his proceedings by this assurance, determined to have nothing to do with the carrying of the bill with those clauses still in it. Until he found that he had been committed in this manner, he thought himself bound to act in conformity with the decision of the majority of the ca-

binet; but, finding that he was thus committed, he saw the impossibility of his carrying the bill through the House of Commons with those clauses in it; and he therefore resolved to *quit his place.* This having been communicated to Lord Grey, who, knowing that he could not carry the bill without Lord Althorp, quitted his place.

Lord Althorp, it should be recollected, told us in the House of Commons, *long before any communication was made to Mr O'Connell by Mr. Littleton*; long before this, he told us, that there were to be *alterations in the Coercion Bill.* The intention to renew the bill had just been announced to the House of Lords by Lord Grey. Mr. O'Connell, hearing this, came into the House of Commons very much agitated, and asked Lord Althorp whether it was the intention of the Government to renew the bill: to which Lord Althorp answered: "It is our intention to propose the renewal of it, with *some alterations.*" So that it clearly appears, that he, from the very first, was resolved upon "*some alterations*"; and the court-martial clause was but one alteration.

Finding it impossible to go on with the Government at all without Lord Althorp, the rest of the cabinet, with the sole exception of Lord Grey, have submitted to carry through the bill without the obnoxious clauses in it; and it was brought into the House of Commons and read a first time last Friday night, and read a second time on Monday night; while the bill brought by Lord Grey into the other House *lies there to expire in silence.*

Perhaps there never was, take it altogether, a more curious occurrence than this. Here is a majority of a cabinet compelled to submit to a minority; or, rather, to say the truth, to submit to one of the members of that minority. Lord Althorp, seeing that they were willing thus to submit, had no longer any ground for resigning; and indeed, not to have kept his place under such circumstances, would have been to show great disregard for the peace of the country and for the interests of the King. The accusation preferred against him is, that it was he in fact who, through Mr. Littleton, prevailed upon Lord Wellesley to write the second letter. I see no harm in that. It was in order to prevail upon Lord Grey to change his opinion, he, Lord Althorp, having so great a reluctance to propose the measure to the House of Commons in its then shape; and well he might have such reluctance, after having most solemnly pledged himself, as he did last year, to do away with that horrible measure as soon as possible.

This transaction has established, beyond all doubt, that the Tories, AS THEY ARE CALLED, and all their political doctrines, are down for ever. There is no doubt that the King would have no objection to them; but they saw that they could not go on for a moment with this House of Commons. There is no doubt also that the majority of the cabinet yielded with very great reluctance, but they were compelled to yield or quit their places. They felt that the House of Commons was totally independent of them; and that in fact they could do nothing to which that House would not give its assent, and they further saw that Lord Althorp had an influence in that House, such as no other man had or was likely to have; and he is now, by whatever names or titles the several Ministers may go, THE MINISTER OF THE COUNTRY, and to him Ireland is indebted, and solely to him, for the non-introduction of the hateful clauses of the Coercion Bill, and he is bringing in *his own bill*, and the Tories will vote for it, and the Lords will vote for it, reproaching him most bitterly all the while. The rage of the Tories is perfectly boundless; they endeavour in all sorts of ways to cause it to be believed that he has *betrayed* Lord Grey. How can that be? He first resigned himself. His language was this: You are about to put upon me the carrying of a measure, against the carrying of which it is well known that I have declared my opinion. I cannot do this, and I must therefore leave you to carry it by some other hands. Nothing could be fairer than this. He

was bound, perhaps, to make some sacrifices; but nothing could bind him to make a sacrifice of his character for ever; and the loss of that character would besides have rendered him useless to Lord Grey. This is what he could not do; and yet, without him it was impossible for Lord Grey to go on

Lord Grey has to blame nobody but himself. He need not have persevered in insisting upon the whole of the bill. But while I should be very sorry to be capable of over-looking the good things that Lord Grey has done during his long political life-time, particularly the integrity which has always marked his character, it is justice to say of him that he has always, whether in power or out of power, taken *a high and haughty tone*: has always been for "*vigour*," which has been a favourite word with him; has always appeared to rely upon *force* rather than upon conciliatory measures and it is not to be disguised that his four years of sway have been four years of memorable severity towards the people, in England as well as in Ireland; and, if the Irish forget quickly he may depend upon it that the English will not. It is very curious that, in his very first speech after he became Minister, he promised the Lords that he would *not be deficient in vigour*; and that he closes his career with a volunteer offer to take charge of, and to carry through, if he can, the Poor-Law Bill; while he actually quits his place because Lord Althorp will not consent to attempt to carry through the Irish Coercion Bill in its most odious and wholly unmitigated shape, nor is it to be forgotten that of his very first acts was an *augmentation of the standing army* in time of peace. Amidst the performance of deeds like these, there seems to be great weakness in him to talk about keeping pace with the "*spirit of the age.*" What does he mean by this phrase? One would have thought that it meant an increasing desire in the people for an extension of their freedom, while all his measures and all his language, would lead us to suppose, that all his views were of precisely a contrary description. I remember that, when he was in power in 1807, his carriage towards the people was just what it has been now; I remember particularly his very harsh and severe conduct towards Mr. Paull, who had been a candidate for the city of Westminster. Upon that occasion I said, as may be seen in the Register of that date: "My Lord Howick, you and I are of the same "age, and if we both live a few years "we shall see the time when haughty "and supercilious looks and tone will "not avail you." The precise words I do not recollect, but I know that it was during the session of Parliament of 1807, and during the discussions on a petition presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Paull. This haughtiness and love of *force* have always distinguished him, and to that he now owes his fall, for FALL it is, let what may be done with an endeavour to disguise it As to *his age*, it is nonsense! It is only three years and three quarters since he became Minister. If he be too old for a Minister now, he was too old then; and the plain truth is, that he had no power but that which he derived from the character of Lord Althorp. Somehow or other the severities were never ascribed to the latter; but always to himself. The menacing tone which he always held was doubtless the cause of this But, so it was; and he was actually worn out as a Minister: the nation was weary of his threats and severities. You meet not with a single man who is not glad that he is no longer a Minister. As to Lord Brougham, his is a curious predicament. I should like to see the man, who, with the means of eating and drinking and of covering his back at command, can envy that noble person. He approved of the bill with the clauses in it; he defended those clauses to the utmost: he said, in defence of them, just what the Tories now say, and yet, he is now ready to receive, to defend, and to pass the bill of Lord Althorp without the clauses in it! In his speech of the 9. of July when Lord Grey stated that he had resigned, he said nothing about resigning himself. In a subsequent speech he said that Lord Althorp had

been *misinformed* when he stated that the cabinet was dissolved; he said that the cabinet was *complete*, with the *exception* of the places of Lords Grey and Althorp; and there were people to believe that he really meant to be *Minister himself!* How a thought like this could come into any brain not actually swimming in laudanum and brandy, mixed up with a considerable portion of hereditary insanity, I cannot imagine; but there really was an idea of this sort afloat, strengthened no doubt by the noble lord's rather ostentatious assertions, that he had *so long possessed the confidence of his sovereign and of the country!* Be this as it may, the noble lord has discovered that, notwithstanding the *necessity* of the clauses, the adoption of which he so strongly urged, it is quite proper in him to remain in his present place and to support Lord Althorp's bill without the clauses, notwithstanding the Ministry was quite complete, *all but* the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; that is to say, in fact, that they might go on very well without this same Lord Althorp. The Morning Chronicle worked hard for three or four days to make the public believe, that, at all events, Lord Brougham's retaining power was absolutely necessary to the very existence of the Government. It did not absolutely say that he ought to be Prime Minister, but it insinuated as much: the troops of commissioners were all in alarm. They may be safe for the present; but I am very much deceived if commissions will be so fruitful as they were under the sway of Lord Grey. I am very much of the opinion that we shall see a great change in that respect, I deeming it impossible that Lord Althorp should give his countenance to such a mode of carrying on the Government and such a mode of expending the public money.

Every one is now satisfied that the real power is now in the hands of Lord Althorp; but nobody will know better than he, that, in proportion to his power must be *the weight* upon his shoulders; and that weight is such, that one would think nothing short of madness on the one hand, or of very extraordinary devotion to his country on the other, could induce any man living voluntarily to assume it. In this case it must be the latter, because he is a man of extraordinarily good understanding. When he came into power, his proposition to tax the transfers of stock, led me to hope that he saw the absolute necessity of relieving the land and the labour of the country of a part of the enormous burdens occasioned by the usurers. No proposition in the world was ever more reasonable: nothing ever was more just. Land pays a tax upon its transfer; goods of all sorts pay a tax on their transfer; why not stock pay a tax on its transfer? He did not make the proposition without having satisfied himself of its justice and of its practicability. Yet he was driven from it, and that, too, without cause assigned by himself. It was, observe, a proposition in his own department, and originating with himself. Will he confess that he was foolish or unjust in making this proposition? He will confess no such a thing. Well, then, having the power now, which he has completely, and assured to him in the solidest manner, will he not adopt that which he thought ought to have been adopted; or will he still be induced to hunt about after modes of relief, which, besides their dangerous and revolutionary character, must of necessity be wholly ineffectual for the purpose?

The difficulties which he has to overcome are of a very stubborn nature. The claims of Dissenters, the corporation abuses, the squabbling about tithes, the reforms of the church: as to all these there is great division of opinion in the country; but a demand for the lightening of their burdens; in this the people are unanimous, from the landowner down to the hand-loom weaver and the labourer; and this demand he will not be able long to resist without resorting to a paper-money not convertible into gold. The pressure is so great upon the owners and occupiers of land; so great upon every one who does not live upon the taxes, that he must lessen it, or he cannot go on. His character,

and the circumstances which are known to surround him, have enabled him to get through what no other man in the kingdom would have dared to encounter; but even that character and those circumstances will not be able to support him in the carrying on of this system of taxation and of expenditure. A very large part of the House of Commons lean most implicitly upon his judgment and his integrity; but, if he persevere in this system, which is fattening swarms of idlers and usurers at the expense of legitimate owners of estates and of the industrious classes of every description, universal clamour from without will assail him in a very short time; and he will find himself by degrees deserted from within. He alone it is that has supported the system thus far during the last three years; but he himself cannot support it for another three years.

Why is it that he has the power now? Because it was impossible to find another man who would have had the smallest chance of prevailing with the House of Commons to keep up the present amount of taxes. If Lord Brougham had been made Prime Minister, I warrant you he would have found a Chancellor of the Exchequer pretty soon; but, then, where was he to have found one that would have been able to persuade the gentlemen of England, that it was proper to raise fifty millions a year from them in gold, with wheat, upon an average through the kingdom, of five and threepence the bushel? Very easy to get a Chancellor of the Exchequer. Aye, and a man to make very pretty speeches too, but not a man to effect a purpose like this.

For this reason I wish the noble and learned lord had been made Prime Minister. His Chancellor of the Exchequer would not have been able to make the House rescind its motion upon the malt-tax; no, this was the difficulty, and the only difficulty that there was in the forming of the Ministry. There were candidates enough for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, I dare say; but the thing was to find a man at whose suggestion the House of Commons would consent to continue to pay the fundowner two bushels of wheat for one; and Lord Althorp himself will not be able to make them continue to do this for three years longer. To a paper-money not convertible into gold he would not come, I believe. If he were to do it, revolution would come in that way. It is most likely that he will endeavour to uphold the present system of taxation as long as he can; that he will beat about amongst tithes and poor-rates to find out the means of relief; but that, at last, he will either come to a reduction of the interest of the debt, and a great reduction of the other expenses, or give up the thing in despair, leaving it to take its chance and to beat about amongst the rocks of revolution.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

I AM told that a very fine field of the *Italian clover*, the *trifolium incarnatum*, which has made so much talk in the neighbourhood of Reading, came from seed sold by me. I am afraid that this is not true; for I am afraid that some at least of the seed that I sold is not the *trifolium incarnatum*. It will be remembered that I notified that I did not know any thing about the seed; but that if it were of the same sort as that which I had seen in the Isle of Wight, it would stand the winter, and was a very excellent thing. I had no opportunity of sowing any in the fall of the year to any extent; and, therefore, I could not ascertain to a certainty, whether it would stand the winter or not. That point, however, has been now ascertained by Sir J. TYRRELL, in Essex, and also at Reading. Circumstances which are of no importance to the reader, prevented me from sowing any of the seed until the 19. of May. I then sowed a little drill of it, which was fifteen inches high on the 13. of July, with a *white* blossom in the shape of the common red clover. So that this is not the *trifolium incarnatum*, at any rate; although a thing of surprisingly quick growth and very fine

food for horses. At the same time I sowed a yard square of *lucerne*, in little drills; a yard square of the seed of the *incarnatum* that I got in the Isle of Wight: one drill of white clover, and one drill of broad clover. The broad clover far exceeds the *incarnatum* in bulk, at this time, and so does the white clover; and I am very much disposed to believe that if either of these were sowed in September in clean ground, and some of the *trifolium incarnatum* sowed at the same time and in the same sort of ground, either of the two former would beat the latter in quantity of food for horses, in the succeeding month of May or June.* The broad clover sown on the 19. of May, in clean ground, and good ground, but without manure, is now *nine inches high.* But the *lucerne*, then! I cut the yard of lucerne on the 17. of July; and it weighed one pound five ounces and a quarter, which is about *three tons to the acre.* It will yield two more cuttings this summer; and these two cuttings will yield at the rate of five tons to the acre at each cutting; that is to say, thirteen tons to the acre *the first summer.* This plant *lasts for ever.* To be sure, it must be *kept clean*, and have a *dry bottom* soil; but there is hardly any farm which has not some few acres of such ground. Nothing yet heard of equals this. Upon the whole, I do not think that the *incarnatum* will beat the broad clover, as early food for horses and cattle, if both be treated in the same manner.

My Cobbett-Corn is exceedingly fine where it has not been assailed by the *wire-worm.* Where it has, I have sowed turnips between; so that, even in this case, there is very little loss arising from the failure of the corn. I never saw any so fine as that which is not assailed by the wire-worm.

CABBAGES. Those who have read my Cottage Economy, which gives the instructions for keeping a cow all the year round on the produce of a statute quarter of an acre of ground, are aware of the high opinion that I have long had of the cabbage culture for the purpose of [illegible]. This year, fearing that I should be short of hay, I resolved to mow a meadow of seven acres which has never before been mowed, but has always been fed by cows and other cattle; yet, as I had ten cows and a bull to keep during the summer, and no pasture land until after hay-making time, I was obliged to provide something to supply the place of this meadow. I determined upon having *two acres and a half* of cabbages. I had no plants, or I should have planted them out in November. I bought some of Mr. Poynter, of Fulham, in the first week in March, and they cost me four pounds. Middle of March I planted them, twenty thousand plants, four thousand early York and sixteen thousand early Battersea, on two acres and a half of ground, and on ridges four feet apart. Beginning of June 3. or 4., I began to feed my cows with them and also the pigs, flinging the cabbages about the yard morning and night. There have been ten cows and a bull and fifty hogs and pigs (thirty-eight of which about a year old), living on these cabbages from the first week in June to this day; and *one half* of the cabbages are not yet consumed. The cows are as fat as milch-cows *can be*; and the hogs (except sows that are giving suck) are quite fit to kill for fresh pork. The cows are turned out on a bare field for air, but the hogs and pigs have had *nothing but cabbages.* This field of cabbages will last till the middle of September; we take away the *bursting* ones first. I should like to hear of any thing to produce a quantity of food equal to this from two acres and a half of ground. As the ground is cleared, a new plantation follows; and by the time that you have finished the first plantation you may begin upon the second, which will carry you on till near Christmas, and all from the same piece of ground. I was not in a condition to have *plants*, so that I am not so complete in this respect as I should have been. *Now* I am provided with plants of all sorts; and I am about to plant six acres with savoys (the richest of all cabbages), which will have large loaves the latter end of November. It is seldom that

our winters will injure a savoy-cabbage and I verily believe that these six acres of savoys would, without anything else keep the whole of the stock above-mentioned from Christmas-day to Lady day; though it would not be desirable to feed upon them quite so late.

It is a great mistake to suppose that what are called *cattle-cabbages* are fittest for cattle. Dogs will eat carrion, or bullock's liver; but no one will contend that it is *better for them* than slices of roast beef or leg of mutton; in short, cattle-cabbages are coarse things, having not half the nutrition in them that the fine garden-cabbages have The proof of the good quality of these garden-cabbages is, not that the milch-cows are as fat as milch-cows can be, and that they give great quantities of milk, and make what I think will prove to be, when it is of proper age, excellent cheese; this is not the proof, for the cows were wintered most excellently well, and they might have done upon cattle-cabbages as well as they have upon these. But that which will be allowed to be a proof by every body who knows any thing of the matter is this, that *a hog* from six months to a year old not only *lives* and *grows* but *partly fats* by feeding upon these cabbages twice a day, and having *nothing else*, not even the washings of a swill-tub. There are several of these young hogs which were in very good case in the spring, having had sometimes Swedish turnips and sometimes mangel-wurzel; but since they have had the cabbages they are actually growing fat; and as all the animals feed together, the hogs have not the best of it, the cows generally taking the first bite into the loaves of the cabbages. The bull is in a condition fit to be killed for beef, and I am sure that these cabbages alone would make an ox right fat between May and December, and that one acre of cabbages would fat two large oxen, if not three.

There is another great mistake; and that is, the supposition that a *greater weight* on an acre is produced by the cattle-cabbages. The monstrous stems and monstrous under-leaves require four feet each way for each plant, that is to say, about *two thousand five hundred* upon an acre. My cabbages are four feet one way and fifteen inches the other way, which makes them about *eight thousand* upon the acre, so that there are eight of these to three and a half of the other; some of these weigh twelve pounds with a stem not bigger than my thumb. The cattle-cabbage has a stem as big as your wrist at the least, and makes a considerable part of its weight. I believe the crop to be much heavier of these garden-cabbages than any crop for cattle that I ever saw.

But this is far from being all. For to have cattle-cabbage ripe at the beginning of the winter you must sow them in the *month of August* at latest, plant them out in *February* at the latest; and thus they must occupy the ground for eleven months after they are put out. Whereas of the other cabbages you may have three crops *completely loaved* on the same ground in the same time. I have a memorandum of the year 1831 in these words: "The early 'dwarf-cabbages, *sowed* 8. of June, 'planted out 28. July, have now *hard* '*loaves*, and some of them are bursting." This is under the date of the 30. of September; that is, one hundred and fourteen days from the time of dropping the seed into the ground to the time of cutting the loaved cabbages; and only *sixty two days* for them to occupy the ground after being planted out; so that, by having beds of cabbage plants always at hand (and nothing is so easy), you may keep the ground always full of cabbages coming on, and make ten acres of land produce more food than is generally found on all the pastures of a considerable arable farm. But attention must be paid, and it requires but very little, to be *provided always with beds of plants*. Attention must also be paid to adapt *the sorts* of cabbages to the season of the year. My main crop this year is the early Battersea, such as are universally raised by the market-gardeners around London and sold in the London markets. It is a very good cabbage, but it is not so early by fifteen days as the early York,

and not so early by nearly a month as the *early dwarf*. Of these greater numbers still will stand upon an acre; so that you still have the same weight of crop however small the sort. Great attention is necessary also as to the sort. It has taken me now more than seven years to get perfectly true seed. If you think to do it by saving the seed from the stump of a particularly fine cabbage and planting it by itself at a great distance from every thing of the kind, you may find yourself deceived. For it may have come from a seed along with other seeds from a bad plant; and then the seeds that you save will produce some bad ones. You must keep on expelling the bad ones *for years* before you will get the seed to be true. Mr. JOHNSON, of Manchester, had a very fine early dwarf cabbage, and as nothing of the kind could stand anywhere near it, within miles, as far as I know, I begged of him to save me the seed, which he did. I sowed it with great care, and a full fourth part of the plants were a sort of kale. This therefore is a matter worthy of great attention.

The excellence of cabbage, if you have these sorts especially, is, the circumstance that they stand in the *bed*, and wait for your taking them to plant out; and that theycan go outwhen yourground is ready; and that they occupy the ground where they are to come to perfection for so short a space of time. Plants for six acres of ground occupy a bed of not more than six or seven rods. I have seen cabbage fields to the north, but I never yet saw a really good one. It is a monstrous mistake to suppose that they are only *for winter use*, or are to be used only in October, or November, or December. There, are then, Swedish turnips and mangel-wurzel; but there are not these in May and June, when you may have early cabbages, and when you want to keep the cattle out from the meadows and the clover fields. My crop is very fine this year, and has gone beyond all my calculations in my "COTTAGE ECONOMY."

Of the *fattening* quality of the fine sorts of cabbages, *the hog* is my proof. After six or eight months old, a hog will *live* upon mangel-wurzel, Swedish turnips, raw potatoes; and in summer time, he will *live* upon lucerne, or on fresh broad clover; but at the utmost he will only keep himself in a state of health, without a slop, or without corn of some sort, or in some shape; but upon these cabbages, if he be above nine months old, he will fatten to a certain extent without any assistance from the *trough*, and without a grain of corn of any sort. If you come to either of these there is plague and there is expense: you must take the thing just as it comes out of the field, or the profit in rearing him is very doubtful; and you can keep no more than your milk-slops and your porridge-pots, or your corn-bins, will allow you to keep. The hog-kind are expensive and troublesome until they be *six months* old; after that, if you keep them *without corn*, or *trough*, they are little trouble and expense. At *six months* they are, if lean, hardly worth at this time, 25*s*., but a hog, *two years old*, is worth from to 4*l*. to 5*l*., for give him three-quarters of barley, and he will weigh 20 score, and then he is worth 10*l*., and the barley will not sell for more than 4*l*. at most; and he is, like a sack of wheat, *every body's money*. But you must keep him till he be *two years old*; and this you must do *without corn* or *trough*. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance for a farmer to be *provided with food*, on which he will thrive during the two years, summer as well as winter, and food other than *corn* or *trough*.

ON THE 21. JULY, I PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING PETITIONS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1. *Farmers meeting at Banbury-market.* Complains of the monstrous evils inflicted on the country by the *malt-tax*; and prays for its immediate abolition.
2. *Cartwright Club.* Sets forth the great disappointment of the people at the result of the Reform Bill; complains of the frightful state of society in this country, trades' unions, burnings, &c.; all pro-

duced by heavy taxation. Prays for *annual Parliaments, universal suffrage*, and *vote by ballot*.

3. Doon (Limerick). States that the parish contains above 800 families, only 6 of whom are Protestants; that they are compelled to pay 900*l*. a year to a Protestant parson that the people actually die of starvation. They, therefore, pray that *the tithes* may be appropriated for the *relief of the poor*, and that the deficiency be *made up by a compulsory poor-rate*.
4. *National Union of the Working Classes*. Prays for the *repeal of the union*.
5. *Aughagane* (*Mayo*). *Repeal of the union*.
6. Same place. Prays for the *total abolition of tithes*, in name and effect.
7. Stratford-upon-Avon. Prays for the abolition of all oppressive taxes; and, in lieu thereof, for *a tax upon the debt*, as the only means of preserving this form of Government. *Same place*. Prays for the *total abolition of tithes, church-rates*, and *all other ecclesiastical dues*.
8. *John Templer, Lymington*. Sets forth that none of the tithes in his parish are received by the parson, or applied to the use of the church.
9. *Pitmen of the Tyne and Wear*, (signed by several thousands). Prays for the repeal of the export duties on coals, and for *universal suffrage, annual Parliaments*, and *vote by ballot*.
10. *Hand-loom weavers of Leigh, Lancaster*. Complains of their dreadful distress, and prays for the establishment of a board of trade for the *regulation of the rate of wages*.
11. *John Phillips, Great Chapel-street, Westminster*. Complains that a seizure of his goods was made for arrears of assessed taxes; that, though the amount of such arrears was but 17*l*., goods to the value of 40*l*. were taken from him; that no inventory was left with petitioner, nor does he know of the ultimate destination of his property; (and that all this was done without the *production of any authority* by the *sheriff's officer who made the distraint*. Prays the House for protection and redress.
12. *Thomas Poynter, North End, Fulham*. Sets forth that he is a gardener and bookseller; that he has been a bookseller in consequence of his anxiety for the "diffusion of Useful Knowledge," having the imposing example of the Lord Chancellor before his eyes, and that he sold a book of which he was the author; that petitioner claimed an exemption from the Window-Tax, according to the Act, on his shop, but that his claim was disallowed. He therefore prays for the *total abolition of the Window-Taxes*.
13. *Robert Dent* (*writer*), *Durham*. Prays that the House will *reject the Sabbath* bill; but that, if it pass, some other day in the week may be allotted for the recreation of the working people.
14. *Coalmen on the river Clyde*. Prays the House to reject the newly-proposed method of measuring the *tonnage of shipping*.
15. *John Mudge*. Sets forth that he was forcibly driven from the town of Witherby in Yorkshire, by a Mr. Scott, a magistrate; that petitioner had committed no act of vagrancy, of drunkenness, of assault, or any annoyance even to any body; that the said magistrate committed petitioner to Wakefield prison for a month, which was not enforced, on condition of his leaving the town instantly, which he did: petitioner has laid the case before Lord Melbourne, but has got no redress. He, therefore, *prays the House for justice*.
16. *W. F. G. Waldron*. Prays for a law to prevent any person working more than five days in the week, and, ultimately, to restrict it to four days.
17. *Edward J. Jones, Craven-buildings, Drury-lane, coal-merchant*. Sets forth that, in 1832, he landed *seven tons of coals* at the Horse-

ferry, Millbank; and that a demand of 2s. 6d. for the same was made in the name of the *Marquis of Westminster*: that he would not pay this sum till he had cause shown him: that thereupon an action was commenced against him *in the Court of King's Bench*: that he has twice been prepared to defend himself; that his witnesses attended five days; but that the plaintiff has always succeeded in procuring delay. Prays that the House will prevent the wealthy from dragging the poor into expensive courts for so *trifling a sum as two and sixpence*, as the suit has cost petitioner *already 200l., without ever having had a trial.*

18. *Repeal Association, Manchester.* Sets forth that the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill is an act of spoliation and robbery on the poor; and prays that the House will not proceed with the bill, until all who are interested in its provisions have *had time to become acquainted with its contents.*
19. Of Mr. EDWARD EDWARDS, complaining that divers officers of the Navy have obtained their commissions in an unlawful manner; and praying that a committee may be appointed to inquire into the matter.
20. Inhabitants of EASTHAM, Cheshire, complaining of the enormous sums charged as *burial fees*, and praying for a law to regulate them.
21. Certain inhabitants of Brentford, praying the House to maintain the rights of the poor.
22. Political Union and others of Brentford, praying for shorter Parliaments and a more extended suffrage.
23. Political Union and others of Maidstone, praying for a reduction of that taxation which presses so heavily on the working classes.
24. From the same, praying for an extension of the *right to vote* for members of this House, and praying, that the *qualification* of members may be changed from *possession of land*, to possession of *knowledge, integrity*, and *political courage.*
25. Manchester Repeal Association complain that Mr. CLEAVE is imprisoned for circulating *cheap* and *useful knowledge*, which his Majesty's Ministers make a display of their wish to see the people educated; and they pray that the House will cause inquiry to be made into the matter.
26. Protestant Dissenters in the Borough of Oldham, pray *for an abolition of the connexion between Church and State,* which they look upon as the cause of all those ecclesiastical restrictions and all those unjust demands, to which they are subjected, and which common sense as well as common justice condemn. I pressed this petition on the attention of the House; its ability, its clearness, its sensible statements, and its moderation of tone, all concurring to claim for it particular attention and respect. But, I added, that never would the Dissenters obtain any redress until they cordially *united*, and united too *with the church-people*, who have as much to complain of as they have.

INTENDED VISIT TO IRELAND.

I HAVE resolved to see this country with my own eyes; to judge for *myself*, and to give a true account of it, as far as I am able, to the people of England. I am resolved to go, as if to a country about which I had never said a word. I have, now, for two sessions of Parliament, listened to such contradictory statements, both coming from gentlemen of unimpeachable veracity, that it is impossible I should not desire to have the evidence of the facts before me. It is impossible for me to disbelieve, wholly and entirely disbelieve, all the statements made on either side. In short, I have a desire to know the real truth; and if I cannot get at it by seeing the country, very few men can. I

have seen the claims of the Irish people to *free trade* granted. The want of that was then the burden of complaint; next, *Catholic Emancipation* was to heal every wound: it was granted to an extent never called for, and that has failed. The existence of *tithe* and of *church-rates* was next the great scourge of Ireland; the latter has been abolished, and the former has been so far extinguished as hardly to be a bone of contention; yet the discontents and troubles are as great as ever. I have, ever since the year 1812, or thereabouts, contended for a *legal provision for the destitute* in Ireland: I am satisfied that nothing but that can make that fine and populous country what it ought to be, but I have a desire to know whether this my opinion is well founded. I fear that, if Ireland continue in this state of alienation from England, for many years longer, very great dangers will arise from it, especially in case of war with the United States of America, which must come first or last; and few things would give me so much happiness as to see that danger completely and for ever rendered impossible. It will be my duty, while in Ireland, to inculcate my own opinions relative to the remedy for the evils of that country; and in doing this, I must be clear from the influence of any consideration whatever, relative to the opinions of others.

For this reason, and in order to keep myself clear of all bias; in order that I may discharge this duty in the manner that becomes me, it is my resolution *to be present at no public dinner*; to be a guest at the house of no gentleman in that country; but, to go from inn to inn, and to mix, as much as I can, with persons in the middle rank of life, and to see as much as I can of the real state of the working people of the country. I know, that to refuse invitations is disagreeable; but this I shall undergo, rather than suffer myself to be committed in any conversations, or to be biassed on the one side or the other, in the smallest degree. I will go to no public meeting whatsoever, in-doors or out-of-doors. If I find it convenient, and likely to be useful, I shall proceed precisely as I did in Scotland, avoiding, by all means, in so inflammable a country, to meddle with any question in which the utterance of my opinions might be likely, in any degree whatsoever, to widen the breach which now so unhappily exists I am aware that a feeling of gratitude to me exists in the breasts of all Catholics. I wish them to remember, however, that I am a Protestant of the church of England myself; and I here repeat to them what I said to DOCTOR DOYLE, *that the History of the Protestant Reformation was simply the effect of my desire to do justice, and no more than justice, to the character and the religion of those, our own forefathers, who built the cathedrals and the churches.* If they bear this in mind, and after this abatement think me worthy of their thanks, it is very well; but I wish to be clearly understood as entitled to them on no other condition. My desire is, to see such a state of things as to make me believe that England (in which name I include the whole kingdom) will *always be*; not only for my lifetime, but always, the greatest country in the world; and I would not give a straw for any effort that did not include that object. I do not desire to see the form of government changed; but, let what will come, "*let England be the greatest, the happiest country in the world.*" That has been my ruling passion ever since I arrived at the age of serious thought. I fear that it will not be so, without a perfect reconciliation between this country and Ireland. I believe (though the belief may be vain) that my going to Ireland at this time may have a tendency to ensure that object, and therefore to Ireland I will go.

Precisely *when* I shall start, or to what place I shall go first, I have not yet made up my mind. Probably immediately after the prorogation of Parliament I shall commence this tour, relative to which I shall have other opportunities of stating particulars.

POOR-LAW BILL.

UPON the motion of BROUGHAM this bill has been read a second time in the House of Lords; and it will, I dare say, be passed. I, believing this, and knowing how sharp the *fangs* of the THING are, shall, in my *writings*, take care to keep out of the reach of those fangs. But, I am by no means disposed to let the subject *drop*. The speech of BROUGHAM lets out *his*, and *all their*, real INTENTIONS; and that those intentions are (to the full extent) *what I described them*, in my speech on the *third reading*, is now manifest to all but the stark blind. I shall insert here below, from the *Times newspaper*, the whole of this debate in the Lords; and I request the particular attention of the reader to the speech of LORD RADNOR, which has *surprised* me more than any thing I ever read in all my life! We must have this debate ON RECORD; on safe record; for it will be matter to refer to in *three years time*, or thereabouts I will next week, in the form of a letter to LORD RADNOR, canvass this debate; I will ask *him* some questions, which I should like to see him attempt to answer; and I will not fail to deal properly with the doctrines of BROUGHAM.

This last-mentioned man, who is, it seems, *now* ready to support the Irish Bill, *without the clauses*, talks of the "*gulf*" of poor-rates, into which the *lords' estates* are falling. Why, does not he know, then, that the money collected under the *name* of poor-rates is *not half* received *by the poor*? Let him (no: *not him*, but LORD RADNOR) read the following letter from General JOHNSTONE, whom he knows very well; and, then talk of the "*gulf*" again, if he can. It is impossible to read this letter without seeing that the real object of this bill is, not to *lower the rates*, but to LOWER THE WAGES!! Let the working people *look to this*, and begin, *in time*, to be prepared for it. My letter to LORD RADNOR shall contain an exposition of the whole thing. Mark; the real object is to LOWER WAGES, and make the people live ON A COARSER FOOD, in order to prevent the ESTATES from being "ENGULFED." The rates amount to about FOUR millions a year; but, the wages amount to FIFTY or SIXTY millions! Here is the "*true wine*"! If English working people can be brought to *potatoes* and *sea-weed*, and to go half naked, three-fourths of those millions will go into the pockets of the landowners. By every possible means that I can use, I will give circulation to my letter to LORD RADNOR; and, I will take good care, that not one single parish in Wiltshire or Berkshire, shall be without it *Let him answer*! This is the cause of *farmers* and *tradesmen* as well as of *working men*. It is the *landowners* (including the parsons) on one side; *and all the rest of the community on the other side*. No: it is the fundholders, the dead-weight, and the army, that "ENGULF" their *estates*. And, did the *working people* contract the debt? Did *they* make the dead-weight? Did *they* cause *two millions* to be spent in *secret-service money* during the last forty years; and one million of it *since the peace*? Did *they* cause *fifty millions* to be given *to tax-gatherers alone* since the peace? Did *they* demand a standing army? Did *they* call for new palaces and for gateways, one of the last of which to cost *seventy thousand pounds*? Oh! these are not *their* works: and they are not, in consequence of them, to come to *potatoes* and *sea-weed*, and that my Lord Radnor shall KNOW. I think nothing of BROUGHAM'S works, in this case: but, I think a great deal of Lord Radnor's works; and I will utter my thoughts without any disguise; and I shall have no scruple in taking it for granted, that his support of this bill is founded on the principles laid down by Brougham.

I have always been a supporter of the *rights of all* the orders in the state; I have always, even in opposition to the popular feeling and wishes, and much really to my own *disadvantage*, been a supporter of the rights and privileges of the *nobility*, and of all *landowners*; but, it was, of course, on the ground, that they were *not to take away*

the rights of the working people, and the people in the *middle rank of life*. This bill, if it become a law, *changes the whole of the constitution of government in England and Wales*: the same relationships no longer exist, and every man is bound to act accordingly.

Since the bill has been in the House of Lords; and, indeed, through the whole of the discussion relating to it, the *Times* newspaper has done its duty in hostility to this measure, with a degree of spirit, of ability, and of perseverance, such as has been rarely witnessed in any publication, and Mr. WALTER, the member for Berkshire, did his duty in opposing the second reading, in a manner not to speak in praise of which, I should, all the circumstances considered, be guilty of the most shameful meanness and neglect of my duty.

GENERAL JOHNSTONE'S LETTER.

NEW POOR-LAW BILL.

To the Rate-Payers of the County of Lincoln.

I take the liberty of calling your attention to the Poor Bill now before Parliament, as a measure that appears to me pregnant with great and serious evil; and I earnestly recommend petitions to the House of Lords against so unjust, injurious, and unconstitutional a measure's becoming the law of the land.

I am afraid this bill, so hastily passed by the House of Commons, is very little understood in the country. It immediately deprives all rate-payers of *every control* over the money they may be called upon to pay in the shape, or under the name, of *poor rates*. It takes all *power of relief to the poor* out of the parochial officers' hands, and places it in those of commissioners appointed by Government, strangers to us all. It gives most unconstitutional and dangerous power to these commissioners, who may incorporate any number of parishes, and may direct *poor-houses* to be built *when* and *where* they please, and may thus huddle together the unfortunate poor of numerous parishes, *dividing* families who may want only temporary relief; and even such relief as this, they may be obliged to go thirty or forty miles to seek.

It *refuses all relief*, out of these poor-houses, to the *able-bodied*, however willing and desirous they may be to procure work; thus compelling those who are *unable to obtain* work, either to steal or to starve! It empowers these commissioners, who are no way responsible to the parishes, to borrow money on the parish rates to build these poor-houses; and also to borrow money to send people out of the country, if they can persuade them to go; thereby incurring a debt, or pawning the parish rates, in the same sort of way that "the debt commonly called *national*" has been incurred – a curse upon the country, and the *real cause* of all our evils. Taxes, tithes, and rates, were no burden till this monster came to live in idleness on the industry and labour of man.

It is not sending people out of the country, or huddling them together in large poor-houses, that is wanted; nor is it the *want of work that requires doing*, but it is, that there are not *sufficient means* in the hands of those who should naturally employ the people, to *pay them for their labour*. This bill professes to give relief to the agriculturist, but it does not show *how*; and what relief *can* such a measure give us, but that which it *takes from* the *poorest* of the *poor*? Is there a man in England who can wish for such relief as this!

The outcry that has been raised against the poor-laws is most unjust—in fact, the *poor receive* little more than *half* the sum raised under the name of "*poor-rates*." The *county rates*, and all other expenses of the parish (except the church and highway rates), are collected under the head of "*poor rates*." In this part of the parish of Wytham (the hamlets of Toft, Lound, and Manthorpe, providing for their own poor) the poor book of last year, on an expenditure of 182*l.* 2*s.*, shows the following sums: county-rates, 37*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; parish expenses, 25*l.* 6*s.*; together, 62*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; leaving 120*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, of which there appears to have been 17*l.* advanced to a woman to enable her to join her husband abroad, 6*l.* 10*s.* for medical attendance, and 8*l.* 16*s.* for coals (mostly in hand), which, if also taken from the above will leave only 87*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* out of 182*l.* 18*s.* *actually received* by the poor. And in the preceding year, the proportions are much the same. I request any person to examine his own parish book, and he will find a large proportion of the money raised under the names of poor-rates *does not go to the poor*.

The clause relating to bastardy, as originally in the bill, was an absolute encouragement to seduction; it took away the natural right of a father to support his own child; and though certainly improved in the committee, still there is a cruel injustice upon the unfortunate female who may fall a victim to the falsehood or craft of man, which must occasion a heavy expense upon her *family*, or the *parish*.

In short, if this bill pass into law, there is an end of the *right of Englishmen to distribute their own parochial funds*, to the humane and charitable office of protecting their own poor. The unfortunate people will be huddled together like felons in a prison, subject to one common allowance, and under the discipline of commissioners appointed by Government, wholly unacquainted with every local connexion, and without the slightest parochial responsibility, which has for so many years

favoured and held together the connexion of one class of persons with another. Thus will every tie be broken between the unfortunate poor and the rate-payer. Nor is it probable that the "poor-rates" will be reduced by any such means as are provided by this bill; for all those who are to administer this law, should it unfortunately for *England* become such, will be *paid agents* of the *Minister of the day*!

Having acted as a magistrate for many years, well knowing how the present system works, and foreseeing how that intended must *oppress the poor* and *injure the rate payer*, I have felt it a duty to endeavour to point out a few of the mischievous consequences, and the great injustice that will be done to the most helpless, if this unconstitutional and fatal measure should pass into law. I therefore strongly recommend petitions to the House of Lords to stop the bill.

I have the honour to remain,
Your very obedient servant,
W. A. JOHNSTONE.

Wytham on the Hill, 9. *July*, 1834.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE POOR-LAWS AMENDMENT BILL,

On Monday, 21. July, 1834.

The LORD CHANCELLOR then rose and said, that in rising to address their lordships on the present occasion, he was abundantly satisfied of the difficulty of the task he had undertaken. He rose to propose to their lordships a subject of paramount importance, an importance which was increased by its difficulties in principle, and its complexity in detail. On the present occasion he had not that satisfaction which it had often been his lot to enjoy, namely, of knowing that the subject matter of the bill to the second reading of which he had to invite their lordships' consent had been treated with equal favour amongst the people of this country as many other questions of reform, both political and legal, which it had been his lot to propound to their lordships. (Hear, hear). That the people at large were, generally speaking, more indifferent to this bill than their own interests, and their close connexion with those evils which made a change in the existing state of the poor-laws to themselves most desirable, would seem to justify. That they did not buoy up with their approbation those who brought forward the bill to which he (the Lord Chancellor) solicited the attention of their lordships he admitted; but he must also contend that many had manfully but rationally resisted all attempts which had been made to pervert their judgment, and to lead them to join in the clamour which had been raised, adverse to the principles of the measure, and that, indifferent as the public might more or less be to the magnitude of this bill, and its vast interest to themselves, still the reflecting part of the community were decidedly with it, and he must add that the obloquy in store for those who gave their support to the measure was confined to a comparatively very small portion of the community of England and Wales. (Hear). If, however that proportion had been still less, if even a greater degree of obloquy had been cast upon this measure than had emanated from some individuals of great ability, of much knowledge, of well-earned influence over people's opinions on political matters and ephemeral topics involving political discussions; if the efforts of these individuals, acting most undoubtedly under the best of motives, but whose feelings were warmly excited, and being so, had taken a false direction, had been as successful as they had most manifestly, notoriously, and most creditably to the good sense of the people of England and Wales, failed entirely, he (the Lord Chancellor) would still have stood up in his place this day and proposed this very measure, and urged in its behalf the self-same arguments which it would be now his duty to address to the calm, dispassionate, and deliberate judgment of their lordships, a judgment perverted by no false feelings, biassed by no sinister views, actuated by no motives of self-interest, and interrupted by no kind of clamour from without (hear); and he would address through their lordships to the people out of the House the identical arguments in favour of the measure propounded, at the risk of earning for himself the obloquy which the individuals to whom he had adverted wished to raise and to increase. He should be most unworthy of the task committed to his hands, if by any such considerations, he could have been made to swerve from the duty he had undertaken. The subject involved questions too important, and the duties correlative to the importance of the interests affected, and which the House had to discharge, were of far too sacred a nature, as to make it impossible for any man who aspired to the name and character of a statesman, who had taken upon himself to counsel his Sovereign upon this matter, to listen to the dictates of clamour, or to sacrifice his duty to the courting of popular applause. (Hear). Those would best recommend themselves to the rational portion of their countrymen (including such as from habit might be less able to apply their judgment to the calm discussion of a question), those would best recommend themselves to the approval and gratitude of the people who should manfully carry through, with the aid of their lordships, a system of provision for the poor, which in his (the Lord Chancellor's) conscience, he believed would be most efficacious in its details, least objectionable in point of principle, and less sinning against any known rule of polity, than any ever yet proposed; a measure of sound legislation, and affording the nearest and surest prospect of terminating evils, the extent of which at present no tongue could adequately describe, and

the possible extent of which no fancy could picture, evils which the bad administration of mischievous laws had entailed upon this country, laws which bid fair to leave no portion of property secure, which interfered with the rewards of industry, and which had taken from the character of the English peasantry that high respect they formerly commanded, and on the contrary by the multiplication of these evils, had contributed to the increase of crime, had led to that state of things in which the rights of industry had been usurped by idleness and vice. Such was the result of the system which now stared the legislature in the face. In the midst of the outward profound tranquillity with which Providence had blessed this country, it was found disturbances prevailed in districts where formerly discontent was unknown, but in which content had given way to outrages little short of what had been termed agrarian wrongs. This was the state in which the matter now stood, and such was the result of that pernicious system which their lordships were now called upon to destroy by acceding to a measure which in a great degree had been prepared for their consideration by the other House of Parliament. He could assure their lordships that he derived some consolation from the persuasion that the discussion of this measure would not involve political faction or party (Hear). On the contrary, he felt assured that no party or personal feeling would interfere in any discussion which might now take place upon the principle of the bill, or which might hereafter follow upon its details. (Hear). He might very fairly assert that most of their lordships were fully experienced in the poor-laws as now constituted, and that others might probably have refreshed their recollections by the perusal of the very able report of the poor-law commissioners. He might therefore assume that the subject was one in which all were conversant, and that it would consequently be superfluous if he entered into the complete mechanism of the present bill. He should however wish to state every point of maladministration of the present law, in order to show that the proposed remedy was specific and calculated to be efficient; and he was also sorry to state that it would be necessary for him shortly to glance at what was not immaterial with a view to the substance of the question, namely, the origin of the present bad system, and especially to the state of things in the early part of the present century. It had been incorrectly stated that the poor-laws originated with the dissolution of the monastic orders by Henry VIII. This was an error which had long prevailed, and upon which much stress had been laid at this period. It was not until the fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth that any system of poor-laws provided for a compulsory provision for the poorest classes of the people. He made this observation for the purpose of offering a comment upon an argument which had been raised against the church establishment and the tithe system, and which had been pressed unfairly upon the question of the poor-laws. It had been said that one-fourth of tithes was properly applicable to the bishop, one-fourth to the parson, one-fourth for the repair of the church, and one-fourth for the sustentation of the poor. This was a mistake into which Selden himself had fallen, from not having examined into the provisions of the Saxon law, by which the application of those revenues was one-third to each of the three first parties. He admitted that so far back as the 15. of Richard II. an act passed which showed that the legislature then recognised the right of the poor to sustentation from tithes, and that that principle had been recognised in the reign of Elizabeth by the judges of the land, a principle which had also been quaintly adopted by Lord Mansfield in the reign of George III. It was beyond all doubt that the principal provision for the poor out of tithes was never more authorized by practice than that they received charity at the hands of the parson. He could not conceive any more mischievous arrangement, or one more calculated to multiply the number of poor, than that they had that or any other provision by a regulated fund. The result of all the statutes of Elizabeth, the 43. especially, with the exception of one portion, had been extreme inconvenience. So long as it was supposed that the provisions of those statutes attached only to the impotent, to those who from disease, age, worn-out faculties of body or mind (this he must observe was the language of the statute itself), and to none other (excluding able-bodied persons); he repeated, so long as that was the course of practice under that statute, if not advantageous, the provisions had proved no detriment. But the unfortunate words which followed, giving overseers the power to set poor people to work, interpreted as those words had first been, to find work for the pauper, and if work could not be obtained, then to provide food, the consequences of those provisions had been most pernicious to the rich, as well as to the poor themselves. He blamed not those who had imposed this construction upon this statute; it might be the sound meaning of the law, but if it were so, he must say a more pernicious law was never made. The statute of George III., passed in 1796, gave the industrious poor the right by law to be supported out of the parish rates in their own dwellings, although contracts had been made for their maintenance in the workhouses "held and 'stablished" (the words of the act) "for their reception in the day of their distress." It had been usual to blame magistrates for the maladministration of the poor-laws: he (the Lord Chancellor) was not, however, one of those who was able to enter this charge against them, nor to hold them answerable for the mischievous results arising from the provisions of the laws they were called on to administer. All that could be said against that respectable body (to whom the country was so much indebted, and of whom he should speak

more at large, but that he was sensible he was in an assembly composed of so many justices of the peace), the only charge that could be made against them was, that they were not wiser than those who had gone before them. The magistracy of this country had acquired the countenance of the first judges of the courts of law on points raised against their administration of these very poor-laws, and the liberal construction given by courts of law to the enactments in force encouraged magistrates in the liberal system they had ever pursued. Under such authority it was no wonder that magistrates should act in the manner that they had done, and that it should be found that principles were now established more wild than the most liberal of the magistrates of this country had ever contemplated. What had been the example afforded to them by the legislature itself? What had been Mr. Pitt's act, proposed in 1795, with reference to this subject? Mr. Pitt, a man versed in the details of the question, and acquainted with the best practical policy in this respect, brought in a bill, which certainly did not pass into a law, legalizing the allowance system, the greatest bane to every branch of the community, and professing to proceed on the principle that every poor man had the right to be supported comfortably in his own dwelling, himself and his family, and to be furnished with a cow, a pig, or other animal, yielding reasonable and sufficient food. Such had been the sentiments of that enlightened statesman, and he mentioned this circumstance in justification of the liberal construction put by the magistracy of this country upon the provisions of the existing poor-laws Therefore it was that he was not disposed to cast any reflection or imputation against those magistrates or judges of the land who had so adjudicated upon and carried into effect the administration of the poor-laws as to produce the present state of things, which all agreed to deprecate. He need not state, that it was contrary to the order of nature, that the legislature could be expected to make a man happy "in weal or wo"; and he now came to inquire what was the true principle which ought to direct its decisions in this respect, and whether or not poor-laws, as now administered, conformed to or sinned against that principle. He was aware that he should be charged with uttering an identical proposition if he said that the fundamental rule to regulate the conduct of their lordships as legislators, and the conduct of those who might be intrusted with the administration of the law, was, that a man should be paid according to the work he did, that he should be employed according to the demand of those who had work to give, that those employed should not live worse than those who were idle, and that the mere idler should not run away for himself with any portion of that which the industrious man had earned for his own support. (Hear, hear). This principle, though he might be charged with its being superfluous and useless on the present occasion, was as self-evident as that two and two made four, and not five. Against this principle, however, the present system of poor-laws sinned, constantly, deliberately, and upon consideration: upon every instant, by day and by night, during winter and good weather, in famine and in plenty, in peace and in war, this principle was perpetually outraged, without change and without a shadow of change. (Hear, hear). It would doubtless be admitted that no man had a right to sit idle while another man worked, yet there must necessarily be a time, and there must occur occasions on which this principle would be abandoned of necessity, and that a person in sickness or in old age must be supported by the community, so that he did not perish. This led him to a point that was also connected with the poor-laws, namely, the argument that in these instances it should be left to private charity to afford relief, and that it would be a greater blessing both to him that gave and to him that received the bounty. He, however, did not object to compulsory provisions in these cases, subject, however, to proper regulation. The administration of this fund through the hands of parochial officers, of overseers, &c., was upon their own showing and confession, and in spite of themselves, open to the greatest abuses. When the poor knew that such a fund existed, that they could call upon it for support, and that it was unnecessary for them to provide against the calamities incidental to human life, as here they had the means always ready furnished and which they could claim as their own for their subsistence, the worst possible effects were produced upon their minds. The minds of the peasantry were thus debased and vitiated. The habits of honest industry, the habits which led them to support their families, their wives and children, their fathers and mothers, by their own industrious exertions, were in this way altogether banished from their minds. If he was not fearful of making a too didactic speech, he would go into a statement to prove that such inevitably was the case. He would satisfy himself, however, with one illustration. He was well aware that he was speaking on the unpopular side of the subject, but the truth must be told. The only safe kind of charity, the only species of charity that was not liable to abuse, was an hospital for accidents. Accidents were things that no man could calculate upon or provide against, and of this they might be certain, that the existence of such an hospital would in no way tend to increase the number of accidents. The next charity in point of safety was that of dispensaries. He would pause, however, before he would go so far as to say that that was a safe species of charity, not liable to abuse. He had been of such an opinion some years back, but upon consideration he had altered it. Every one should look forward to, and provide against, that sickness, those ailments to which the lives of all were necessarily exposed. Though he did not go the extent of

objecting to dispensaries, therefore, he doubted much that their establishment was in accordance with sound principle. But when he came to the third species of charity, that which went to support the aged and the infirm, he would say that it was against all sound principle. The worst of the system was, that it necessarily sinned in every respect against principle. The establishment of foundling hospitals, for instance, what can be more pernicious than such establishments? What more opposed to sound principles? He was glad, however, that the enlightened spirit of the present times had got rid of that evil of the system. The Foundling Hospital in Guildford-street, which had been long regarded as one of the ornaments of the metropolis, had in reality not deserved the name for the last seventy years. Not a single foundling could be admitted there now. The same improvement had been effected with regard to the Foundling Hospital in Dublin, by his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Control (Mr. C. Grant), when he filled the office of Secretary for Ireland. But the great, the grand violation of all sound principle, consisted in the system which went to support the idle and the profligate, at the expense of the honest and industrious. There was no doubt as to the lamentable consequences which such a system had produced. It led, amongst other bad consequences, to the act of 1796, commonly called the Allowance Act, which provided for the support of the poor by the part payment of their wages out of the poor-rates. The effect of that pernicious act was, that numbers paid for labour that they did not want, and that equally great numbers paid for labour who did not want labour at all. That system was brought on by the scarcity of 1795, and it was greatly increased by the scarcity in 1800 and 1801. Did not their lordships see the evils which such a system had produced? It was surely unnecessary for him to go into a detail of those evils. (Hear). He had known but two excuses ever made for this pernicious system, and it was only necessary to state them to demonstrate their absurdity. The first was one which he remembered was stoutly maintained against him in the House of Commons by some worthy men, who had only regarded the subject locally, and who had not taken any large views of the workings of the system. They maintained that such a system tended to keep up the character of the labourers, that they received their allowance with the erect port and dignified aspect of men who knew that they were only claiming their just rights, that they took it as a thing which the law gave them, and to which they had as good a right as others had to their property. Alas! it was true that they demanded this allowance with an erect port, but was it not equally true that the character of the people had been lowered by this system? Formerly it was considered a shame and a disgrace, and something not less than criminal, to be a dependent upon the poor-rates. That was the state of things when the peasantry of this country were really alive to those feelings of independence which had been extinguished by the operation of the poor-laws. There was no doubt that now they demanded the parochial allowance with an erect port and with a manly air, or rather it might be more truly said that they called for it with a sturdy gait, and he would not say with a manly, but with a masterful port. (Hear, hear). They asked for it not as men, but as masters, and it was well known that they actually domineered over the parochial officers. (Hear). Such a system, in truth, took away all sense of shame; it deprived men of all feelings of personal dignity, self-respect, and independence, and prevented them from seeking in the honourable paths of honest industry for the support of themselves and their families. It degraded their minds, it lowered their characters, it was a system vicious in action, as well as bad in principle. (Hear, hear). The second defence of this system proceeded from some learned persons who were great friends to pure and strict principles in political science, who were exceedingly rigorous in establishing their points of distinction, who laid down their general principles of political economy with so strictly defined a rule, that they even stated Irish absenteeism to be a benefit to the country, who followed up a principle not only to the straining but to the cracking of it; these learned persons, he had said, had exhibited the second defence of this system, and what was it? It was this, they said that the effect of the poor-laws was to afford a check to the increase of the population. They maintained that it was impossible to interfere by legislation to prevent improvident marriages. He admitted the fact. They then maintained, that as the principle of population was always to increase, the poor-laws furnished the only check to that increase. But were those learned persons so short-sighted, and they were learned and far-seeing persons, as not to see that whatever little check the poor-laws in one respect imposed upon the increase of the population, was immeasurably counterbalanced by the greatest incentive that the wit of man could devise, by the most wilful and direct encouragement that possibly could have been discovered, which was afforded by the present poor-law system to improvident marriages? That was, in fact, the corner-stone of this most pernicious of all systems. He did not think that the whole history of human error and credulity could parallel the error into which those learned persons had thus fallen. The language which the poor-laws held to the poor was, "Contract marriages if you please, and your children shall be supported at the expense of the parish." Was not that a direct encouragement to the poor man to contract an imprudent marriage, instead of waiting to marry until he should be able to support himself and his family? He had adverted to the evils of this system, and to the maladministration of the poor-laws; he would

now call their lordships' attention to the results of that system. In doing so, it would be necessary for him to refer to a body of evidence the largest, the most comprehensive, the most important, and the most interesting that perhaps had ever been collected upon any subject. He would, however, before he should go to that point, as he was on the subject of population, step aside for a moment to do justice to a most learned, able, and virtuous individual, whose name had been pursued by the deepest, and he was sorry to say in many instances by the most wilful misrepresentation, that any man of science had ever been subjected to. The individual to whom he alluded, who had been made the subject of the most fierce and ignorant attacks; who had also been maligned and misrepresented by those who should have known better; that individual was distinguished by his amiable feelings and virtues in private life. Not only was he the ornament of that scientific society in which he moved, but he was the delight and the ornament of every private social circle in which he mingled. It was scarcely necessary for him to say to them that the individual to whom he was alluding was one than whom the church of England did not possess a brighter character—the *Rev. Mr. Malthus*. (Hear). Those whose ignorance only afforded their excuse, and those who could not make that plea in their defence, had made the most malignant attacks upon the character of an individual who had made some of the greatest additions that ever had been made to the science of political philosophy; a discovery, than which he would venture to say no man of science had ever made a greater. He was now about to call their lordships' attention to the practical working of the present system, and to the remedy which it was proposed to apply to the evils that had arisen out of it. There was no more important event in the recent history of the Government of this country than the issuing of the poor-law commission. He certainly was one of those who at first thought that the documents they already possessed, the body of evidence which been collected by committees of both Houses, were quite sufficient to enable them to come to a proper consideration of the subject. However, on reflection, he altered that opinion, and the result of the inquiries of the commissioners, and the immense body of practical evidence which they had gathered together, fully bore him out in that change of opinion. He would venture to say that there was no person who had read the valuable labours of the commissioners but must be persuaded that a more important, a more interesting, or a more universally comprehensive mass of evidence and information, had never before been brought together on any one subject. It was impossible for him to speak in terms of sufficient praise of the ability and zeal with which the commissioners had discharged the important duty confided to them. He believed that no better individuals could be selected for the discharge of that duty than the two first persons named in it, the two right reverend prelates, whose absence on this occasion in consequence of their attendence to their episcopal duties, he had so much reason to lament. Another of those commissioners was *Mr. S. Bourne*, than whom no one better qualified could possibly have been selected to fill such situation. (Hear, hear). He might add to those names that of *Professor Senior*, whose learning and talents were well known to the country. There were others in the commission whom he (the Lord Chancellor) had not known before they had been placed there, and of whose talents he had not been aware until they were displayed in that report; he alluded to *Mr. Coulson, Mr. Chadwick*, and *Mr. Bishop*. They had all displayed great talents in the discharge of their duties. No person, indeed, could read the report of Mr. Chadwick without being intimately persuaded of his fitness for the office, and without being filled with admiration of his talents. He (the Lord Chancellor) had risen from the perusal of Mr. Chadwick's report,—of that admirable composition, displaying as it did, on the part of the author, the possession of every species of talent,—he had risen, he repeated, from the perusal of that admirable composition, with a degree of admiration that he found it difficult, nay, impossible, to express. He had risen from the perusal of the report of the commissioners with the most painful impression on his mind. It was impossible for any one to peruse it without entertaining the same feeling,—without being impressed with the same impression,—and without being convinced, however he might have been previously under the illusion that the state of his fellow-countrymen was happy and prosperous, that the mass of the lower classes of this country were fast sinking into the lowest depths of degradation and misery, the fruits of that system which it was now for the first time attempted to remedy in an effectual manner. Without going into detail, he would merely mention those facts illustrative of that statement, under a few general heads, without annexing any observations to them, conceiving that they required none. In the first instance, then, they had the constant and almost regular practice to be found in every part of the country, in districts agricultural, manufacturing, and even commercial, in parishes with people, in parishes with a scarcity of people, and in parishes where there was hardly any population at all; in all those different and divers places they found the practice established of able-bodied men preferring a small pittance from the parish, and the living in idleness, to a larger sum in the shape of wages, accompanied with the necessity of working for their support. In more than one or two places they were found to prefer a pittance of 3*s*. 6*d*. to wages much higher in amount, and their reason was that that pittance was a certainty, and that they could receive it and be always idle. But

were they always idle? (Hear, hear). Were not those persons who were thus supported by the parish in idleness always the greatest workers of mischief in the country? (Hear) It was bad enough to pay them 3s. 6d. a week for living in idleness, but it was still worse when such characters were always found, if not the ringleaders, the ready followers in every mischief, in every depredation, and in every villany that was perpetrated in their neighbourhood. This practice was not confined to lazy rustics in the agricultural districts, but the very boatmen on the Kentish coast, they who formerly would, even in the worst weather, risk their lives for the purpose of procuring support for their wives and families, would not now go out in winter, and their statement was, they would go out no more in winter, but that the parish must support them —that they had a right to that support. Then those persons who were supported by the parish, when they were obliged to work, complained if they were made to work as much as independent labourers. In fact, in one or two cases there had been appeals to the magistrates from the overseers, on the ground that they had made the parish paupers work as much as the labourers, who received no support from the parish. (Hear, hear). Things like that almost baffled credulity. Another fact which their lordships would find established in the report of the commissioners was, that in many places those who received parish relief, and those who were employed by the parish, were better off, considerably better off, in point of wages, than the honest industrious labourer who endeavoured to support himself by his own efforts. The disproportion was especially great in some parts of Sussex and in the Isle of Wight. There it appeared 10s. a week was given to the paupers for working a certain number of hours in the day, while the independent labourers, who worked for a much longer time, received only 12s. a week. In fact, it appeared, that in the Isle of Wight 210 pauper labourers struck because they were obliged to work as long as other labourers, and for less wages; and they, after almost resorting to force, succeeded in obtaining compliance with their demands. He did not blame those men—he blamed the bad laws which produced such pernicious effects. Then came a still worse principle, if possible, of the present system. The law of nature ordained that a man should support his child—that a son should support his parents—that those who were better off in the world than their other relations should give them aid and assistance; but this law stepped in and told them to do no such thing, for that it would take that duty upon itself. What was the effect of the law? It denaturalized men, and made them act in a way that they otherwise never would have dreamt of—it made them say, as men had been known to say, "I will expose my children in the streets unless you order me relief for them." "I will turn my mother out of the house and place her at the overseer's door, unless you give me relief for her." Those who framed the act of Elizabeth were not aware of that principle as to population, with regard to which Malthus had since enlightened mankind. Those who framed that act which commenced the foundation of a system that separated labour from its rewards, seeing no doubt what would be the effect of such a system, laid an obligation on the child to support his aged parent. If we looked at the consequences of all this *on the property* of the country, they were to the full as melancholy as any other of the ill effects flowing from the maladministration of the poor-laws. He would not say that many *farms were deserted*, and many parishes given up to waste, for want of occupants (he certainly knew of one or two farms and one parish, in [we believe] Wiltshire, which were in that condition),—but he was satisfied that the system had a tendency to that point,—that we were approaching with rapid strides, and must reach that precipice ere long (hear),—and that the fact of one parish being thrown out of cultivation directly and inevitably tended to throw three or four others into waste. (Hear). He felt persuaded that stand where we now were we could not—that the question was, should we retrace our steps, to be pushed and hurried on by the accelerating and descending impetus of the weight of the present system? That such was our position, that such was the course we were pursuing, that such was the gulf towards which we were approaching, no man living, gifted with an ordinary measure of sagacity, could deny. Such was the picture, harsh in its outline, gloomy in its colouring, and in feature and in aspect awful to behold. Such was the picture menacing the safety of society and the security of property, *which the present system as at present* administered offered to the view. We had, by our legislation, and by our administration of the law, attempted to reverse the primal curse pronounced upon man, that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. The poor-laws, as now administered, had said that sweat should trickle from the brow no more; but they had not reversed the residue of the curse —in sorrow shalt thou eat thy bread, for the idleness which the system encouraged and perpetuated carried its own punishment along with it. Providence, in pronouncing on the human race the original curse, bountifully compensated the sufferings of labour by the pleasures and blessings inseparable from industry, which sweetened the coarsest morsel and softened the hardest pillow; but of such pleasures and blessings the pauper, by a monstrous anomaly and the maladministration of a defective system, was utterly depraved. By this most strange and monstrous anomaly the pauper was tormented with all the ills, not of poverty, but of riches—all the evils, not of labour, but of pampered idleness—with that hypochondriasis, which, in palaces, arose from a want of occupation, and formed the greatest curse of wealth. The evidence would

prove that the pauper spent his days in lounging about idle, half asleep during one part, whole asleep during the remainder part of the day, and sleepless at night, in consequence of the idleness of his day. Industry, which was the greatest preservative from the dominion of impure passions and wrong deeds, was wanting; and the consequence was, want of chastity, child murder, and the long catalogue of crimes which deformed our calendars, in despite of improvements in education and other favourable circumstances. There was but one considerable exception to the evil, and that might be found in the seats of manufacture, which displayed the great triumphs of arts and industry, and their blessings, of which it had been said that their lineage was high and noble, for they were the children of science, and the progeny was as useful as their origin was respectable, for they became the parents of wealth. Those worthy arts, and the great manufacturing towns which were their seats, furnished almost the only instance of resistance to the tide that was overflowing us; but in vain might you expect to find that resistance continued if the flood were allowed to roll on unchecked; in vain might you expect to see Manchester, and Leeds, and Birmingham, flourish as oases in the desert, while all the rest of the land was overspread with the consequences of the present system. It now behoved us, before all were contaminated, and one common ruin involved all, to make a stand—to retrace our steps, and seek to stay the destruction which was on the wing, and at our door. This led him to ask their lordships' attention to the cause of the mischiefs which he had pointed out. He should say nothing at present of repealing the poor-law itself—he should take it as being fixedly and irrevocably the law of the land, and he should take it for granted that it was impossible to reduce things to their state previous, he would not say to the 43., but the 4. of Elizabeth: however desirable it might be to see the system on a better footing, and impossible as it was not to wish for some improvement, it was difficult to effect it, because it was the evil of all bad laws being worse administered, that we must continue to bear them, on account of the dangers that would arise from *suddenly discontinuing* them. However, much might be done in the way of amending the administration of the law; and in that respect practical wisdom required the application of a remedy. The separate and opposite jurisdictions of different magistrates, overseers, and benches of justices on appeal—the want of system and unity in practice were at the root of the whole evil, and the report teemed with instances of the mischief that arose in this way. When you looked at the cases in which a better system of administration had been adopted, you would hardly think you were in the same county; a total change was effected, the rates came down to one-half, and afterwards one-third, of what they had been before,—paupers disappeared, and industry returned. The good effects of salutary caution *were evident in Scotland*. In that country lawyers doubted, up to rather a recent period, whether there existed *a right of compulsory assessment*. It was now agreed *that there did*, and the English and Scotch laws were admitted to rest on the same foundation; but the administration was very different in the two countries. The Scotch, a *careful and prudent people*, did all they could to avoid assessments, and reserved their efforts for times of extraordinary scarcity, such as occurred in 1795 and 1803. A like practice should be enforced in England. The eyes of the people should be opened to the abuses of the present system, and they would then see the propriety of an alteration. This was one great reason for calling for a central, vigorous, and uniform system of administration. It was said, "How much better was the principle of leaving the administration of affairs as much as possible in the hands of the people." Generally speaking, he was willing to admit the soundness of this principle and practice, which was not only beneficial in its effects, but was also the foundation of good legislative measures and a preventive of bad, but, nevertheless, experience showed that the principle was not universally applicable. When a certain leaven of men got into a body or assembly, and the habit of bad management arose, it was difficult to root it out, and the evil often baffled the love of the general interest, and set it at defiance. It was given in evidence before the education committee, that in a town where there were one or two great charities supported without endowment by voluntary contributions, Baron Bayley, himself a large contributor to the charities, proposed that no tradesmen on the committees of management should be employed in supplying the institutions, because it was apprehended that where such persons were interested there would be no strict auditing of accounts, and too much of the commodities which they supplied might be furnished. Nevertheless, this proposition, though meant to save the funds, which were voluntarily contributed, was rejected by a great majority of the parties who subscribed to the charity. This was the case in one charity: and with respect to the other, there was a by-law that no man should be employed as a tradesman to the charity while on the committee; but the check was defeated by having a double set of bakers, butchers, and others, who sat upon the committee in alternate years, and were employed by turns as they went out of office. An alteration of this system was absolutely refused. The parties said, "Oh, we are very honest men and don't mean to rob the poor" (by the way, if any body was robbed it was the rich, who contributed the funds)—"we don't mean to rob the poor, but we will continue to supply the charity." Now, though there might be no robbery, probably there was a little cheating in the plan—at least things thus furnished might be charged rather high,

and extravagantly supplied. Did not thi show how long a bad system might preva even against the interest of the general body when it contributed to the advantage of certain individuals? How long might a ba system prevail in every vestry and parish i England before men's eyes were opened—ay and after they had been opened! (Hear). H was not now speaking of a few ignoran farmers, who, by the way, had not such a strong interest in the question as the land lords (hear), but of more enlightened person and places, less open to peculation than mere country parishes. Therefore the evils of scattered and varying and uncertain administration it behoved Parliament above al things to remedy, with the view to do away with the want of proper bodies to overlook the expenditure and employment of the poor. For this object the bill provided by a better arrangement than at present existed. It being clear that the principle of amendment ought to be grounded on this method of leaving the law, generally speaking, as it stood at present, but retracing our steps as far as we could towards a due administration, and having brought that nearer to what it was in some particular parishes where improvements had been made, and to its state in Scotland, then it became the duty of the legislature to take such steps in reference to the law as would prevent a recurrence to similar abuses. "Now," continued the noble and learned lord, "I entreat your lordships' attention to the course taken in constructing the measure before you; but I wish to advert in the outset of my remarks on this head to the principal objection to this plan—an objection, however, which has been more heard of out of doors th within the walls of Parliament. The objection in question is that the plan has been framed by theorists and visionaries, and, to sum up all in one word, political economists, which is the climax and grand term of reproach, as if only theorists and visionaries could be students and professors of the despised science of political economy. Why, my lords, some of the most eminent practical men—individuals the most esteemed and celebrated, not as rash and dreaming theorists, but as sober statesmen, —leaders of opposition, ministers and heads of cabinets, men whose names have passed after death into epithets equivalent with wisdom,—some of those I should name, if called upon to point out the greatest cultivators of political economy that have flourished in my own day. Is it necessary for me to remind your lordships that Adam Smith—another name which excites a sneer or a titter sometimes in public and private, but only among the grovellingly ignorant—that the name of that eminent economist was first made generally known by means of his intimacy with Mr. Pitt, and by Mr. Pitt quoting him in Parliament? Mr. Pitt was distinguished by his acquaintance with political economy, though he did not always proceed on sound principles, or apply his principles, if less faulty, with success—at least such is my opinion, now speaking after the event with the wisdom which experience affords, but still always speaking with respect for that eminent person's science and talents, which no man, how rude or ignorant soever, will be found bold enough to question or deny. I think Mr. Pitt committed mistakes—perhaps in his situation I should have committed such myself; but was he a dreamer or visionary? Was Mr. Canning, who also professed and practised the science of political economy, a philosophist, a mere speculator, or a visionary? I have heard many persons object to Mr. Canning's policy. I did so myself at one period, though latterly I found reason to support him, but neither at one period of his political life nor at another do I ever recollect hearing anybody sufficiently bold or foolish to designate him as a visionary, or too much of a theorist in politics. Then there was Mr. Huskisson—he was a political economist, but suppose it will not be denied that he was also practical man. I suppose he knew nothing of trade and commerce—of the manufacturing nd mercantile relations of the country—of e disposition of wealth—of the effect of laws nd fiscal regulations on trade and commerce! verily believe, my lords, that if I were to arch the whole of our annals and all England rough for a practical statesman, who ways attended to what he thought sound nd incontestable principles, and was invariaiv guided by the results of experience—a lot who in steering the vessel of the state receeded with greater skill and caution acrding to the b st ascertained charts, holding e lead and plummet in his hand, taking soundings ahead and around—if I were to seek for and name such a man, the individual whose name I should pronounce would be Mr. Huskisson. There was Mr. Henry Thornton, a political economist and a writer of great name and reputation, whose works have enlightened us in no ordinary degree. I refer to Mr. Thornton the banker, whose opinions on political economy were grounded on the same source as Mr. Huskisson's, and followed out with equal vigour and decision; and it it such men as Huskisson, Pitt, Canning, Dr. Smith, and others of that school, that I now hear derided as economists? And is a science cultived by Turgot, Condorcet, and other eminent French economists, a proper subject for contempt? To my utter surprise, and astonishment, and admiration, I find that in the minds of some ignorant and presumptuous persons it is. The ignorance of such persons, like their presumption, has no bounds, for ignorance has no limits, though unhappily, my lords, science has—ignorance is infinite and inexhaustible, ever new and inventive, but, unlike science, its inventions are of no advantage to society—ignorance excites, if not our admiration, our astonishment, but that astonishment is mingled with pity and contempt; ignorance is indeed astonishing, and never was it more daring in its inroads

on our credulity, or more presumptuous, than on the present occasion, when it causes little, but much-assuming, men, dressed in a little brief authority, or desiring authority, or wishing to pass for persons in authority, and decked with infinite presumption—I say nothing is more astonishing than to hear such individuals talk with contempt of the French economists, as blind, republican, and revolutionary. Now, every one, except those ignorant persons, knows that the French economists lived under a despotism, and abhorred liberty—that they loved absolute power and extolled a *despotisme légal*—that they said the best form of government in the world was an absolute monarchy, with a good king at the head of it: to which, by the way, it was answered, "Yes, if you are always sure of a good king, no matter what may be your laws; but you can make sure of the one, and not of the other." But enough of this: what I have said clearly and undeniably shows the folly and ignorance of calling the French economists republicans, and it as plainly proves that the object was to give a certain science and its professors a bad name, but that those who thus fling about their slanders do not know the meaning of the words they use. Therefore, my lords, instead of its being any objection to me that the great mass of valuable and important information on which we go all proceeds from political economists, who have devoted themselves to the study of that useful and practical science, that is my chief reliance in this matter, and I expose myself cheerfully along with the great names of the dead whom I have mentioned, and of the living whom I forbear to mention, to the charge of belonging to the band of visionary speculatists who appeal to facts and papers and documents, in which more confidence is placed, because they proceed on scientific principles. Through the documents laid before us we have carefully picked our way, and we have not recklessly or inconsiderately adopted every suggestion made to us: on the contrary, we have rejected one-half the suggestions of the commissioners, not that we disapproved of many of them, so much as because we thought it better in a practical point of view to leave them out for the present; but hereafter, when time shall have been allowed for trial and consideration, should they prove successful, they will receive my assent. Parts of the measure we have taken on the suggestion of the commissioners, other and considerable portions on the credit of facts and experience. Their lordships would collect his opinion as to the true way of reforming the administration of the poor-laws from what he had already stated. First, he was of opinion, and he trusted he had shown, that there ought to be such a unity in the power vested in certain hands for the superintendence of the administration of the poor-laws, as could only be attained by the establishment of one central control. It next followed that the individuals to exercise this control ought to be unpolitical persons (hear), members of neither House of Parliament, not selected for party purposes, and wholly unconnected with the contests that arose in the state. This was his fixed opinion, and if he were consulted on the choice of such persons, he would say, "Show me a man, whose opinions on party matters differ from mine, and if he is a individual of a firm mind, of knowledge, experience, conciliatory manners, and good temper, as well as learning, I shall not hesitate to prefer him rather than persons of inferior qualifications, but with whom I happen to agree in politics." (Hear). And if he saw two persons equally gifted with the necessary qualifications, but of opposite political opinions, he should be anxious, with a view to gain the public confidence, to make choice of one individual from one side, and of a second from the other. The reform in the administration of the law which was so much to be desired could be effected only by intrusting discretionary powers in the commissioners, and these powers must be large, or else no good could result from their exercise. If every time that a step too ample or too limited should be taken, you had to wait till Parliament could be called together to adjust the matter, it would be vain to hope for the amendment that was required. You might commit an error in an act of Parliament, a serious but not incorrigible error, so long as you vested a discretionary power somewhere to amend it; but if you must wait till you could obtain a new act of Parliament to correct the mistake, very serious consequences might arise. The law would require to be applied according to the circumstances of particular places; for instance, the circumstances of a manufacturing parish might be very different from those of an agricultural parish, and diversities would occur between parishes of the same class, whether manufacturing or agricultural, which particulars must be taken into account on the application of the law. At present the law applied to all parishes equally, and in its letter at least was not flexible; but when the same rule was applied to all parishes, the circumstances of one parish necessarily made it more binding than the circumstances of another Now, as the law did not make any difference in those circumstances, and as it was evident that a discretion must be lodged somewhere, he had no hesitation in saying that the powers given to the commissioners must be discretionary, must be arbitrary; for he would use that word, as it had been used against him in attack, and must be of an enlarged description. He was aware that these powers might be unconstitutional, he was aware, at all events, that they were novel; but as to their being novel altogether, that he had some hesitation in affirming. They were novel as conferred upon a central board; but in the first 50 private poor-law acts that were to be found in the statute-book, he would undertake to show that there were powers more drastic, more rigorous, more arbitrary, and more unconstitutional, conferred in one and all of

them upon the commissioners appointed to carry them into effect, than were to be found in this bill appointing a central board. The grand difference between those private poor-law acts and this bill was, that the powers granted under the former were powers conferred upon persons likely to abuse them —upon persons chosen in a corner, acting in the dark, never coming before the face of the country, not responsible to the legislature not removeable by the Crown, not having to give into any Secretary of State an account of their conduct. Could their lordships, who had given such powers to such persons, hesitate to give them to commissioners elected as these commissioners were to be elected, and acting under all the responsibilities to which they were rendered liable? He had now shown how the evil of the present system operated. He had pointed out the manner in which its cure was to be effected. The board was to be central for the sake of unity—it was to consist of unpolitical persons—it was to have discretionary power—and it was to use this discretionary power in the face of Parliament and of the country, and under the liability of being removeable at the pleasure of the Crown He had thus stated the four principal features to which their lordships ought to direct their attention in looking at this central board They were the provisions by which he proposed to regulate that board, to which, indeed, there was to be added another, that when any general order was made by the board, it was not to have force until it was communicated to the Secretary of State, and until forty days had elapsed from the date of that communication without its receiving any countermand. Let their lordships take into their consideration the positive control thus exercised over the Central Board—let them add to it the control exercised over it by public opinion, and by the watchful superintendence of Parliament; and then they would see that the powers granted to it were placed under sufficient restrictions, and were well guarded even against the possibility of abuse. Still, however, it was said that these powers were unconstitutional, that they were as novel as they were unwelcome to the country. "But, my lords," continued the Lord Chancellor, "if this be an extraordinary measure to which we have recourse, if it be an unheard-of measure which we are enacting, are the times in which we live of an ordinary aspect? Is the occasion in which we are called to legislate one which has oftentimes existed before? Is there no unheard-of evil pressing upon us at present, compelling us to such a step, and justifying the step which it compels us to take? I have seen other bills of a more unconstitutional nature, where powers equally large, if not much larger, were conferred upon persons elected in the dark, whose responsibility was merely nominal, and, in point of fact, amounted to nothing at all. But, my lords, we live not in the times in which such bills were passed; we live in times very different; we live at a period when a report is presented to us full of facts and arguments, founded upon the concurrent testimony of magistrates, clergymen, country gentlemen, farmers, and labourers—of manufacturers and tradesmen—of men of science and no science at all—of men of practical knowledge and of theoretical principles —of the dwellers in the town and the dwellers in the country—of those who have carried on the affairs of parish vestries as churchwardens, overseers, and vestrymen—and of those who have all their lives been engaged in administering or in witnessing the administration of the poor-laws as barristers, magistrates, and judges. Talk to me of unheard-of measures and of unconstitutional powers in a case like this, when you have before you such a report as I have described to you, filled with a mass of unparalleled, unprecedented, consentaneous, uncontradicted testimony, borne by every description of witnesses in every class of life, and sanctioned by every variety of talent and ability that can be found in judicial minds,—confirmed and corroborated by all those who are the best authorities in matters of opinion, and the best witnesses in matters coming within their own experience, all in one voice uniting in representing to your lordships a state of things existing in the country, which has made industry and idleness, honesty and knavery, shift their places, and which exposes the property of the country, and not only the property of the country, but every one of its most valuable institutions, to waste and ruin, and which, above all—for that is the corner stone of the social edifice, and it is not for your lordships, as landed proprietors, that I feel alarm, or that I call upon you to feel alarm yourselves, but as guardians of the social happiness of those who live under your protection, on your estates, and in your tenements—which, above all, I repeat, has reduced your peasantry to a state of abasement which I am ashamed to think of, which I shudder to describe, and which I could not for a single moment have the hardihood and heart to contemplate, were I not in my conscience convinced that the same daring hand which has laid bare the appalling nature of the disease, the naked deformity of the evil, is able to apply to it a safe, a certain, and an effectual remedy, which will restore to industry its proper reward, and visit idleness with its appropriate punishment; which will reinstate property in security, and will lift up once more to a condition, to which God be praised we may still hope to live to see it exalted, the character of that noble English peasantry which, had your bad poor-laws and their still worse administration allowed it to remain untarnished, would have still been, as I trust ere long to behold it again, the admiration of the world and the glory of the country." (Hear, hear.) The noble and learned lord then proceeded to say, that there were other alterations and improvements made in the law by this bill; but, exhausted as their patience must be, and exhausted as he himself was, by the statement

which he had already made, he should not trespass much longer upon their indulgence Out of the poor-laws of Queen Elizabeth which gave every man a claim upon some parish or other, arose the necessity for the law of settlement. His hope was that owing to the alteration which this bil would produce in the state of the country, another half century would not elapse without our being able to make still further improvements than those which were now contemplated in the law of settlement. The present bill avoids the question of settlement by birth, and makes no change in that part of our law He had great hopes that the improvements which the other alterations in the present code of poor-laws would introduce into England would enable their lordships, at no very distant time, to make still further improvements in it, but at present he thought that it would be going too fast if they were to make the place of birth the place of settlement. That proposition had been made and considered in the other House of Parliament, and had been rejected. He thought that the proposition was a very important one; but he would not press it upon their lordships, though he should be very ready, if any noble lord thought fit, to discuss it with him in the committee. Under the law on this point, as it existed at present, a person might be made chargeable upon a parish which had no control whatever over his proceedings. "For instance," said the noble and learned lord, "suppose that I am a Westmoreland pauper, as I soon shall be, if this system is allowed to go on (a laugh),—suppose that I go and live in Northamptonshire, where, however, I am not allowed to gain a settlement,—suppose that I there make a most improvident marriage, and have as many children as fall to the lot of a man at my time of life. I have, it may be, fifteen or sixteen children (a laugh)—that is, I mean to say, supposing that I am only eighteen; supposing that the lady was in that situation before marriage which gave her a claim upon me, I might be compelled by the overseers to contract a marriage with her. That is, be it recollected, in Northamptonshire. Those churchwardens in Northamptonshire who can compel me to marry, and those landlords in Northamptonshire who refuse to let me a 10*l.* tenement, and those farmers in Northamptonshire who refuse me a hiring by the year, but allow me to have a family in one of their smallest cottages, have the power to let me gain, but have no interest in my gaining a settlement among them. Indeed they have an interest quite another way—they have a direct interest in increasing the number of paupers who are to burden the rates of the Westmoreland parish. Now, making the place of settlement the place of birth would put a stop to all this, for if my fifteen or sixteen children had a birth settlement in Northamptonshire, the churchwardens in Northamptonshire would not compel me to a marriage, nor would the farmers encourage me to settle in their cottages, nor would the landlords refuse to let me a 10*l.* house." The noble and learned lord, after dwelling upon this point for some time longer, but in an exhausted tone of voice, which, during the remainder of his speech, rendered him almost inaudible in the gallery, and prevented us from catching more than detached sentences of his speech, proceeded to observe that there came next a point on which he believed that all their lordships were agreed. The settlement by hiring was exploded by this bill, as sinning against every principle. The consequence of the law giving a settlement to every person hired by the year, was, at first a perpetual attempt to invade the law, which, from its tendency to weaken the general respect which ought to prevail for the law, was in itself an evil of no small magnitude. Then it created hostility between the master and the man, the one attempting to gain a settlement, and the other attempting to fend him off; and thus it happened that of late years the masters and their men were no longer on the friendly footing on which they were before the year 1792. Then it led to the discontinuance of boarding farm servants in the house of the master of the farm. Whilst that custom continued the master and his servants were on the most friendly terms with each other. The master was considered as the head of the family and the servants were considered as the children of it. He had often seen them dine together at the same table, and a better dinner needed not be set before any person of unpampered appetite. There was thus a domestic control exercised over the men-servants by the master, and a moral sanction over the maid-servants by the superintendence of the matron of the family. When the promptings of nature induced their servants to marry, the master and mistress severally put before the servant of their respective sexes the imprudence, the misery, the dishonesty, and he would even say the wickedness, of marrying before they were provided with the means of supporting a family. Thus the common sense of these honest, but uneducated people, suggested that preventive check which Malthus had incurred so much obloquy for mentioning in his philosophy. There were, in consequence, very few marriages, and bastardy was not one-twentieth part so common as now. But there was another evil arising out of this settlement by hiring to which he wished to call attention. When all the farm servants were turned out of the house, and compelled to spend their time at the ale-house, to which they seldom went before, except upon occasion of high holidays, the consequence was, that pauperism increased with frightful rapidity, and that a great and unfortunate stimulus was given to the progress of population. But the law of settlement by hiring had a tendency in another way to injure the moral habits and the moral character of servants. To prevent them gaining a settlement by a hiring for the year, the masters generally turned them off

for a fortnight before the close of the year They were thus fourteen days out of employment, and during that time they were in the general habit of running about to different fairs and markets. That was the result of his experience in the north of England, and he believed that the experience of their lordships in the south would not be very different. It was a notorious and well-known fact, that more servants were corrupted and rendered bad members of society in that fortnight than under any other circumstances which were calculated to deprave and ruin the human character If this system was so bad for the men, it was still worse for the women-servants. Take the case of a young girl, who was either forty or fifty miles from the home of her father and mother, or who, from the death of her parents, had no home to which she could resort. She goes, it may be, from one fair to another she has thus every chance of losing her character, and therefore it was that he rejoiced exceedingly that this bill contained a provision for abolishing the settlement by hiring. The abolition of the settlement by apprenticeship was also a salutary provision, but was not so important as that relating to the abolition of the settlement by hiring. All the other modes of acquiring a settlement remained as they were, with the exception of that arising from the hiring of a 10*l*. settlement, on which, as their lordships would find, some restrictions had been placed. He now came to the change which it was proposed to make in the laws relating to bastardy. He thought that that change was a bold measure, but at the same time he thought it was a great and undeniable improvement. The law, as it now stood, threw it upon the man to avoid the offence, and visited him with penalties if he committed it. The law appeared also to leave the woman without any inducement to join in the commission of it: but, in point of fact, it did not leave her without that inducement. It raised up a motive, and it co-operated with the frailty of the flesh against her virtue. The man found one enemy in the woman's breast to beat a parley in his favour, and that was her passions (hear, hear); and then, when the parley was beaten, he found another enemy ready to recommend a surrender, and that was not her passions, but her calculations. (Hear). Then came the suggestions,—"The law is in my favour, if the worst comes to the worst, I can make him marry me; I am not doing that which is wrong in itself, provided marriage follows." And then came in thoughts of a warmer nature, and sensations which overpower the woman when her passions are strong, and all that is wanted is a soporific to lull her conscience. The law furnished that soporific by enabling her to look forward to a period when marriage would cover her fault. She thus listened to her calculations, and gratified her passions by surrendering the citadel. He should describe this conflict of passion, and calculation, and chastity no further. Indeed, it was unnecessary to carry the discussion on that point further. The change of the law which he now called upon their lordships to make was founded on the same principles on which their lordships where accustomed to legislate every day in cases of applications which came before them in consequence of conjugal infirmities. How often had he heard it argued before their lordships that the husband and the wife ought in such cases to be placed on a par !—that the wife should have the same right to sue the husband that the husband now has to sue the wife, and that the civil law should be introduced into this country for the better protection of female comfort and female honour? "No," their lordships had also answered, and in the propriety of that answer he fully concurred, "we will not trust the keeping of a woman's virtue to herself. To her apply the threats which are to deter from crime; to her apply the menaces which are to prevent her backsliding. If she will not yield of herself, and if you can make it her interest not to yield upon the solicitations of others, the seducer will beat at the door in vain, his object will be frustrated, and yours will be gained.' (Haar, hear). Let this principle be applied to the law of bastardy, let the woman be deprived of the advantage which she possesses at present, let the disadvantage be placed on her side, and the man will have less chance to seduce her from the path of chastity and virtue. (Hear). He had now gone through all the points of the bill which he deemed important. He had already detained their lordships too long, indeed much longer than he had originally intended. "In conclusion," continued his lordship, "I must say that I have not intruded at this length upon your lordships, owing to any seductions or attractions with which this painful and thorny subject is invested; it has not been owing to any delight which I have felt in contemplation of scenes which are honourable to no party; neither to our ancestors, who framed the original poor-laws, nor to their successors, who made those laws worse by their amendments than they found them; nor to us who have lived so long without attempting to improve them. It has not been owing, I say, to any delight which I have experienced in dwelling upon events and abuses which have taken place in no other country but England. It has been from a conscientious sense of public duty that I have represented to you these scenes, and furnished you with a picture which, gloomy as it is, is still a faithful and accurate picture of the state of the country. I have vanquished the reluctance, the natural reluctance, which I felt, and which operated upon me so strongly, that I never felt so much relieved in my life as I did the other night, when my noble Friend lately at the head of the Government declared his intention of bringing this subject before your lordships. I confess to your lordships that I should have felt it my duty, having borne a part in former efforts to amend the poor-laws; having in the years 1817 and 1818 ori-

ginated a bill which pointed at the reformation of those laws; having afterwards in the year 1830, when I was first called upon to take a part in the administration, zealously turned my mind to this question, and having been directed from it subsequently only by that question which absorbed the interest of all others, I mean the question of reform; having in 1831 issued a commission under the great seal, which prevented me from continuing my efforts until its report was received; being, I say, connected in this manner, and for such a length of time with this great question, I should have felt it to be my bounden duty to lend my assistance to my noble Friend in his endeavours to pass this bill through your lordships' House. My mind, acquits me, I can assure your lordships, of all sinister motives in advocating this measure, of every desire to distinguish myself in carrying it through Parliament, of every the slightest wish to court for myself, or for those connected with me personally, or for those connected with me in office, any portion of popular favour and love. It is consolatory, however, to reflect that we have no obloquy to incur from any considerable portion of the country. We have only to incur the risk of misconception in some quarters, and misrepresentation in others; of the false direction of right feelings, and of the exaggerated views of ignorance, and it may be of malignity, which is worse than ignorance. We have set before ourselves no advantage, save that of coming before the country, and of challenging for ourselves, from all parties in the state, the respect which is due to Ministers who, in passing the path of duty, look neither to the right hand nor to the left; but, regardless of whom they may conciliate or whom they may irritate or alarm, hold up in their hands the result of their best efforts, and their matured deliberations to serve that people who have cordially and affectionately, and I may almost say unanimously, placed their confidence in them, resolved at all hazards to show to the people that at all times, and upon all subjects, they consult only its best interests, and look for no other reward than the approbation of their own consciences, and the honest verdict of the rational and enlightened part of the community. (Hear, hear). I now, my lords, move that this bill be read a second time.

Lord WYNFORD next addressed their lordships, but in a tone of voice which rendered much of what he said to be very indistinctly heard in the gallery. We understood him to ask their lordships whether, if the evils occasioned by the present maladministration of the poor-laws were so great as they were described to be in the eloquent speech of his noble Friend, there would be any inconvenience in postponing this bill to the next session of Parliament? The House of Commons had been occupied more than two months in discussing this bill in committee. Did their lordships fancy that they could give it an adequate discussion in the short space of a fortnight, which was the longest period of time that they could bestow upon it at this late period of the session? By postponing the bill to next session, it would have time in the interim to circulate among the magistrates, the country gentlemen, and all the other parties who took an interest in the administration of the poor-laws. He was sure that their lordships must feel that it was impossible for them to pass this bill during the present session. It was a bill of such importance that if their lordships did justice to it they could attend to no other subject during the remainder of their deliberations. If it were postponed to the next session, and taken into consideration immediately after its commencement, it might come into execution quite as soon as it would do if passed now. After the careful deliberation which had been bestowed upon it in the other House of Parliament, he objected to any plan of hurrying it with indecent haste through that House. If it were so hurried, the people would say, "The Peers require no time to pass so odious a measure, though the Commons had devoted to it many days of deliberation. It was sent up to the Lords with a number of other bills. They consented to yield at once, and passed it in a blind confidence in the other House." His noble and learned Friend had assumed that all the evils now suffered by the poor arose from our bad poor-laws, and our still worse administration of them. Now, that was a wrong view of the subject. Many of the most pressing evils now endured by the poor had nothing to do with the poor-laws. In the evidence collected by the poor-law commissioners, more than 100 witnesses deposed that the administration of the poor-laws had not produced the evils felt by the poor. What had occurred to reduce that class to the extreme wretchedness which his noble and learned Friend had described? The causes were many and various. The currency question had operated injuriously on the poor; so had the alteration in the corn laws, so had the threats of altering them once more, inasmuch as they prevented the farmer from employing the requisite quantity of capital and labour on his land. With respect to the poor in actual employment, the reports of various parliamentary committees proved over and over again, that taking into consideration the present rate of wages and price of provisions, they never, at any previous period, were so well off. What, then, was the real evil under which our labourers were suffering? Want of employment. What was the remedy for it? To find employment. Did this bill find that employment for them? No such thing. It was the want of employment which generated indolence, and that again generated all that vice and misery on which his noble and learned Friend had so largely expatiated. The want of employment, however, did not arise from the poor-laws, but from the distressed state of the agriculturist. His noble and learned Friend had eulogized political economists. He (Lord Wynford) did

not mean to attack their principles, but this he must say, that their practice had done a great deal to bring the poor into distress, for it had driven the poor land out of cultivation, and by so doing had deprived large numbers of our peasantry of employment and subsistence. It was idle to talk of the distress of the poorer classes being brought about by the present state of our poor-laws. Their distress lay much deeper than that. Did not the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack take into his account the great increase of the population, and the consequent diminution of the means of employment? But then the noble and learned Lord said, that the great increase of population was one result of the present state of the poor-laws. Would that account for the still greater increase of the population in Ireland, where they had no poor-laws? The fact was, that the great pressure of distress felt from want of employment, and want of parochial relief in Ireland, was a cause of distress in this country, and one of the first steps to relieve the distress here should be some remedy which should find employment for, or give relief to, the Irish in their own country; for it would be impossible to keep the Irish labouring poor from coming over here, and as long as there was so extensive a competition for employment here, so long would there be many thrown on parochial relief. The want of employment at present [illegible] of the great causes of the distress amongst our poor. Was there any thing [illegible] the bill which went to provide any remedy for this evil, or which in any way touched it? There [illegible] nothing whatever, and to hold out any hope of this kind to the public was a mere delusion. Then as to the "allowance" system, would that be checked by this mea- [illegible] He was sure it would not, and he did [illegible] think that the framers of the [illegible] the[illegible]selves believed that it would, or if they did, what did they mean by the 49. clause, which gave to the commissioners a discretionary power of granting allowances in certain cases? The fact [illegible] that the rate of wages in the country was in most instances too low, and if they should not be raised, if they should be even continued as they were at present, a peasant who had a large family, even though in employment, must starve if he did not receive something beyond what was the present price of his labour. The noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) had alluded in terms of becoming respect to Mr. Pitt, and to his plans for the relief of the poor. Those plans, though defective in many respects, were superior to that of the bill now before the House. By Mr. Pitt's plan an allowance was made to a married man in proportion to the number of his children. In the then state of the country a great number of children was considered a great blessing, but such blessings had been showered upon the country in such abundance since then, that the great difficulty was how to dispose of them. The noble and learned Lord had said that the poor-laws were bad in themselves and badly administered. He would say a word by-and-by as to the first point, but as to the bad administration, he would admit that there might be individual cases where magistrates abused their power by going beyond or not coming up to the law, but if, as in almost all cases, the complaint was that the magistrates had given too liberal a construction to the law, he did not see how they could improve it by taking the administration of it out of their hands. One great ground of objection to the present system was, that it allowed the payment of wages in part out of the poor-rates; but whatever might be thought of that system, it was only in those cases where it was impossible for a man to obtain wages sufficient for the support of himself and his family. The noble and learned lord complained of the 43. of Elizabeth as a bad law. That was the first time that he (Lord Wynford) had ever heard of that law being complained of as a bad law. He had heard the statute of Charles II. complained of, and he agreed with Adam Smith in his condemnation of it; but the 43. of Elizabeth he would assert was not a bad law. There might have been abuses under it, but in principle it was good, for he could not conceive why the impotent should not receive relief, or why the man who was able and willing to work should not receive some relief, or have work provided for him. He conceived that the poor who were unable to work, and those who had no employment, but were able and willing to work, had a right to relief. If, in the mode of administering the 43. of Elizabeth, abuses had occurred, and he would not deny that there had, was it necessary that the whole machinery of their administration should be destroyed? The quarter sessions would, he contended, be quite sufficient to correct any errors or abuses which might have crept in, without the intervention of such an arrangement of machinery as this bill proposed. The abuses had been said to be great, and the reports of the commissioners teemed with statements to that effect; but without meaning any disrespect to the commissioners, he must say that they were imposed upon, for he firmly believed that few, if any, such cases existed in the country as they had thought fit to lay before Parliament. The granting relief to the impotent, and providing for, or giving some relief to, the able-bodied poor man who was willing to work, which was the principle of the 43. of Elizabeth, could, he contended, be very efficiently provided for without such machinery as the bill proposed. As to the law of settlement, he thought it wound have been much better to have abolished it altogether than leave it as it was in the bill. He was disposed to concur with the noble and learned Lord that the settlement by birth would be preferable to that [illegible] in the bill, but he thought that the taking settlement away from apprenticeship was most unjust, impolitic, and cruel. The case had been discussed some year or two back in that House, on the question of taking settle-

ment away from apprentices to mariners After some remarks on the hardship of taking away the settlement acquired by apprenticeship, and throwing the pauper back on the place of his birth, the noble and learned Lord adverted to that part of the bill which granted loans to the poor, which he cordially approved of, and for which, if there were not so many objectionable parts in the bill, he would be disposed to support the second reading; for he had seen many instances in which such small loans to the poor had been productive of the best effects. With respect to the bastardy clauses, he was glad that the framers of the bill had not attended to the recommendation of the commissioners. One of the grounds of that recommendation was, that the throwing the burden on the woman exclusively would diminish the number of bastard children; but supposing that it would diminish them nine-tenths, he would prefer the law to remain as it now stood rather than that a different system, such as that in the bill, should temp (as we understood the noble and learned lord) the guilty parent to raise her hand against her own offspring. He had seen statements of cases in the reports of the commissioners where women considered it a little fortune to have three or four illegitimate children, from the allowances for whose support they obtained a maintenance. He must believe that in such accounts the commissioners were imposed upon; but supposing that the account were as it was stated, the 43. of Elizabeth was sufficient to correct the evil, if that act were duly enforced, for by that act the allowance was not directed to be given to the mother, but was to go to the parish, to be applied to the support of the child as might be thought proper; so that, in fact, no encouragement was held out by that act to the mother to increase the number of her illegitimate children, if the law were duly administered. He was inclined to think that the greatest inducement held out to the woman on such occasions was not the hope of the allowance which she might receive, but the promise or prospect of marriage; but these were left untouched by the bill, and would have their full force under its operation, as much as they had at the present moment. He would contend that the enactments against bastardy as they now stood would be found as fully sufficient as, and more sufficient than, those of the bill before their lordships. He must say that on the whole he was struck with horror to think that the poor of this country should be placed at the mercy of a central board of three, or at most of 12, commissioners. With respect to this central board, he must say that he considered it altogether unnecessary. The ground on which it was proposed was to establish an uniformity of practice in the administration of the poor-laws; but that was impossible, for every parish would be administered according to its particular circumstances, and a central board could not prevent it. How would it be possible for two out of the three chief commissioners, necessary to constitute a board, to examine and control the affairs of the 12,000 parishes in England? The central board would in his opinion be impotent for good, but most potent for evil. Another part of the bill to which he had a strong objection was the power of forming unions of parishes, by which the poor of two or more parishes might be sent to the same workhouse, by which the parish, comprising a populous town, might be united with a rural district. Was not this mixture of a town population with the comparatively innocent one of the country likely to be productive of most immoral consequences? By the law as it now stood, a power existed of uniting parishes by consent of each; but the people of the country, acting on that sense of their own interest which the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack admitted was the safest rule to go by in the management of their affairs, did not avail themselves of this power. Yet the commissioners, without considering what might be the interests or the inclinations of parishes, had the arbitrary power of uniting them at their pleasure. They were to have the power of appointing and paying men to assist in carrying on the enactments of the bill. They had, in fact, the power of taking as much money out of the pockets of the people as they pleased. The noble and learned Lord had said that there were acts which gave powers equal to the bill now before the House. He (Lord Wynford) was not aware of the existence of any such acts. He knew of no act by which any such powers were given to subjects in this country. Some persons were horrorstruck in this country at the passing of the Mutiny Act, by which the power of framing regulations, of deciding upon their infraction, and then of executing them, was given to the King. But in the present case nearly the same objection would lie in one sense, and a still higher objection in another. The commissioners were to have a much greater power than the legislature was willing to give to the King, and they were not only to exercise this power themselves, but were even authorized to delegate it to others. There was, he repeated, no statute in existence which conferred any similar powers upon any set of men in this country. They had the power of granting or withholding allowance to the poor—of deciding whether, to get that allowance, the pauper and his family were to go into the workhouse or not—of regulating the mode in which he should be fed, or in what other way he should receive his miserable pittance. Talk of slavery in the West Indies, for the abolition of which we were about to pay so large a sum! He would say, "Pass this bill, and the condition of the poor of this country will be worse than that of the serfs in any part of Europe, than that of the villeins who belonged to the soil of this kingdom in former times, or than that of any of our negro slaves in the colonies." He also objected to

the bill as establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional precedent. The salaries of the commissioners were not fixed by the House of Commons. These were to be fixed by the Crown, by whom the appointments were to be made. Here were permanent appointments to be made by the executive and the salaries named, which salaries were to be made good by the House of Commons. Carry that principle out a little further and there would be an end of the constitution of the country. He had now stated the objections which he entertained to this measure. He believed it would not be found to touch the evils which it proposed to correct, but he considered it chiefly objectionable on account of the enormous, nay, frightful power which it conferred on the commissioners. Under these circumstances he thought it would be advisable to postpone the bill to another session, and in the mean time their lordships might obtain the advice of practical men on the subject; for, as to the commissioners, it could not be denied that they had been prevented by other important duties from paying much attention to the practical effect of the poor-laws. He apprehended that if the present measure should pass its effect would be to alarm the poor of the country, and bring them in immediate contact with the Government. This was both impolitic and dangerous, and he conceived it to be much better that the poor, if they felt aggrieved, should blame the local magistrates than be led to find fault with the general government of the country. The bill would, he was assured, spread dissatisfaction throughout the country, and would substitute general violence in the place of partial disturbance. (Hear, hear). He therefore entreated their lordships to proceed cautiously with the bill, and in order that they might have time to consider maturely its bearing on every part of the country, he should move as an amendment to the original motion, "That the bill be read a second time this day six months."

The Earl of WINCHILSEA said, that though he differed widely from the Ministers with respect to their general policy, it was his intention to support the second reading of the present bill. At the same time he was most anxious to see some of the clauses amended, for the purpose of making them more beneficial than they were likely to be in their present shape to the labouring classes. The present measure was of the highest importance, whether considered as affecting those interests which were at present depressed by the maladministration of the poor-laws, or the moral character and independence of the labouring population. He believed that none of their lordships who were opposed to the present bill would venture to maintain that the poor-laws, as they were at present administered, were not productive of great evils; (hear, hear), and he really thought, that as no other mode of correcting those evils had been suggested, they were bound to give the present bill their serious attention. (Hear, hear). The principle on which the statute of Elizabeth was founded was humane and wise; it was not the law, but the maladministration of the law, which was the cause of mischief; and he thought that the magistrates of England had acted most injudiciously in making no distinction when administering the poor-laws between the industrious and indolent labourer. With respect to the bastardy clause, he could not concur in the observations which had fallen from the noble and learned Baron (Wynford). He believed that the proposed change would have a very beneficial effect, for the laws, as at present administered, offered a direct encouragement to profligacy. With respect to settlement, he thought that that part of the bill which abolished settlement by hiring would be found exceedingly beneficial to the labouring classes, because it would tend to open the labour market to the honest and industrious peasant, who would no longer be confined to his own parish. (Hear, hear). But it was absolutely necessary that this provision should be followed up in the next session of Parliament by the establishment of a system of poor-laws in Ireland. (Hear, hear). As the bill at present stood, it was provided that no labourer should be able to obtain a settlement, except by occupying a tenement of the value of 10*l.* a year. The bill, as at first introduced, contained a clause providing that a child, on attaining the age of sixteen, should have a settlement in the parish where he was born. As the settlement by hiring and serving was abolished, he thought it desirable that this clause should be retained, otherwise on the death of a labourer a great deal of litigation would be caused in ascertaining in what parish his children had a settlement. He thought, too, that the clause relating to settlement by rating would be greatly improved by raising the value of the tenement to 15*l.* or 20*l.*, because as it stood at present it would indispose persons from letting a small piece of ground to a labouring man. He thought that their lordships were the more bound to afford the labourers every facility to acquire small pieces of ground for their own cultivation, in consequence of the injury they had suffered from the enclosure of commons. He approved of that part of the bill which permitted allowance to be given out of the workhouse to able-bodied men. Had the provision remained as it stood when the bill was first introduced, he should certainly have opposed it; because it made no distinction between the industrious and the idle labourer. He admitted that he looked at that part of the bill relating to the commissioners with some degree of jealousy. He allowed that the power proposed to be conferred on them was new and unconstitutional; yet, looking at the state of the country, he was bound to say that their lordships must grant extraordinary power, if they wished to see the administration of the poor-laws brought into a wholesome state. He maintained that it was not in the power of the magistracy to

establish a uniform system of laws; and they attempted to do so, they would utterl fail. He had himself been an active magis trate in three different counties; and he coul assure their lordships, that though the poor laws in the three counties were the same, the difference in the administration was so great as to render its identity imperceptible. I some uniform system were not adopted, to b applied, of course, with some modifications to different parts of the country, having for it object the encouragement of the industrious and punishment of the improvident, he wa confident that all the changes contained in the present measure would assuredly fail o producing any advantage to the country. H should give his support to the second reading from an honest and conscientious convictior that the tendency of the bill was to improv the condition of the labouring population (Hear, hear).

The Earl of ELDON was very indistinctly heard, but we understood him to state that he did not rise to object to the principle of the bill, but to oppose the second reading at the present period of the session. In his opinion their lordships ought to consider during the recess what effect the provisions of the pro posed measure were likely to have on the country; and he thought that if they passed it in the present session, they would be doing an act in great haste which they ought only to do after great deliberation.

(*To be continued.*)

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO ME

must be sent to Bolt-court, and to no other place whatever; and no two-penny-post letter to be sent which is not *postage paid*. Very frequently these two-pences amount to the day-wages of a labouring man.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

ADDY, J., Sheffield, table-knife-manufactur.
BACK, R., Gardiner's-lane, Upper Thames-street, and Trig-wharf, carman.
COCKING, T., Great Portland-street, Mary-bonne, chemist.

BANKRUPTS.

BRIGGS, W., Vine-yard, Richmond, tailor.
ELLIOTT, T., Earl Shilton, Leicestershire, tallow-chandler.
GROVE, T., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, miller.
JENNINGS, H., Feversham, Kent, innkeeper.
MORGAN, J., Newport, Monmouthshire, grocer.
TAPSTER, T., Quadrant, Regent-street, iron-monger.
WEEKS, J., Langford, Somersetshire, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DAVIDSON, R., Aberdeen, soap-manufactur.
LOVE, J., Glasgow, merchant.
THOMSON, T., Finderley, near Kinross, farmer.

TUESDAY, JULY 22.

INSOLVENTS.

FREEMAN, H., Rochford, Essex, draper.
TURNER, R., Church-street, Kensington, licensed-victualler.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SEMPLE, J., Commercial-wharf, Regent's-canal, Hampstead-road, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SMITH, T., Edgware-road, hosier.

BANKRUPTS.

BROOKS, J., Wells, Somersetshire, mercer.
BUCKLEY, J., Hollingrove, Yorkshire, merchant.
COLLIS, J., Fleet-street, tailor.
CUE, C., Blackfriars-square, Gloucester, retailer of beer.
GIBSON, W. H., Liverpool, hatter.
HADWEN, J., Lockwood, Yorkshire, cotton-spinner.
JONES, J., Liverpool, grocer.
MOORE, T. S., Colegate, Norwich, bombazine-manufacturer.
OLIVER, W., Easington-lane, Durham, chemist.
WALKER, H., Worcester, glove-manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 21.—The continuance of wet weather during Friday, Saturday, part of Sunday, and to-day, added to short supplies coastways, as well as by land samples, caused the millers this morning at he opening of the market to come more freely orward as purchasers, but factors meeting heir demands by an advance of full 3s. per quarter on the rates of this day week, caused the business to be at first limited; towards the lose, however, several sales were effected at n advance of 2s. per quarter for the finer ualities, and full 1s. per quarter on the se-ondary descriptions. No new samples were xhibited. Nothing transpiring in bonded orn.

Barley comes sparingly to hand, and fully upports its previous quotations. The present

weather is reckoned favourable for the growing crops, as it will tend to render the grain mellow, though it may endanger its colour. A few samples of new Barley were shown differing in quality, but we did not hear of any parcels being offered for sale.

Malt was dull, and last week's rates were barely supported, as the malting quality of Barley is expected to be good, and samples early at market.

The supply of Oats has been large, and principally from Scotland. The market evinced little animation, and the clearance effected was limited at a decline of 6d to 1s. per quarter on the prices of this day se'nnight. In bonded qualities we heard of no sales, and the whole of the late foreign arrivals have been taken to granary.

Beans steady in value, but the demand very moderate.

Old white Peas maintained their former quotations; fine new Suffolk qualities realized 50s. to 52s., and some were held at 55s., and new hog, 40s. to 42s.

Ship Flour continuing scarce, was held at a decline of 1s. per sack, and millers were not anxious to sell to any extent at last week's currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s.	to 47s.
—— White	47s.	to 54s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s.	to 45s.
—— White, ditto	45s.	to 50s.
—— West Country red	41s.	to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s.	to 49s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	38s.	to 43s.
—— White, ditto	40s.	to 45s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	36s.	to 41s.
—— White, ditto	42s.	to 43s.
—— Irish red	35s.	to 39s.
—— White, ditto	39s.	to 41s.
Barley, Malting	30s.	to 32s.
—— Chevalier	30s.	to 32s.
—— Distilling	30s.	to 31s.
—— Grinding	27s.	to 30s.
Malt, new	37s.	to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	50s.	to 57s.
—— Ware	52s.	to 55s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	36s.	to 40s.
—— Maple	40s.	to 42s.
—— White Boilers	45s.	to 49s.
Beans, Small	31s.	to 36s.
—— Harrow	31s.	to 36s.
—— Tick	31s.	to 34s.
Oats, English feed	22s.	to 21s.
—— Short, small	23s.	to 25s.
—— Poland	23s.	to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	23s.	to 25s.
Potato	26s.	to 28s.
Berwick	25s.	to 27s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s.	to 23s.
—— —— Potato	25s.	to 26s.
—— —— Black	22s.	to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s.	to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s.	to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s.	to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s.	to —s.	
—— York	38s.	to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s.	to 68s.	
—— Single ditto	44s.	to 48s.	
—— Cheshire	54s.	to 74s.	
—— Derby	50s.	to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s.	to 60s.	
— Cumberland	46s.	to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, July 21.

This day's supply of Beasts was tolerably numerous, but in great part of indifferent quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and for the time of the year, porkers, both as to numbers and quality, moderately good.—Trade was, with prime Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, somewhat brisk, with the three former at an advance of about 2d., with the latter from 2d. to 4d. per stone, with the middling and inferior kinds, as also with Pork, dull, at Friday's quotations.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5*s.*

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5*s.*

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17*s.*, and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5*s.*

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A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d.*

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POOR-LAW BILL.

Normandy, 30. *July*, 1834.

THE letter which I intended to address this week to the Earl of RADNOR, I think it better not to address to him until the House of Lords have *done with the bill*, which will be most likely before the latter end of next week. The bill will *never go into execution*, though it may produce enormous mischiefs even by being passed. I insert below, upon this subject, a letter from Mr. ROGERS, extremely well worthy of the attention of my readers. It contains an addition to all that we have had before of what are the real objects of the bill.

ABUSES IN THE CHURCH.

NOT to the Dissenters; not to any enemy of the Christian religion; not to infidel publications or infidel preachings; not to any error in her doctrines; not to anything unseemly or inconsistent with plain sense and reason in her ritual; not even to the general character of her clergy; not to any thing unjust or injurious in the institution of tithes or of church-dues; not to any greediness, generally speaking, on the part of the clergy in the collection of these; not to any of these; not to a want of attachment of the people of England, generally speaking, to the church; not to any of these, I say, but to the monstrous *abuses* in the *distribution of her temporalities* this church will owe her FALL, as, in some measure, the Catholic church in England did. Pluralist parsons tell you, that it is nothing to the people, so that they have church-service, who it is that performs it, if it be but a parson of the church. This is a prodigious mistake. Of all the persons in this world the poorer parishioners all over England are the sharpest sighted. They have the fields, the meadows, the downs, and the woods, constantly before their eyes. Their habit, and almost instinct, teaches them the exact amount of the produce of them all; and they know to a scruple the ultimate distribution of that produce; and I venture to say that there is not a sane labouring man in any parish in England, who is not acquainted with the distribution of the tithes of his parish, and who does not know all about the rectory, the vicarage, and the curacy, and the amount of each; and it is a deep sense of the injustice to his parish and to himself, arising out of this abuse in the distribution; it is this, joined to the neglect arising from the same cause in the performance of the various duties of an incumbent; it is to these, and these only, that we owe all the *new sects* which have risen up within the last seventy years.

Amongst hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands, of cases, to illustrate the nature of these monstrous abuses, is the case of Mr. WRAY, vicar of BARDNEY, in Lincolnshire. But monstrous as this case is, it has been before the public for several years, without producing any very general effect. At last Mr. WRAY has resolved to petition the House of Commons; and his petition is, I believe, in the hands of Mr. HUME. This gentleman has had a long correspondence with the Lord Chancellor, with his diocesan bishop, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He appears to have sent a copy of this petition, together with a copy of all the documents, to all the members of the House of Commons, and amongst others he has sent one to me, with that which I suppose is a circular letter from himself. I shall here insert a copy of my

answer to his letter, and after that the whole of the correspondence between him, the Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Lincoln, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a copy of his petition. When the reader shall have gone through these with attention, I shall have to beg him to listen to some remarks from myself upon this monstrous case, and upon the outrageous injustice of suffering these abuses longer to continue.

LETTER FROM MR. COBBETT TO MR. WRAY.

"*Normandy*, 30. *July*, 1834.

"Sir,—I have received your letter of "the 24. instant, along with the "printed copy of your petition.

"Thirty years ago I began my efforts "to *save* the church by the removal of "these monstrous abuses, in return for "which the clergy, as magistrates and "as preachers, have done every thing "that they were able to do to destroy "me; and their satisfaction never ap- "pears to have been so great as when "they thought they should succeed in "these malignant efforts. They were "quite on tiptoe, exulting in the "prospect of seeing me crushed for ever "by the villanous proceedings in Sussex, "in 1831, in which they were mainly "instrumental. Even in the reports "now lying on the table of the House "of Commons from the Poor-Law "Commissioners, there are libels against "me, by *name*, of the most atrocious "character.

"The ground of all this malignity "has been, not that I was an enemy of "the church, and not that *they thought* "me such, but that I was a formidable "enemy to its abuses, and that I had "reason and justice on my side. What "would you think of a man, having "been curate of a parish for twenty "years, being put out upon the death "of his rector, upon the *express* "*charge* of *having brought* [Mr. COB- "BETT *into the parish*; this *bringing* "being merely my having stopped at "his house, and slept there for two or "three nights, and that only for once!

"And this, you will observe, while I "have always contended for the legal "rights of the establishment; while I "have professed myself firmly attached "to the religion of the church, in which "I was born and bred; while I have "represented it as the poor man's "church; and while I have, consistent "with the abolition of every unjust re- "straint on the Dissenters, laboured to "uphold this establishment.

"Ah! but I made war upon its abuses; "upon its impropriations; upon the "crying injustice towards the working "clergy; and in short upon all those "abuses which will finally be its over- "throw. With regard to your parti- "cular case, it is only one out of hun- "dreds, and I may say out of thousands. "It has happened to come athwart the "well-being of a man of high spirit "and of great talent. There is always "a particular something which brings "a great establishment or power to its "end. The causes of every such end "are generally numerous; the thunder "rolls from a distance; sometimes ap- "proaches nearer, then recedes; but at "last there is some particular cause "that brings down the bolt. The "rumblings that forebode the destruc- "tion of the church are heard from all "quarters; but at last it must be some "particular thing to give the fatal "blow; and I think it very likely that "your case may give that blow. It "must lead to an investigation; and, "as far as the subject comes within my "reach, you may be assured that, on "my part there will be neither neglect "nor lukewarmness.

"I am,
"With great respect,
"Your most humble
"And most obedient servant,
"WM. COBBETT."

TO THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

The humble Memorial of John Wray, Vicar of Bardney, near Lincoln, Showeth,

That your memorialist has for twenty-eight years been a minister of the church of England, and has during that period creditably educated a family of thirteen

children. That all his emoluments from the church are confined to the vicarage of Bardney, of which the net income does not amount to fifty pounds per annum; the tithe being *appropriated to the Bishop of Lincoln who returns an endowment of eight pounds a year*, the remainder of his scanty remuneration being supplied by Queen Anne's bounty, and a Parliamentary grant. That he has necessarily, with so large a family and through so long a period, gradually consumed a small private fortune, in maintaining that decent respectability which becomes, and is expected from, his profession. That, his private resources being exhausted, he has felt himself compelled by a natural anxiety for the welfare of his family, eleven of whom are still unprovided for, to request permission of the bishop of the diocese to resign his gown, in order that he may, though nearly sixty years of age, apply himself to some other occupation for their better support. That his lordship the bishop, being satisfied as to the hardship of the case, has recently done all in his power to add a curacy to the vicarage; but that the arrangement having proved impracticable, your memorialist has been advised, and he hopes prudently advised, not to abandon his home and profession at such an advanced age, without first submitting himself to your lordship's consideration.

Your memorialist begs to observe that he is *nominally* rector of Manby near Louth, in this county, but that he derives no benefit whatever from it nor ever can. The peculiar circumstances under which your memorialist is the nominal rector are known to the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom your lordship is respectfully referred for any information you may desire; and trusting that your lordship will not deem this application an intrusion, your memorialist will only add, that the parish of which he is vicar for so small a stipend is nearly six thousand acres in extent, and requires full double duty the same as the largest and most wealthy benefice in the county.

JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE HON. C. A. PELHAM, M. P.

Dear Sir,—The Lord Chancellor desires me to assure you that he really would be glad to serve Mr. Wray, but what can be done whilst his list is crowded with the names of individuals who have at least equal claims for preferment. The earnestness with which you press Mr. Wray's case is of course an inducement with the Chancellor to regret that there is so little hope of his lordship having it in his power to comply with the application.

Your faithful servant,

DENIS LE MARCHANT,

Principal Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Friday.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 12. *March* 1834.

My Lord,—I think it but right to inform your lordship that my application to the Chancellor has failed. On the 10. ult I wrote again to Mr. Pelham, requesting him to ascertain if there was any probability of success. I insert the letter which I sent him, and the result of it.

[Here my letter to Mr. Pelham on the subject, and the above answer from the Lord Chancellor's Secretary were inserted.]

Hopeless, my lord, as my condition is now from any extraneous aid, or any exertion of my own, you will not be offended at my throwing myself upon your lordship, as my diocesan, for advice. To exist *at all*, much less in the character of a clergyman, upon a stipend which does not exceed the *board wages of a footman*, is impossible. If I have done so hitherto, it has been by sacrificing my little private property and involving myself in debt—circumstances, the latter of which render the future still more desperate. For my own part I know *not* what course to take. Unless your lordship can judge better for me than I can for myself—and, as my diocesan, I have some claim upon your consideration—I see no other alternative except *quitting the vicarage for a gaol*, and it would be folly in me ever again to return in the

character of a clergyman to a benefice which would *hardly enable me to live as a labourer.*

I cannot say that I should quit it without regret. Thirty years ago I found the church no better than a large barn. By exertions, which were not always productive of the most pleasing consequences to myself, and by personal contributions, which I could not always very well afford, I have rendered it one of the neatest churches in the county. Upon the house I have spent many hundreds, but I need not expatiate upon what your lordship already knows. I have been a good tenant; and it is a bitter reflection, that I may abandon, in the evening of my days, the improvements which it has cost me a quarter of a century to effect. I trust that the successor whom your lordship appoints, may be more fortunate in their enjoyment.

If your lordship can suggest any means by which I can possibly remain on the vicarage, I shall be very happy; but if I must bid farewell to it, *I cannot retain my clerical character* (as a member of the established church) *without depriving myself and family of bread*; and I should thank your lordship to advise me *how I may divest myself of it,* without incurring that sort of censure from authorities I am sworn to respect, of which I am by no means ambitious.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Buckden, 19. March, 1834.

REV. SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12. inst. If I do not, in compliance with your request, offer you any advice, the sole reason is that I know not what advice to offer. I can only express my readiness to consider any plan which you may yourself suggest, of relieving you from your difficulties.

I am, reverend sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 24. March, 1834.

MY LORD,—I feel deeply sensible of the kindness of your lordship's letter, of Wednesday last, although it makes my situation still more desponding than before. It is in vain that I attempt to discover any plan to suggest for your lordship's consideration. That from which I had some reasonable grounds of hope, having utterly failed, my own personal resources of extrication are exhausted; and, like a drowning man, I eagerly look to those who are in a situation to perceive and help me in my difficulties, for that counsel and assistance which I am no longer capable of exerting myself. I know not what to do, or what to ask. A friend the other day suggested to me that an act had been passed by which a diocesan was empowered to improve the endowments of benefices *of which he held the impropriation*; and, although I am not aware of the particulars of the act, it might perhaps be susceptible of some advantageous construction in my favour. Let me, however, not be deemed troublesome in again imploring your lordship's consideration generally, which I do most earnestly, for it is the only quarter to which I can now look for that advice and support of which I stand so distressingly in need.

Hoping still to hear from your lordship once more, before my ruin is irretrievable,

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Buckden, 27. March, 1834.

REV. SIR,—The act to which you allude, enables all ecclesiastical impropriators to augment their dependent vicarages or perpetual curacies either immediately with the consent of the lessee, or prospectively without his consent. You are aware that the rectory of Bardney is under lease for twenty-one years *to Lord Harrowby*; the lease will be renewable next year; the fine

paid in 1828 was not quite 250*l.*, and in consequence of the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has since taken place, Lord Harrowby probably will object to pay the same fine next year. If, however, he should not object, and I should consent to surrender the *whole* fine in order to obtain an *immediate* augmentation of the vicarage, that augmentation would scarcely exceed 20*l.* per annum. But *I cannot afford to surrender the whole fine.* The income of the Bishop of Lincoln is derived almost exclusively *from impropriations*, which one of my predecessors was compelled to take in exchange for the lands which formed the original endowment of the bishoprick. Those impropriations are let upon leases either for twenty-one years or three lives, the reserved rent being very small. The fines therefore upon renewal constitute an essential part of the bishop's income, and during the last two years have been so diminished in amount that the whole income of the bishoprick has fallen short considerably of the expenditure.

My intention was, in case Lord Harrowby should consent to renew, to give up a portion of the fine in order to obtain a prospective augmentation of 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year, at the expiration of the existing lease in 1849. This appeared to me to be the most effectual mode of permanently improving the vicarage. But if you can point out any mode by which you may yourself be benefited, as well as the vicarage, I shall not be unwilling to adopt it.

I am, reverend sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

—

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 31. March, 1834.

MY LORD,—Of course I was not aware of the difficulties which prevent your lordship from accomplishing what you would wish for the improvement of this vicarage, and deeply do I feel that they are such as to hold out no hope of your lordship being able in that shape to give effect to the kind desire you express for my relief. It is beyond the scope of probability that I shall live to see the expiration of Lord Harrowby's lease, and any small addition to the endowment of the vicarage which it appears possible for your lordship to make in the interim, would be quite inadequate to produce any perceptible improvement in my condition. Under all the circumstances, I see no other prospect of my being able to preserve my footing as a clergyman, except that which has afforded so little promise, namely *the procuring some additional preferment to hold with my present.* Yet even now, with your lordship's support, it might not prove impracticable. Mr. Pelham, I am aware, has done all for me that he could; but I am assured that the Lord Chancellor professes to be any thing but desirous to bestow his patronage in the church, to the solicitations of political friends, and that as a general rule, (and an admirable one it undoubtedly is), he relies upon the recommendation of the several heads of the church, as having the best opportunities of knowing the merits and wants of their clergy. If such be the case, and I have been confidently informed that the Lord Chancellor himself has avowed it to be the policy he has adopted in the distribution of the numerous small livings in his gift, a second application might be made more successfully than my former one, if your lordship were to take it by the hand. Indeed, I should have no doubt of its success under your lordship's auspices, and with an earnestness proportionate to the wretchedness of my situation, I implore your lordship to vouchsafe to the request your most benevolent consideration.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Buckden, 2. April, 1834.

REV. SIR,—I am under the necessity of returning you the same answer which I have given to other clergymen, who have requested me to apply to the Lord Chancellor in their behalf, *that I do not feel myself at liberty to make any appli-*

cation to his lordship on the subject of the preferment in his disposal.

I am, reverend sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 7. April, 1834.

MY LORD,—Circumstances over which neither I, nor perhaps any one, has control, seem to operate distressingly against me; and none more so, than that, with your lordship's kind disposition to procure for me the relief which I so much need, you should not feel yourself at liberty to support me in applying for it in the quarter from which it might most reasonably be expected. It is a great disappointment to me, but nevertheless I do not yet wish to abandon the view in which I have indulged. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury may probably not feel himself under the restraint which your lordship imposes upon yourself; and if so, your lordship's influence with him might indirectly be of the same service to me as if you had felt yourself at liberty to exercise it in the manner which I presumed to request in my last. The plan, therefore, which I suggest is, to submit my case fully to his grace, and entreat his good offices in my behalf; an entreaty which, if sanctioned by your lordship, from your knowledge of my situation, will, I am sure, have every possible effect. I hope my continued importunity on the subject is not offensive to your lordship, and that you will impute it entirely to the tenacity with which distress naturally clings to its only hope.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
J. WRAY.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 19. April, 1834.

MY LORD,—I should not have troubled your lordship until you had apprized me of your sentiments respecting my proposed application to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; but, observing that the vicarage of Orby has become vacant by the death of the Rev. Peter Bulmer, of Liverpool; and supposing that probably it may be one of those small benefices which are not an object to clergymen of consideration and influence, I hope that your lordship will not deem that I take too great a liberty in mentioning, that provious to my two immediate predecessors, Mr. Cracroft and Mr. Willis, who were men of high connexions, and therefore not in need of any additional provision at the hands of their diocesan, Bardney usually went with some other little preferment in the patronage of the bishop. The last it went with was Saxilby, in the time of Mr. Blenherasset. I hope your lordship will not be offended by my adverting to such having been the case; and of course I should not think of doing so at all, except on the presumed possibility of Orby being *too inconsiderable for the notice of any one whose pretensions and means are not so humble as my own.*

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

London, 24. April, 1834.

REV. SIR,—It is impossible for me to express any opinion respecting the probable result of the application which you contemplate to the Archbishop of Canterbury. If you make it, and his grace mentions the subject to me, I shall be ready to state to him my belief of the correctness of your representation of your circumstances.

With respect to the *living of Orby*, it must be given *to some one of the numerous applicants who have been for some time past on my list.*

I am, rev. sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

[The above correspondence at this period was submitted to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. His grace expressed much concern at the circumstances communicated to him, but *did not feel authorized to make any recommendation to the Chancellor*, and con-

cluded with the following postscript:— "I ought perhaps to add, that having been regularly ordained, *you are not permitted by the law to divest yourself of the character of a clergyman.*"]

THE REV. JOHN WRAY, TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 2. *May*, 1834

My Lord,—I heard from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday on the subject of my proposed application to the Lord Chancellor. His grace's answer is substantially the same as your lordship's. His grace, however, admonishes me further, that "having been regularly ordained, I am "not permitted by the law to divest "myself of the character of a clergy- "man." To divest myself of that character, when every hope is cut off of my being able to exist in it, is, my lord, not merely a selfish motive as regards *myself*, but a sacred duty as regards my *family*. But I would do nothing blindly; and I should feel obliged by your lordship informing me, the *nature of the perils and penalties I incur by carrying my intention into effect*.

As soon as I receive your lordship's answer, I purpose, as a last effort, to petition, not only the King, but both Houses of the Legislature, after having submitted to several members of each, a printed copy of the correspondence relative to my case, as the best and most sufficient elucidation of it. The object of my petition will be, either that I may be provided with *the means to support my clerical character*, or *be favoured with an indemnity for abandoning it*; and I confidently anticipate that it cannot but receive your lordship's sanction and concurrence.

Your lordship's early answer will additionally oblige,

My lord,
Your very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Warren's Hotel, Regent-Street, 9. *May*, 1834.

Rev. Sir,—I thought it right, before I answered your letter, to communicate with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and I understand from his grace that his letter to you contained no mention of *penalties*. I believe it however to be perfectly true, that, although you should abandon your ministerial functions and engage in a secular occupation, you would still *in the eye of the law be regarded as a clergyman.*

I am, rev. sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 16. *May*, 1834.

My Lord,—The word "*penalties*" was not literally mentioned in his Grace the Archbishop's letter, but their existence seemed to be plainly indicated by the caution which he suggested, that I could not divest myself of the character of minister of the church, after having taken orders as such; and if, as your lordship states in corroboration, *the eye of the law* will regard me as a clergyman, if I should abandon the functions of one, I must entreat your lordship to apprize me *what are the consequences* I should incur by making myself obnoxious to its surveillance. I stand greatly in need of *explicit counsel* on this point, and I hope your lordship will afford me it, as well as some intimation of the sentiments with which you view the petition which I contemplate to the legislature.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Buckden, 20. *May*, 1834.

Rev. Sir,—I can only in reply to the former part of your letter refer you to the 76. Canon, which says, that no man being admitted Deacon or Minister shall from thenceforth *voluntarily relinquish the* same, nor afterwards *use himself in the course of his life as a layman* upon pain of *excommunication*.

With respect to the petitions which you contemplate to his Majesty and to the two Houses of Parliament, my opi-

nion is, that they will not be productive of any benefit to yourself; that they will *not procure for you additional preferment*; I may, however, be mistaken in this opinion; and I wish not to dissuade you from taking any step by which your present situation may possibly be improved.

I am, rev. sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Bardney Vicarage, 24. *May*, 1834.

MY LORD,—I thank your lordship for the explicit information you have at last afforded me. I have indeed a most comfortable choice. *Utrum horum*—to retain my clerical character with *the meed of starvation*, or "to relinquish the same *on pain of excommunication!*" Excommunication, my lord, has lost most of the moral terrors, and many of the practical consequences, which attended it in former times; but even now it is something more than a bugbear or a form. It incapacitates a man, *durante culpa*, from bringing any action, personal or real; from giving evidence, in any court or suit; and even from making a testamentary disposition of his property. So at least says our greatest authority on ecclesiastical law; and you will remark, my lord, that this is not a mere obsolete and nominal *liability*, but a positive deprivation from a man's security and rights. It is, in short, a sentence of outlawry against him in his dealings with mankind, and in most of the important business of life. It does not arm the law against him, but it takes from him the law's protection. Under such a disadvantage in his commerce with the world, it would be in vain for him to attempt to procure a livelihood by any worldly calling. The case, therefore stands thus: The church, in return for my services, *does not afford me the means of living, and effectually prevents me from procuring those means otherwise.* If not content to starve *in* the church, I have the alternative of starving *out* of it. To excommunicate a man for abandoning his clerical profession, is, in point of fact, to excommunicate him from every other.

The question being susceptible of no other solution than this, my petitioning the legislature is no longer a matter of deliberation. That the legislature will hesitate for a moment, in granting relief to myself and others similarly situated, when the subject has been fully explained to them, I cannot believe. I enclose a form of the petition I shall present, containing the facts of my own individual case, and a general exposition of the principles of the church law by which I am aggrieved, and I confidently anticipate an assurance from your lordship, that you will be inclined to support the prayer of it in the House of Lords. Should I accidently have misstated or mistaken any point in the petition, I shall feel obliged by your lordship affording me the advantage of your correction, and returning the draft at your earliest convenience.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's very obediednt servant.
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

Buckden, 27. *May*, 1834.

REV. SIR,—In compliance with your request, I return the draft of your petition. I am certainly desirous to attend in my place when the petition is presented; and if you will be so good as to inform me to what member of the House of Lords you intend to intrust it, I will communicate with him and ascertain the day on which he means to present it.

I am, rev. sir,
Your very obedient servant,
J. LINCOLN.

The petition of John Wray, vicar of Bardney, in the county and diocese of Lincoln,

Humbly Showeth,

That your petitioner has, for twenty-nine years, been a minister in the service of the church of England, during which period he has officiated for more

than twenty-eight years as vicar of Bardney.

That the whole of your petitioner's clerical income is derived from the vicarage of Bardney, his interest in another benefice, of which he is ostensibly the rector, being merely nominal; and his Lordship the Bishop of Lincoln having felt it his duty, in the year 1827, *to deprive your petitioner of a contiguous curacy,* and impose upon him *double service in his own parish, the same as is required upon the most wealthy and extensive benefices in the kingdom.*

That although your petitioner does not deny the correctness of his lordship the bishop's representation, namely, that a parish so populous as Bardney, is sufficient to occupy the exclusive attention of an incumbent, yet he begs humbly to submit that the income of the benefice is utterly inadequate exclusively to support one. That the rectory is appropriated to the *Lord Bishop himself,* who returns to the vicar an endowment of *eight pounds only a year,* and that the total net income of the vicarage, including the additions made to it by Queen Anne's Bounty, and a parliamentary grant, does not exceed fifty pounds per annum.

That with an income so incompatible with his situation, your petitioner would have found it impossible to maintain the respectability of his profession, even in the most homely manner, and still more to have educated a family of thirteen children consistently with his station and character as a clergyman, without some private resources of his own. That originally possessing a very small capital, he has gradually exhausted it in an effort during twenty-nine years to supply the deficiency in the legitimate means of his support; and that he is at last reduced, at an advanced age, and with ten children yet unprovided for, to the pittance arising from his impoverished vicarage.

Your petitioner implores your honourable House to believe that he intrudes upon its consideration with reluctance; and that he does not do so, until after having applied, not only through his diocesan and primate, but through other high depositaries of public patronage, for relief, without effect or encouragement.

It is under these circumstances that your petitioner begs humbly to state that he was driven, by a painful sense of his duty to his family, to contemplate the necessity of his seeking those means of a livelihood in some secular occupation, which the church was incapable of affording him. That upon acquainting his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury with such an intention, his grace kindly intimated to your petitioner, that, having been regularly ordained, the law would ever regard his acts as those of a clergyman; and that his lordship, the Bishop of Lincoln, in explanation of the caution thus volunteered by his grace, has explicitly informed your petitioner, that, having been once admitted a deacon or minister, "he cannot afterwards use "himself in the course of his life as a "layman, upon pain of excommunica-"tion."

Your petitioner is aware that a sentence of excommunication has lost most of the moral terrors, and many of the practical severities which it inflicted in earlier times. Nevertheless, he presumes to recall to the mind of your honourable House, that even in the present day, it has a tacit operation of the most injurious tendency; that although it may not arm the law against the supposed offender, it deprives him of its protection; that it incapacitates him from bringing any action, real or personal; from giving evidence in any suit or court: and even from making a testamentary disposition of his property: in short, that although it may inflict no positive punishment or penalty, it subjects the party to civil disabilities which outlaw him, as it were, from the successful pursuit of any worldly occupation or profession; and leaves therefore to the unfortunate clergyman who may not be able to procure the means of subsistence by the discharge of his clerical duties, no other alternative but to *starve contentedly* in the performance of them, or to *starve as the penalty* for abandoning them.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly

implores your honourable House to take his case into consideration, with the view of affording such relief as in its wisdom may seem proper, either by enabling your petitioner, and others similarly situated, to derive that support from the church, to which their services entitle them, *or by indemnifying them from the consequences* which they at present incur, when driven by necessity to seek the means of support elsewhere.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOHN WRAY.

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Now, I put it to the reader, whether this be a state of things to be borne by the people of this country? Here is a clergyman officiating for a large parish, with far less income than a journeyman carpenter; and, if you take his ten children into account, with less to live upon than a common day-labourer in Surrey. He has the name, you see, of being the rector of another parish; but the Bishop of Lincoln takes away the tithes of the rectory all but *eight pounds a year*! And Lord HARROWBY, a *peer*, rents the tithes of the bishop; poor Mr. WRAY is rector only in name, except the eight pounds a year! And how comes there to be this eight pounds a year? Why, at the plundering Protestant Reformation, the tithes of this living were taken from the church and given to somebody else; or sold, or swapped, or something; but in this transfer an endowment was reserved for the rector or parson of the parish. Eight pounds a year were reserved for this purpose. But, the plunderers were not so unjust, and dared not set the people so completely at defiance, as to allot only eight pounds a year of the *present sort of money*. The money of that day was just about twenty times the value of the money of the present day; so that the plunderers allotted a hundred and sixty pounds a year for the rector, at any rate. The discovery of the mines in America, the lowering of the standard of money, and the issuing of paper-money, have brought down that which was a hundred and sixty pounds to eight pounds, the nominal amount being still the same; and thus those who have made the laws, and who have, in divers cases, changed the laws to make salaries and other payments out of the taxes accord with the fall in the value of money, have suffered this crying, this monstrous abuse to remain. The salaries of the judges, of police magistrates, of soldiers, of sailors, of all persons in office, of every description, have been constantly rising, in order to keep pace with this fall in the value of money; but those who have made the laws have taken care not to suffer the endowments of the church to rise in the same way. This is one of the ways in which the church has been robbed, and which, in various instances, it has been impossible for an incumbent to live upon his living. In the meanwhile; while the livings have thus been swallowed up, immense sums have been granted, *out of the taxes paid by the people*, "to "relieve the poor clergy of the church "of England." When the reader of "*The History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," comes to the last chapter of that *history*, he will find that, during that regency and reign, one million five hundred thousand pounds were voted out of the taxes for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England, while no one ever seems to have thought of restoring the endowments settled at the Reformation, which had been left to be swallowed up by the nobility, the gentry, their families, and dependents, while the working clergy have really been half starving.

Amongst my propositions at MANCHESTER was this, to abolish all tithes at once; to compel parsons to reside; to give them the church, churchyard, parsonage-house, and ancient glebe; to assure to them the church-dues, and for the rest, to leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people of the parish. I did not make this proposition because I thought that tithes were in themselves unjust or injurious; but because the distribution of them was become so intolerably unjust, and because I was satisfied that the *working clergy would most prodigiously gain by the change.*

I would much rather see all the tithes restored to the church, and see the poor relieved and the churches repaired out of those tithes, by a constantly resident clergy; but as this appears to be impossible, the other is the only alternative; and what a blessing such a change would be to a man like Mr. WRAY! As the matter stands now the revenues of the church are not employed for the purposes of charity and religion. That they ought so to be employed every man must allow; and there only wants the *will of the House of Commons* to cause them to be thus employed. However more of this another time; for it is one of the great and permanent evils of the country; one that threatens us with a dreadful revolution; one that the Parliament has it in its power to overcome; and to exercise which power is its bounden duty: but there is the other part of this subject; namely, the *dilemma* in which Mr. WRAY is placed, the *choice* which he has, of starving *in* the church, or starving *out* of it. In his letter of the 24. of May he describes the effects of his now daring to follow any secular occupation. I request the reader's particular attention to this letter, and to ask himself whether it be possible for this Parliament to suffer the law and the church to remain in this state? However, this must be a subject of discussion in Parliament. It is impossible that the affair can remain in this state; and with this observation I dismiss the subject for the present.

INTENSE BANKING SCHEME.

I HAVE often had to observe that, in proportion to the clearness of the truth promulgated against opinions and projects is always the virulence of the party against whose opinions and whose projects such promulgation is made; and, if I wanted anything to convince me of the perfect correctness of my opinions relative to the new scheme of banking in Ireland, the SPEECH and the LETTER, which I am about to insert from the DUBLIN *Stewart's Dispatch*, would produce that conviction in my mind; for, if men have reason on their side; if the scheme which they advocate be unassailable by argument and by fact, they laugh at opinions opposed to their own, and at all efforts to decry their projects.

I shall first insert the report of a speech made by Mr. DIXON, at a meeting of the subscribers to the new banking scheme, held in Dublin on the 26. July. I shall then insert a letter from the same paper of the 23. of July, which letter is addressed to myself. When I have inserted these documents, I shall make such remarks upon them as appear to me to be sufficient for the present.

SPEECH OF MR. DIXON.

Mr. Dixon then said, I hold in my hand the last weekly *Register* of the notorious William Cobbett; and as it contains a somewhat lengthy article, the object of which is to bring into public disrepute the establishment whose interests we are now assembled to promote, I must crave your indulgence while I offer a few remarks, not only in defence of that establishment, but also of the motives which have induced its projectors to submit it to the approbation of the Irish public. This article, which is now making the circuit of the Irish press, and adopted as the first or leading article in this journal—better known than trusted—is headed "Intense Humbug"; and its author, after having run what I have no doubt he conceives to be a very felicitous parallel between the Irishman and the Yankee, in which Paddy has anything but the best of it, gives the prospectus, which you have all perused, at full length. He then proceeds to quote the second rule in this prospectus, which states that the capital shall consist of five millions, in one million of shares of five pounds each; and although, by the sixth rule it is, as he well knew, expressly provided that each individual may hold 300 shares, thereby rendering it a *possible* thing that the whole sum required may be advanced by 3,333 subscribers. He has, nevertheless, the folly, as well as the hardihood, to assert that not less than a million of

men (why all *men* ?) in Ireland, each o whom has 5*l.* to spare, are necessary t make up the required amount. This i rather more than I should have expected even from the veritable Wm. Cobbett Sir, I need not follow him through hi random calculations about the men women, and children, of whom th Irish population is composed, as he has so far only "set forth a naked and wil-"ful falsehood, and as you have the bane "and the antidote before you." But I proceed to his next assertion, that "it "is a great, a gross, and monstrous de-"lusion to suppose, that *if* such an es-"tablishment could succeed, it would "benefit the country." Now, Mr. Chairman, as to the hypothesis *if* such an establishment could succeed. It is admitted, that "when a *small* portion "of the community become bankers, "and receive real money as interest for "the paper that costs them nothing, "there is sense, although there is "roguery in the transaction"; and I suppose it will be admitted that these same sensible rogues being but a few, do succeed so far, at least, as to make money by the undertaking. And I would ask our precious logician what advantage ten persons would have over 10,000 in such an undertaking, especially as the greater number would possess a degree of public confidence (that essential requisite in banking), which the smaller could never hope to enjoy. Even if all the members of the community became co-partners in a paper circulation, or as Cobbett has it, in the trade of "lending paper-money to themselves," it would only be, that the many would then share the profits which we know the few at present exclusively enjoy. Let it be borne in mind, sir, that we are not (as this article would seem to imply) about to substitute a paper for a metallic currency, paper being already the circulating medium of this country—nor are we called upon to solve the abstruse and difficult question, whether such a substitution could be effected with a due regard to existing interests, or, indeed, whether it could be at all effected, in these commercial countries. Neither is it our affair to solve another problem, namely, whether there be at present too much or too little paper-money in circulation; but our worthy and enlightened chairman has just handed me a statistical memorandum which would induce me to believe that Ireland is intensely suffering for want of a more extended circulating medium:

It seems that the Irish population amounts to - -	8 millions.
That the Scotch population amounts to - - - -	3 ditto
Excess of Irish above Scotch population - - - -	5 ditto

And yet, sir, there ae 20 millions of money (of different kinds) circulating in Scotland, and only seven millions afloat in Ireland; this speaks trumpet-tongued in favour of an increase in the circulating medium of Ireland. To come, however, to the point in hand; we know the business of banking to be profitable, and we wish that its benefits should no longer be enjoyed exclusively by the rich, but that they should be shared by the middling and lower classes of the community. I have no doubt that more than half the capital of the country is possessed by persons who cannot spare so large a sum as fifty pounds, and would it be wise, would it be just to exclude half the capital of the country, and to shut out nine tenths of its inhabitants from a participation in the profits of what is designated a *national* establishment? I hardly need say that our objector *prophesies* that if more paper be put into circulation, the "whole thing will blow up of its own accord." This is one of those forebodings which he has put forth a hundred times, and which have been as often falsified by the event. We all remember his declaration, (made during his visit to America), that a New York sixpence *would be worth more than a Bank of England note*, within a period which has long since passed away. Nor need I say to you, sir, that "the plundering schemers," (as he calls them), who have given to the public their time and money to further the object of this establishment have been in-

fluenced by no other hope than that of benefiting a country which, although it posesses within itself inexhaustible resources, is, perhaps more wretched than any other on which the sun ever shone; but, sir, I am taking up too much of your time. (Cheers). Only let Irishmen act with union and vigour, and the cause *must* succeed. Away with our party prejudices, our political and our polemical animosities, and then this hoary-headed ——. [Here the speaker proceeded in very *severe strictures on Mr. Cobbett's political life,* and continued]: Old as he is, he may yet live to see this great undertaking no less successful in its results than I know the motives which have influenced its projectors to be in their origin, disinterested and pure. One remark more, and I have done. Much has been said on the subject of liability, and I wish it to be every where distinctly understood, that a clause has been added to the prospectus, which renders it, surely, I may say, impossible, that any liability can attach to any shareholder exceeding one-fourth of the amount of the subscription which he has actually paid up. Let it be also known, that although, as a maximum, the capital stands at five millions, no doubt is entertained, that one million will carry into effect the contemplated measure, and that the committee *have not the smallest intention of ever calling for more than one pound on each share.*

(*Letter from the same Paper.*)

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.,
"M.P. FOR OLDHAM."

Dublin, 21. *July*, 1834.

Sir,—In your *Register* of Saturday you have stated your intention to "blow up" the new Irish Agricultural and Commercial Banking Company, and you further state that it is founded, not in philanthropy, but in humbug, and after giving in your paper the thirty-five articles of the prospectus, you have the second-childishness to assert that "five "millions of money divided into five-"pound shares, *require*, to form the "company, a *million of men*, each of "whom must have five pounds to "spare"; which latter assertion, with all the respect due to so much talent, I beg leave most respectfully *to deny.*

Secondly, You ask the projectors, "Do they know nothing of the blow "which their glorious countryman "Jackson, is giving to the whole sys-"tem of paper-money all over the "world; and do they not blush on re-"flecting that it is owing to the good "sense and virtue of their countrymen, "'the Irish,' in the United States, "that the President is enabled to pull "down the *monsters* of paper." *Answer*: Quite aware of the whole thing, and have already placed before the Irish public (a copy of which was placed in Mr. Cobbett's hands) a view of the transactions, quite agreeing with Mr. Cobbett, and because the pro-projectors *do* foresee the tremendous results of a blow up of the "DEBT," they wish to procure a retreat for the Irish people who now have millions locked up in these funds, which Mr. Cobbett, by his "Norfolk petition and resolutions," would, certainly, to a considerable extent, demolish; *how* this is to be done is simply by investing the surplus capital of the company in *land,* which, come what may, cannot at any rate be *blown* up; and then your other query, Can they read those resolutions (passed by Irishmen in the United States, against the *re-chartering* of the *London* States Bank)? Can they read those resolutions. and not be ashamed of the promulgation of this "plundering scheme"? Indeed, they can, Mr. Cobbett, and at the same time, glory in the aforesaid resolutions of their countrymen in a foreign land, against the *re-chartering* of a *London* Bank, composed of "English "noblemen, gentlemen, noble ladies, "and English fundowners; in fact, an "*English* institution *leaning* on the "Bank of England." (Does Mr. Cobbett remember his own immortal definition of the American Bank, to which he points?) Yes! they *can* read, and glory in the understanding and patriotism of their countryman, the President, and of their countrymen, "the Irish," of the United States.

But you say, "this Ireland I have never seen. I ought to see it, for in such a 'case you cannot *know* without seeing 'with your own eyes. I intended to 'go at the close of this session of Par- 'liament; but I hesitated. This bank- 'ing scheme has decided me. *I am 'determined to go to the spot, and chal- 'lenge the pro-projectors to meet me 'face to face.*" Yes, this is manly, and deserves to be respected; but why not state your intention, for surely *you must* have some such intention, of challenging also the pro-projectors of the "*London* NATIONAL BANK OF IRELAND" to mortal combat?

Aye, William! you have those men on the spot with you, *will you challenge them*? We shall see. But do you seriously intend to come to Dublin to meet the projectors of the Commercial Bank face to face. Glorious idea! a hundred thousand welcomes, my dear fellow: a regular stand-up fight! half hour and half hour, *à la* Maguire and Pope! Oh, it will indeed be worth hearing! A pound a ticket for admission. We will *divide* the "dividends" in this concern at any rate.

Pack up, pack up, the weather is fine, the country beautiful, your *cough* is—all in *your* eye. We will give you some "GRUB" at any rate, and that not a bare "BONE," while you stop with us, probably invite you to stand for a county, do you *under*stand, William?

Your very obedient servant,

ONE OF THE PRO-PROJECTORS OF THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

I sent an Irishman to clean out a sty at KENSINGTON. He was a very good and dutiful man, and not apt to neglect any thing; but I perceived that he had not done what I told him; and when I asked him why he had not, his answer was: "The ould divil was so *crase*"! These, his countrymen, seem to be as *crase* as my old sow was, and to be ready to deal as roughly with me as she was with him. She had *young ones*, and so have they; and, perhaps, they are fonder of their scheme than she was of her pigs. Such being the state of their minds, I am not to wonder at any thing that they *say*; nor should I much wonder at any thing that they would *do*, if they could do it. I understand the hints of the letter-writer; but I, who was not afraid to go to EDINBURGH, with all the newspapers open-mouthed, beseeching the people to fling me into a ditch, am not to be frightened by the swaggering letter of an *anonymous* writer, who shows his poor spite by putting "*M.P. for Oldham*" within marks of quotation, as if it were a nick-name, and not a reality. Poor, indeed, is the cause of the intense scheme, if its advocates be of a stamp like this.

This writer asks me, why I do not challenge the subscribers to the American Bank, who are living in London. I challenge them as far as I can; but they do not acknowledge that they are the supporters of the American Bank: they do not come forth and plead; and therefore to challenge them is impossible.

Turning from this very contemptible stuff to Mr. DIXON, and giving him full credit for that abuse which the editor of the paper has had the good taste to suppress, I shall only make an observation or two on the folly of this Mr. DIXON, who, to get rid of my objection to a whole people becoming bankers, tells us that the whole sum may be advanced by 3,333 subscribers; and yet, in another part of his speech, tells us of the universal profits to arise from this thing; tells us of the *whole community* sharing in the profits; tells us that the profits of banking will, if this scheme be adopted, no longer be enjoyed exclusively by the rich. Then comes the monstrous absurdity; then comes back this monstrous absurdity, of a *whole people profiting* by lending paper-money to themselves and paying the interest to themselves; out of which absurdity Mr. DIXON can never get, unless he at once confess that this is a specious pretence for establishing a new bank for the benefit of a few. One of these railers says, that the funds not being safe, the project is to lay out the *surplus capital in land*, which will be safe. But the difficulty always is to

discover where the surplus capital is to come FROM. It must consist of gains, and the gains must be *got from somebody*; and that somebody must make part of the community. I should like to see Mr. DIXON grapple with this point; lay aside his abuse of me for a while, and grapple with this: tell us how the whole of the community is to be a gainer; and yet to afford gains to the projectors of this bank: how I am to get money by issuing bits of paper, and make those gain who take the bits of paper from me.

But it comes out at last that though the shares are to be at five pounds each, "the committee have not the smallest "intention of ever calling for more "than one pound on each share"! This is a curious thing; and yet this is to diffuse plenty and happiness over eight millions of people!

But it is waste of time to say much here about this matter. I will say what I have to say at DUBLIN, and in every town in Ireland that I go to; and the hectoring and abuse of people like these speech-makers and writers will not make me believe that a country which pours out food for a considerable part of the inhabited world, does not contain its fair share of *men of sense*. Many gentlemen that I have known, and that I yet know, they being Irishmen, have said to me: "Come and see "Ireland with your own eyes: you will "find as many men of sound sense and "judgment there as in any other coun- "try of like population." I believe this, at any rate, I am resolved to try it in a few weeks if I have life and health; and though I cannot say precisely at present, in what way the thing can be arranged, I shall be perfectly ready to meet the schemers, in any number, in the same way that I did Mr. ATTWOOD, at BIRMINGHAM. I shall be a stranger, it is true. I do not know that I ever saw five people that are now in DUBLIN; but my treatment must depend after all upon the *general feeling of the people*; and I will not for one single moment entertain the thought, that that feeling can be hostile to me. At any rate, I have a *right* to go, and go I will.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

NUMBERS 17 and 18 of this work are just published. The other two numbers will be published in about a fortnight, the last number containing a chronological table of the principal events, and also an index; and the whole work complete, in *two* volumes, will be published at the same time. If any gentlemen have their sets of numbers incomplete, it will be necessary for them to complete them as soon as possible. The last number will contain a description of the state of the kingdom with regard to its foreign affairs. It will also contain a history of the taxes and of the expenses, during the twenty years of this most extravagant and squandering regency and reign. The amount of taxes, charges of management, interest of debt, charge for army, navy, ordnance, civil list, secret services, will be stated for the whole of this regency and reign; and, as I have brought this statement down to the close of the last year, it will be seen to what extent the country has gained by the reform of the Parliament, and by the efforts of the Ministry; and it would be gross injustice not to acknowledge that it has gained a great deal; though, in my opinion, not one half of what it ought to have gained, and what it must gain, and very speedily too, if a revolution be to be avoided. It is very true that Lord GREY's Ministry has brought down the taxes collected from the people from fifty-nine millions a year to fifty-two millions, notwithstanding the horrible waste of money upon the blacks; but to continue to raise fifty-two millions with wheat at the present price is absolutely impossible, without producing a convulsion in the country.

In this last chapter I have given an account of the state of the working people, of the trades, and farmers, during these twenty years; and of the great sufferings of the people arising from the extravagance of the Government. I have stated the rate of wages compared with the price of provisions;

so that the reader may see the cause of all the new and severe laws, and of all the innovations on the constitution of England, which constitute the distinguishing mark of this regency and reign, the years of which exhibited a regular series of measures for hardening the laws, for heightening the quality of crimes, and for the invention and infliction of new and severe punishments.

Surprising nonsense it is to pretend that history is best to be written a very long time after the death of the person whose history you write. Just the contrary is the fact. What, not write the history of a man till the transactions of his reign are forgotten, or the facts relating to them are to be found but in a very few hands! If this were true, all the maxims relative to the truth of evidence must be false. We are told that we are TOO NEAR to the reign of his late Majesty to write a true history of it. We are too near to write a false history of it; but we cannot be too near to write a true history of it, except, indeed, that, as truth may be a libel, we may be too near to say certain things, for fear of getting *singed*. But, to say that we are too near to be able to write the truth is a most monstrous proposition. Why, then, as I once before observed, a man can judge best of a bottle of wine a year or two after he has drunk it. Poor OGDEN was, while in the dungeon at Horsemonger-lane, too near to SIDMOUTH's blessings to be able duly to estimate them. The starving Irish too near the blessings of beneficent sway; and the poor Queen was a great deal too near to the "*mild* and *beneficent* sway" (as Sir Robert PEEL, called it) of her husband, to be able duly to appreciate its goodness. A trial in a court of law is much more likely to end in justice, when the transactions to which it relates have taken place many years before, and when all those who took an active part in it are dead! When a witness swears in reference to a written memorandum that he has made, he ought to be told that to make his evidence good for any thing the memorandum must be written long and long after the transaction took place. In short, this is the old cant of the rascally rabble of mercenary writers who are hired to keep silence while the facts are fresh in the minds of the people. There is something so monstrous in the idea that those of one generation are to write the history of another generation, that common sense must ascribe it to a base motive. I will let the nation see that we are not a bit too near to this regency and reign to be able to show that *then* it was; partly before, to be sure; but that then in particular it was, that the foundation of all these troubles, all these miseries, all this ruin, was laid; and that the nation, the Parliament, the Ministers, are all now struggling amidst the difficulties which were then created. This history will be comprised in two proper-sized duodecimo volumes; and when they go forth to the world I put it in the power of every young man in the kingdom to know as much as I myself know about the ruinous measures, and the intolerable sufferings of that regency and reign.

BUDGET.

NOTHING will ever satisfy ninety-nine hundredths of the people until the malt-tax be taken off: taken off it must be if there be to be peace in England; but, in the meanwhile the budget has given great satisfaction in the country. The house-tax and the servant-tax, trifling as they were in amount, were monstrous in point of injury. It accidentally happens that a small farmer, seventy-five years of age, is my next neighbour. If he rode one of his cart-horses to church or to market, there was the saddle-horse-tax, and a tax for the servant to look after the horse. He has two miles and a half to walk to church, and five miles and a half to a market, and there is his horse in the stable on a Sunday doing nothing, and, to walk to the market and back again is quite terrible for a man of his age. Though exactly similar cases are not frequently to be found, cases nearly similar are to be found in every parish in the kingdom. A farmer

may be *lame*: no matter, he must walk or stay at home. Then it was of all things of importance to remove an impediment to a boy being kept in a farmhouse. Every part of the budget is judicious and good as far as it goes; and, if a repeal of the malt-tax were added, I should begin to hope that the country might see better days, without a hub bub revolution; and without any more of the beastly Malthusian nonsense. They may talk of the spirit of the age as long as they like; but the spirit of this age in England is what it was in all other ages: an appetite for plenty of meat and bread, and a thirst for plenty of good beer. Let the working people have these, and there will be no need of bastilles and prison-dresses to keep them in order.

POOR-LAW BILL.

SIR,—The Lord Chancellor, in his speech on the second reading of the Poor-Law Amendment Bill, devoted no very inconsiderable portion of his eloquence to a vindication of the economists of France from the charge of entertaining republican opinions prior to the first revolution in that country. What were the political opinions of those gentlemen at that period is now a matter of history, and is perhaps as well known to those he addressed, as to his lordship himself. A far more interesting matter to their lordships is the question, What are the political principles of the English economists of the present day?

I had the honour of addressing to you in May last, a letter on this very interesting question, and although I cannot suppose that the Lord High Chancellor of England, in his vituperative denunciation of those who charged his darling political economists with republicanism, had any reference to so inconsiderable a person as myself; yet, having put forward an opinion to that effect, I consider it due to my own character that I should justify my conscientious adherence to the opinion I have promulgated.

If the members of the House of Peers, satisfied with the illustrious station assigned to them by the constitution, and willing to fulfil the duties to society imposed on them by that station, were to bend from the exclusiveness of their manners, and mix more intimately with the people, they would know much more than they do of the people, instead of being deceived, as I am afraid they are at present, by mere hangers-on, who, it is to be feared, are now the only channels of their information. If this exclusiveness was more relaxed than it is, there would be no occasion for their lordships to obtain information from my Lord Brougham, as to the republican or anti-republican opinions of the political economists as a body, it being notorious to all those of the middle classes who mix with them, that they make no secret of their anxiety for the republican form of government, and that they abundantly use the battery of small wit against what they term the absurd prejudices in favour of hereditary distinctions.

And what is the republic which they are preparing for us? Is it the *res publica* or good of the whole? Is it a government founded on the interests and seeking the good of the productive millions? Oh no, this is not their theory. Their republic is to pull down all that *mere money cannot now reach*, while it is to plunge the labouring man into a still lower gulf, and make him a still more miserable instrument for increasing the stores of the wealthy capitalist.

Lord Brougham appears to have exhausted both his voice and his temper with incessant repetition of the words ignorance and presumption, as applicable to all those who oppose the views of the economists; why what presumption is equal to that of these self-complacent philosophers? The laws of natural feelings in all ages; the wisdom of the Bible; the testimony of the superior men of all past times; the experience of centuries in our social institutions, and the present feelings of mankind, are all to stand as nothing before them, and their pretended science of fifty

years' growth. Nothing is sacred from their ridicule; and with them every thing which they cannot comprehend, is immediately to be run down as a "prejudice."

And what is the stock of wisdom and knowledge on which they found their extravagant pretensions; The value and extent of both is best found in their contradiction of the opinions of each other, and, at short intervals, of themselves. Sometimes short population is the evil, and early marriage the remedy; presently surplus population is the evil, and then hey for emigration; sometimes a sponge is to stop the progress of the world, and presently the sponge is put by, and a squirt is to set every thing to rights; sometimes under-production of food is the cause of misery, presently over-production is the evil, and soon after they discover that we ought not to be a producing, but a manufacturing nation, dependent upon the custom of foreign nations for the bread we daily eat; sometimes political economy requires that the unenclosed land should be taken from the poor, and a few years after it finds out that it is proper that the poor should have portions of the enclosed lands. For a long time, extended issue of Bank paper was the most wonderful discovery of the economists' wisdom, and they denounced gold as an expensive encumbrance, then paper was the encumbrance and gold the desideratum, while in both theories they evinced a wonderful ignorance of the relation between the two mediums.

But the surpassing laurel of the economists' school was the discovery of a new principle of society—think of that, Master Brooke—spick-span new, not known in the dark ages, and all found out in Westminster into the bargain. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number." Oh what a fuss they made about this discovery! Reviews, magazines, newspapers, and the economist coteries, were incessantly referring to what they quaintly called the greatest happiness principle, and woe to the man who doubted its value, or looked surprised at what it meant. Alas! this laurel is fading like the rest; we hear very little of the greatest happiness principle now, and no one can guess the reason why, unless it is that the economists have learnt that their brother philosophers of New Zealand had previously discovered the principle and acted upon it, too, when convenient, for there the greater number roasted the smaller number, and found their greatest happiness in eating the minority for dinner.

But to return to the Poor-Law Amendment Bill and the republican principles of the economists. Are the lords aware that there is a club in London composed principally of these philosophers of the sponge and squirt? That the man who is generally supposed to have been the prime concocter of the poor-law project, was one of the founders, if not the real founder, of the club; and that republicanism is drunk as a toast at the dinners of this club.

I was some time ago applied to by a member of this club to allow myself to be proposed as a member, which I declined: because, as I alleged, they were republicans and I was not one. The gentleman expressed no surprise at the charge, but he did express surprise at finding that I did not participate in the same opinions.

If the lords will follow up the train of thought here suggested, they will have no difficulty in seeing the connexion between political economy, republicanism, and the poor-law project. They will see that this is a scheme to lessen the influence of the nobility and land proprietors in their several localities; a scheme to make them appear to the public as opponents of the right of the labouring poor to ample support from the land, thereby depriving the aristocracy of the sympathy of the millions, and thus render them powerless when the capitalists and their tools, the economists, may consider it expedient to abrogate their titles, and take their land from them.

Can the lords doubt that this bill is intended to lower the wages and lessen the means of the labouring class, or can they doubt that the labourer will

not trace the effects of the law to the hereditary legislators who enacted it, and who (they will have learnt from the Chancellor) enacted the law to prevent their own estates from being *engulfed.* When the comforts of the artisan are reduced, the labourer brought to coarser food, the husband separated from the wife, children from their parents, poverty, age, and infirmity, treated as crime and punished with imprisonment, in buildings distant from the scenes of their past happiness; is it to be imagined that all these persons will not think and inquire as to the cause of their suffering, or that they will not discover that their suffering is the penalty paid for the lords' estates *not* being *engulfed*? It may be said that the odium (if odium there be) of this measure will be equally shared by both Houses of legislation. Alas for the lords, they must endure it all, their House is a permanent body, their persons may die, but their titles remain; and even if the struggle is deferred beyond their own time, their sons may (when the struggle comes) be made to pay the penalty of their fathers' legislation. With the lower House it is very different; the Commons of one period may reprobate the acts of another period, without any danger to the institution itself, and as to the members, they will have mixed with the general mass and have vanished from public view.

If the lords knew their own interest, they would reject the poisoned bowl, and declare for the rights of industry; they would fall back upon our Anglo-Saxon institutions, restore them to pristine purity, and adapt them with good faith to the habits of the people; they would seek the salvation of their order by greatly reducing the expenses of government; they would greatly reduce, if not entirely destroy, standing armies, and centralized police; they would restore the dominion of the sheriff's wand; they would open the corporations, open the vestries, extend the national suffrage to working men, and teach the people that the experience of a course of centuries, is more valuable than the inexplicable theories of visionaries and jobbers, who, however clever in talk, in tact, and other pettifogging requisites, have not caliber of mind sufficient to comprehend the great principle of equal individual right on which the welfare of society hangs.

I am, sir,
Your very obedient servant,
GEO. ROGERS.

58, High street, St. Giles,
26. July, 1834.
To Mr. W. Cobbett, M.P.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

(*From the Times, 29. July, 1834.*)

SIR,—Let us suppose the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill become law, and in operation in some of the worst-managed agricultural districts. Let us suppose some success in the reduction of pauperism to be the consequence, and the advocaters of the bill, especially the country gentlemen, exulting accordingly. Lord Brougham, the champion of the measure, declared, according to your report of his speech on the 21., that, "as it was evident a discretion must be lodged somewhere" (how it is evident I do not know), "he had no hesitation in saying that the powers 'given to the commissioners must be 'discretionary — must be arbitrary." Upon the Lord Chancellor's authority, then, and without further argument, I assume that the present is an arbitrary measure, and I think that neither he nor any other member of the present Government will maintain that any arbitrary measure can be sound in principle, or permanently advantageous. The furthest they can go is to justify it as an expedient to meet, as Mr. Pitt used to say, "existing circumstances"; and let it not be forgotten that it was to meet existing circumstances, and far more urgent ones than the present, that the 36. of George III. was passed, whereby discretionary, or it may be called an arbitrary power, was given to magistrates, independently of the parish authorities, to which power alone, be it remembered, is attributable the present amount of evil flowing from the poor-laws. That was a false principle on one side; the present is a false principle on another; but how are we to hope for

better results in the long run? For the essence of the evil consisted then, as will be the case now, in the foreign control, in deserting the only safe principle, that of well-organized self-government. It is boldly assumed that parishes have shown themselves incapable of managing their own affairs, when the indisputable truth is, that they have not been allowed to try; and the proof of what they would be able to do is afforded in the example of Scotland, and in a few beginnings here. But, sir, I am wandering from my original intention, which was to introduce a passage from a speech of Cæsar, recorded by Sallust, and brought to my recollection as applicable to the bill acknowledged by Lord Brougham to contain an arbitrary principle. The passage is as follows:—"Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt: sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minùs bonos pervenit: novum illud exemplum ab dignis, et idoneis, ad indignos, et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuêre, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cæpere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. Eò populus lætari, et meritò dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentia, crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinosè interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit." Which I thus, as it were, paraphrase and apply,—"All bad precedents have arisen from beginnings having some show of good. But when the government falls into the hands of ignorant or ill-disposed men, the newly created power is transferred from the worthy and the fit to the unworthy and the unfit. The present administration proposes to set three commissioners over the parishes to control and direct their affairs. Now should the present administration go out, and be succeeded, either in the first instance or at any time hereafter, during the existence of the proposed new law, by persons of arbitrary or jobbing propensities, all which may well happen, the three commissioners would no doubt be dismissed, and their places supplied by mere tools of the Government, whose only aim would be to use their enormous powers in increasing the influence of their patrons, in aggrandizing themselves and their connexions, in annoying all who were opposed to them, and in intriguing and bribing at elections. This would be the inevitable consequence sooner or later of taking away from the people the control of their own affairs, and setting over them three men with unlimited powers. The commissioners will no doubt at first confine their interference to the worst parishes, and endeavour to do away with abuses acknowledged and hated by all, at which the country gentlemen will of course rejoice, and say they have done well. But it is to be feared that the intoxication of success, the growing love of power and patronage, the jealousy of rivalry, and the applications and intrigues of place-hunters and jobbers, will ere long operate upon the best-intentioned, and induce them unwarrantably to extend their interference into the best managed parishes as well as the worst; and where they cannot persuade, to endeavour to overawe. Should a war break out, is it not to be feared also that local taxation will be made subservient by the commissioners, as it was heretofore by the magistrates, with less powers, to recruiting the army, increasing the revenue, and appeasing discontents? Should a general election ensue, and the present or any future administration be hard pressed, can it be expected that the most powerful political engine ever devised will not be put in action for party purposes? Under such circumstances, what will become of the professed object of the bill? It will be first passed by, and then forgotten. Thus may this free state become a commissioner-ridden country, and the gentlemen of England have bitter cause to regret their senseless exultation* at a measure from which they vainly hope to increase the value of their estates by getting rid of the duties attached to them." But per-

* The report of the committee was brought up amid loud cheers.

haps it will be said the control of Parliament will operate as a check to any abuses from the extraordinary powers conferred on the commissioners. Lord Brougham shall answer that from his speech above cited, wherein he says—"Did not this show how long a bad system might prevail even against the interest of the general body, when it contributed to the advantage of certain individuals? How long might a bad system prevail in every vestry and parish in England before men's eyes were opened—ay, and after they had been opened?" Let the centralization system be once established, and does not Lord Brougham's reasoning apply as well to a Parliament as to a vestry, to the nation as to a parish? If men will not open their eyes, or being opened they will not act in matters at their own doors, is it to be expected they will be more alert in national affairs?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
July 26. THOMAS WALKER.

POOR-LAW BILL.

THE following petition has been presented to the House of Lords from the parish of ALBURY in the county of Surrey. It is excellent; and not at all less excellent on account of its containing just the same doctrines and sentiments as are contained in my little work called the "*Poor Man's Friend*," which contains every authority mentioned here, except that of LOCKE, which is a great authority, and for the pointing out of which I am exceedingly obliged to the author of this petition. I recommend this petition to the best attention of my readers. The principles of it are taught us by the Word of God itself; and the projectors of this bill may assure themselves, that these principles are written in the hearts of the people.

ALBURY PETITION.

That while the church is set to show an example of obedience to the powers that be, because they are ordained of God, it is also set to instruct princes in righteousness, and to exhort rulers to the practice of justice and mercy.

That as the first duty of the father of a family is to provide for those, who by reason of any mental or bodily infirmity are least able to take care of themselves, so is it the first duty of every government to provide subsistence and all other necessaries of life to the poorest citizens.

That the right of being thus provided for is common to the whole family of men, which no human authority is competent to infringe, for rulers are ordained of God to be the channels of blessing to their brethren, and their power may be exercised in devising the best means of communicating, but may not be employed to withhold those blessings; as set forth by the following authorities:—

"Reason tells us that all men have a right to their subsistence, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their preservation. We know that God hath not left one man so much to the mercy of another that he may starve him if he please. God, the Lord and Father of us all, has given no one of his children such a property in his peculiar portion of the things of this world, but that he has given his needy brother a right to the surplusage of his goods, so that it cannot be denied him."—Locke.

"In case of absolute necessity, the right of using things as if they remained in common must revive and be in full force. Such a right is for the preservation of natural equity against the rigour and severity of property."—*Grotius.*

"When a person reduced to the extreme want of necessary food and of clothes to cover his nakedness, and yet cannot by his entreaties, by offering an equivalent, or by engaging to work it out, prevail upon those who have enough and to spare to let him partake but of their superfluities, he may, without being guilty of theft, either forcibly or privily, relieve himself out of their stock, and especially if he does it with full intention to pay the value of what he takes whenever his better fortune give him the ability. For indeed common humanity obliges a man of circumstances to help and assist people in such a distress, and though regularly speaking

what depends on charity and courtesy ought by no means to be extorted by violence, yet the force of extreme necessity is so great as to make these things as recoverable as if they were absolutely due by a formal obligation.' —Puffendorf, cxv.

Such being indisputably the law of God, Judge Blackstone declares that "this law of nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this. (Lord Chief Justice Hobart has also advanced that even an act of Parliament made against natural justice is void in itself, for *jura naturæ sunt immutabilia*, and they are *leges legum*), and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."—Introduction 41.

"Those rights which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them; neither do divine or natural duties receive any stronger sanction from being also declared to be duties by the law of the land."—54.

"The absolute rights of every Englishman, as they are founded on nature and reason, so they are coeval with our form of government, and their fundamental articles have been from time to time asserted in Parliament, as often as they were thought to be in danger. First by the great charter of liberties, afterwards by the statute called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all cathedral churches, and read twice a year to the people; and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those who by word, deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it."—128.

"Whatever is done by a man to save either life or member, is looked upon as done upon the highest necessity and compulsion. And the same is also a sufficient excuse for the commission of many misdemeanours. The law not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them, but also furnishes him with every thing necessary for their support. For there is no man so indigent or wretched but he may demand a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life from the more opulent part of the community, by means of the several statutes enacted for the relief of the poor." —131.

And in the passage in which Blackstone objects to the latitude with which this doctrine is laid down by the civilians, he does it upon the express ground that "by our law such sufficient provision is made for the poor by the power of the civil magistrates, that it is impossible that the most needy stranger should ever be reduced to the necessity of thieving to support nature," and that the arguments of foreigners must lose all their weight and efficacy in England, where charity is reduced to a system, and interwoven in our very constitution.

Such being the immutable rights of every man, which no legislature has authority to infringe, the law books speak everywhere the same language. "It was ordained that the poor should be sustained by parsons, rectors of the church, and by the parishioners, so that none of them die for want of sustenance."—*Mirror*, 133.

Judgment is stayed in various cases, one of which is "in poverty, in which case you are to distinguish of the poverty of the offender, or of things; for if poor people, to avoid famine, take victuals to sustain their lives, or clothes that they die not of cold (so that they perish if they keep not themselves from death), they are not to be adjudged to death, if it were not in their power to have bought their victuals or clothes; for as much as they are warranted so

to do by the law of nature."—Mirror. c. 4, 5, 16. "Those are to be deemed burglars who feloniously, in time of peace, break into churches or houses or through walls or doors of our cities or our boroughs, with exception of children under age, and of poor people, who for hunger, enter to take any sort of victuals of less value than twelve pence."—Britton, c. 10.

"The law chargeth no man with default where the act is compulsory, and not voluntary, and where there is not consent and election; and therefore, if either there be an impossibility for a man to do otherwise, or so great a perturbation of the judgment and reason, as in presumption of law man's nature cannot overcome, such necessity carrieth a privilege in itself. Necessity is of three sorts—necessity of conservation of life, necessity of obedience, and necessity of the act of God or of a stranger. First, of conservation of life, if a man steal viands to satisfy his present hunger, this is no felony nor larceny."—*Bacon's Law Tracts.*

In the 15th of Richard II., an act passed, requiring "that in every license to be made in the Chancery of the appropriation of any parish church, it shall be expressed that the diocess shall ordain according to the value of such church a convenient sum of money to be paid and distributed yearly of the fruits and profits thereof to the poor parishioners, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever."

Thus, then, is the right of the poor to be maintained by their richer neighbours established upon the fundamental principles of the law of nature, and the common and statute laws of this realm—a right prior and superior to that by which your Lordships possess your respective titles and estates.

A bill is now before your honourable house which deprives the poor of this right, and repeals all the laws by which they are entitled to demand support in case of necessity.

The ancient laws compelled certain officers to support the poor, and gave to magistrates the power of seeing that these officers performed that duty. This bill compels no one to support the poor; says that certain individuals may order relief, but does not say they shall order relief; nor does it empower any one to see that they do order relief. The bill creates a power which is admitted by the authors to be altogether new and unprecedented, for it gives to individuals the option of deciding whether in case of famine, distress, or sickness, any necessitous person shall or shall not receive relief, and the terms on which that relief shall be granted; it gives to those individuals power to make what orders, rules, and regulations, they shall think fit. They may shut up all the necessitous poor in workhouses, separate therein husbands from wives, and parents from children, contrary to the law of God; which separation is not purely hypothetical, for it is recommended by the supporters of the measure. The bill repeals the law which limits the distance from their parents at which children shall be apprenticed. The commissioners are authorized to apprentice the children of the poor without their parents' consent, or they may compel that consent by any treatment they please in consequence of refusal. The children may be apprenticed to persons going out to the colonies, and if the apprentice refuse to go, they may have all support at home for the future refusal of them; and whilst young girls may be removed to any distance from their parents, the fathers of bastard children are exonerated from the burden of supporting them, which burden is thus made to fall exclusively upon the mothers; and against any act of cruelty and oppression which the commissioners may suffer or commit, no magistrate has power to interfere.

Your petitioners beg to represent to your honourable House that this measure is in violation of the first principles of divine justice and of the rights of man; and that, therefore, in passing it the legislature will outstep the purposes for which it was ordained of God, and cannot look to his support in causing such a law to be obeyed. Yet it is only as he puts his fear into the hearts of the people that they are obedient to

those who rule over them; and if the rulers despise his protection, and imagine that they can by mere brute force retain the people in subjection while acting in defiance of his precepts, he will withdraw his fear from the people, and thereby hasten the rupture of every remaining link by which society is still feebly held together, in righteous judgment on a nation over whose councils not he, but the spirit of the age, avowedly presides.

POOR-LAWS.

LETTER V.

Dunfermline, 27. July 1831.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND,—I was much amused at the theatre the other evening, by seeing the doctor made to swallow his own pills: and as Brougham and the poor-laws were, during the previous day, uppermost in my mind, the idea was instantly suggested of a similar punishment for the conscienceless keeper of the King's conscience; and on recurring to his speech, I see he, himself, anticipated something of the kind: "If I am a Westmoreland pauper, as I shall soon be if ——." Were the hiatus which I have left, filled up with the words, "this bill becomes law, and its enactments be enforced," it is not impossible that his lordship's hypothesis may become a prediction. The conservated lords have often predicated, "Take away the clergyman's tithes, and your lordships' rents will follow." I may doubt their prudence, though I cannot altogether dissent from their opinion; but if the argument will at all hold as to the spoliation of the church, it will do so to a certainty, and in a much higher degree, to the spoliation, robbery, transportation, and indirect murder of the poor, "the surplus population," as devised by this infernal demon and his hellish coadjutors.

I have shown that, on the principles of primeval and equal right, the whole rent of the whole land belongs to the whole people. But it has been generally conceded hitherto, that a landed aristocracy is, upon the whole, utile: and, as long as the poor get as much from the rent-fund as will keep them in physical health and tolerable comfort, what is called the present rights of property may remain unquestioned: if "the paupers of Westmoreland" are permitted to enjoy their humble birthrights; their right to live on the lands of Westmoreland, my Lord Brougham and Vaux may continue in the undisturbed possession of Brougham-hall, and all the luxuries it affords. But if the poor man's natural right in the soil is wrested from him, shall the rich man's artificial right be secure? It will not, indeed. Even Lord Brougham, or, at any rate, his descendant or "next of kin," may be forced to enter the workhouse of his own building, to wear the dress of his own or his commissioners' invention, and to live in that "unremitting toil," and to feed on that "coarse and scanty fare," which himself has recommended. Already the working people begin to reason on the right of inheritance in land by descent; and thus I hear them reckon the genealogies of possessors: "Rackrent, who "was the son of Downright, who was "the son of Eatmuch, who was the son "Swillmuch, who was the son of Kill-"many, who ——"; leaving a hiatus and descending to the root of the genealogical tree; "*who was born of* "*her that had been mistress of a Nor-* "*man robber*"! I might go much further, and tell you how they reason on the rights of *squattage*, conquest, and purchase, and draw from the premises of Locke, and Paley, and of yourself, sir, very different conclusions, indeed. Is it wise then in the lords of the soil, of the waters, and the minerals, to challenge investigation, nay, to force a scrutiny into their rights as hitherto established, by an attack on the rights of the poor? *They* have begun it: God knows where and when it may end. I agree with "Vaux-Brougham," that the question whether their lordships shall continue to possess their estates, is involved in the discussion now before them; and the decision to which they may now come will determine the final issue.

But his lordship tells us, that poor laws (for he openly avows his hostility to *any* provision for the poor !) are injurious to the poor themselves. This puts me in mind of Sandy Young and his wife. The last glass of the last half-mutchkin stood on the table: "Weel, weel," said the laird, "to a' "appearance weel na' be lang here; "sae" (raising the glass to his lips) "here's t' ye a'." "Stop, my dear," said the leddy: "Sandy, my man, it wud do ye ill: dinna tak it." Sandy set it down untasted. A few minutes had elapsed, when the deacon made another essay; but again desisted by persuasion of the deaconess; but, while the loving wife was absorbed in a tale of scandal with her left hand companion, the voracious husband, without the ordinary prelude of "Here's t'ye," had the ardent at his mouth. "Stop!" said the friendly monitor, "it will do you ill"; pulling gently, not dashing from his lips the yet untasted potion: "Na, rather than let you do yersel' ill wi't, I'll drink it mysel"; and the kind soul absolutely swallowed the burning liquid!" "Poh!" said Sandy, "she wanted it hersel'." So we poor folk, when the landlords and their toadeaters tell us that provision for us in sickness, indigence, or want of employment, would "do us ill," reply, "Poh! you want the whole to yourselves"; or, in the Lord Chancellor's own words, we will apply the *argumentum ad hominem*:—"When the poor '(*rich*) knew that such a fund (*the* '*land-rent*) existed; that they could 'call upon it for support; and that 'it was unnecessary for them to 'provide against the calamities incidental to human life, as here they had "the means always ready furnished, and "which they could claim as their own "for their subsistence, the worst possible effects were produced upon their "minds. The minds of the peasantry "(*aristocracy*) were thus debased and "vitiated; the habits of honest industry," &c.

Really, Mr. Cobbett, however much afraid we working people may be of disturbing the established distribution of property, it is impossible for us to hear the reasons assigned for robbing the poor, without extending the same arguments so as to warrant the spoliation of the rich, especially the hereditary landlords. If it be unwise to give poor John Styles a few shillings weekly, and if this be hurtful to John himself and the other Styleses, surely it must be worse to give to the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford the sum of (or any thing approaching to it) SIX THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY POUNDS, FIFTEEN SHILLINGS AND FOURPENCE-HALFPENNY A WEEK. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and if John's allowance is, for John's good, to be taken from him, should not Stafford's allowance, for Stafford's good, be also taken from Stafford?

Poor Lord Chancellor! I hate, yet pity him. He has dug his own political grave, and himself kindled his own hell. To a man "voracious of fame," how great must be the torment of universal indignation, hatred, and contempt!

I intended to have sent you a full statement of the treatment of the poor in Dunfermline; but perhaps this is now unnecessary. The accompanying deposition I wrote from the lips of my friend, who signs it. I am satisfied it is correct.

Poor man's friend,
I remain your friend and servant,
THOS. MORRISON, Sen.

HENRY DAVIDSON SAYETH, — Some years ago, in walking along the Maygate, I saw a cart with people around it, at the door of the churchyard; and, on going forward, I observed in the cart an old woman in the greatest distress, apparently naked, and covered only with a piece of an old blanket; the day was cold and wet, I was asked by the people, whether I knew the poor woman; and, on closer observation, recognised her as an aunt! I learned that in that condition she had been carted from the next parish, Carnock, three miles distant, on the supposition of her settlement being in Dunfermline. I went into the session-house, where opportunely, as I thought,

were met on some special occasion, the heritors and kirk-session. To them I stated the condition of my poor friend in terms as moving as I could employ but was told by them, that her case had already been considered; and that their determination was to return her to the place from whence she came, and by the same conveyance. I then went out: and on more closely inspecting her condition found that she was in a dying state: and, when I told the people around the cart what was the determination of the heritors, ministers, and elders, they were shocked by its cruelty; and insisted on my returning to the session-house. This I did; and in stronger terms represented her situation; that her settlement was in Saline, about six miles distant, which parish would be liable for any expense incurred on her account here. Their answer was, "We will have nothing to do with "her: take her yourself, and we will "give you a half-a-crown, which we "would have paid to the carter." I answered that my circumstances and situation rendered this impossible: I had only one room, and one bed for myself, wife, and child, &c.

Mr. Hunt of Pittencrieff said, it was a shame for me to say so, considering the situation in life which I had held. I answered, that I considered my present poverty as my highest honour. I continued to urge the necessity of doing something for her; but the replies were insolent and abusive. The Rev. Alan M'Lean then rose, and was about to leave the room, when I stepped between him and the door, and made a last appeal to his feelings as a man, and a Christian: but all I got from him in answer was, "*Let her be taken back to the place from whence she came*": and this brief sentence was uttered in a tone of arrogance, and in a manner so magisterial, that it is impossible for me to describe the feelings of grief, anger, and indignation, which it excited in my mind.

She was, indeed, and in terms of the sentence, taken back to Carnock, lifted out of the cart, laid down at the end of the parish school-house, and there was left; and lay, till some of the poorest of the villagers carried her into a shed or out-house, where shortly after, while they were endeavouring to administer some simple cordials, *she died!*

HENRY DAVIDSON.

NO POOR-LAW

COMMISSIONERS!

BRITONS

WILL NOT BE

SLAVES!

APPEAL TO THE KING.

A Bill, in very large type, of which the above is a copy, reached here from Sheffield this morning. Bills of the same kind are posted in *every* street in LONDON. It is not a little gratifying to see the manifestations of the spirit of the people. This is as it should be. But why not have begun sooner?

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE POOR-LAWS AMENDMENT BILL,

(Concluded from p. 251.)

Lord ALVANLEY said, that it was not his practice to obtrude himself on their lordships' attention; but he was induced to depart from his usual habit by the important nature of the measure under discussion. He was perfectly convinced that the poor-laws, as they stood at present, would, if properly administered, remove all the evils respecting which their lordships had heard so much complaint, and which were, in fact only the effect of the maladministration of those laws. He therefore thought that the bill now on their lordships' table was unnecessary, but he particularly objected to it on the ground that it would prove destructive of that system of self-government under which this country had risen to its present state of prosperity. (Hear, hear). It was not his intention to go into the details of the measure, but should content himself with declaring that he was decidedly opposed to its principle, and to the establishment of the board of commissioners. (Hear). The powers which it was

proposed to confer on them were of the most despotic character, and far greater than any ever granted to a board in latter times. He was confident that this board of commissioners would render itself odious throughout the country by its constant interference in local, nay domestic concerns, and by destroying that connexion which existed at present, to the great advantage of both, between the poor man and his rich neighb (Hear). I support of the assertion he had made, tha nothing more than an improved administration of the present poor-law was wanted, he felt i necessary to trouble their lordships with th statement of a few facts in reference to th condition of three parishes. The first parish to which he would direct their lordships' attention was Bingham. This parish was in 1817 in a state of great demoralization. The poor-rates amounted to 1,206*l*. on a rental o 7,489*l*., and the number of paupers to 221 However, by the measures adopted by the Rev. Mr. Lowe, the clergyman attached to the parish, a great improvement was effected in its condition. The first thing he did was to refuse relief to persons out of the workhouse and the consequence of obliging all labourers who sought relief to go into the workhouse was to diminish the number of the applicants. The next step which he took was one which, on the first blush, had the appearance of harshness; he compelled the occupiers of small cottages to contribute to the poor-rates, however trifling their payment might be. The effect produced by this measure he would state to their lordships in Mr. Lowe's own words: "Where this has been done," said the rev. gentleman, "the tenants of cottages are more clamorous against those who receive relief than th rich." The result was, that in 1832 the poor-rates were reduced from 1,206*l*., their amount in 1817, to 449*l*. In two other parishes, where similar means had been adopted, the same effect had been produced. In one, the parish of Southwell, the poor-rates in 1813 amounted to 1,381*l*. on a rental of 10,642*l*., and in 1832 they were reduced to 417*l* ; and in the other, Uley, the poor-rates in 1830 amounted to 3,185*l*., and in 1833 to only 800*l*. (Hear). These facts afforded a sufficient proof that the present bill was unnecessary; but he had another reason, which was paramount with him, for opposing its further progress. He could not help viewing with alarm the introduction into this country of a system which he firmly believed would sap the foundation of the prosperity of the British empire. The system to which he alluded had no English name, it was the French system of centralization. He would ask their lordships, how it happened that this country, in spite of every disadvantage, carried on a commerce a thousandfold greater than any other nation in the world, and enjoyed unexampled wealth and prosperity? How was it that this country had been able to retain the possession of colonies larger in extent than the Roman empire, in defiance of the whole civilized world, which during the last war was opposed to her? The reason was, because the Government of this country had hitherto judiciously permitted every man in it to develop his talents in the manner he liked best. (Hear, hear). The country was intersected by canals and roads, covered with public works, and adorned by magnificent edifices. Could their lordships believe that this would have been the case if every man who wished to make a road, or construct a bridge, had been obliged to submit his plan to a Central Board des Ponts et Chaussées? (Hear, hear). The opinion which he entertained on this subject was confirmed by the observations of an enlightened foreigner. The Baron Dupin said, "What has the English Government done in so short a time to produce the public works which alone have occasioned the great results of which we have just given a picture? Nothing; it has allowed commerce and industry to act from themselves. It has thought that it did enough in assuring them protection in foreign countries, justice everywhere, and in the interior unbounded liberty." Thinking that these were the principles on which the Government of this country ought to be conducted, he felt bound to oppose the present bill, because he regarded it as the first step to the introduction here of the French system of centralization. (Hear).

The Earl of RADNOR concurred in the observations which had fallen from the noble Baron (Alvanley) with regard to a general system of centralization; but though the noble Lord had urged the continuance of a system of self-government, he must remind him that in many parishes this power became misgovernment; and hence it was that he supported the proposition for the establishment f a central board for at least a short period. He was surprised that the noble Baron (Alvanley) had not discovered that one part of his speech had answered another portion of his address. How came it, he (the Earl of Rad- or) must inquire, that the measures which had been adopted under the system of self-government in particular places had not been dopted in the neighbouring parishes (hear, hear), and that they had not emulated the example (so much eulogized) set them by he parish of Bingham, and other places which had been enumerated? (Hear, hear). n order to obtain an effectual union, it was absolutely necessary that there should be a ad able and qualified to carry the advan- ges of any system generally into effect, possessing the power to do so, and uniting such ndustry, perseverance and courage, as would ecure the success of the scheme. He admitted that if it could be shown that every parish in England contained a Mr. Lowe or a Mr. Litchfield, then the establishment of a board of commissioners was unnecessary and uncalled for, but in the absence of such proof he must contend that the proposed plan was essential for the formation and preparation of rules and regulations that could not by any

individual parish be deviated from. This proposition would not have the effect, as had been contended, of superseding the law, but would rather be calculated to give it full and complete effect; for though every noble lord who had spoken had implied, that though the law was good, yet the administration was bad, the noble and learned Earl opposite had complained that the commissioners would be mere theorists. All rule and government was based upon theory, and these commissioners would be enabled to unite their theory with parctice. (Hear, hear). He deprecated the anxiety expressed by some noble lords that this measure should be put off for another year, in order to afford them time to make inquiries in the country, because sufficient opportunities had already been granted, for it had been admitted that the grievances arising out of the present system had continued increasing for the last twenty years, and yet in the face of that increase nothing had been done. (Hear, hear). He denied that the provisions of the present bill would reduce the people of this country to a state of slavery. Much was said, it was true, of the powers given to the commissioners; but it was forgotten that at present the most offensive powers were vested, not in the hands of men of education, experience and learning, qualified in every respect to make rules and regulations, and to lay down just and equitable principles for the government of all parishes, but in the hands of overseers and guardians, whose mode of life (he spoke it not disrespectfully), whose occupations made them incapable of framing such regulations—in the hands of men open to all sorts and descriptions of bias and partiality. (Hear, hear). All these evils the central board would be calculated to remove. The objection as to the powers of these commissioners to compel the raising money, which had been raised by the noble and learned Baron opposite (Lord Wynford), in his opinion failed, for the bill itself limited those powers to the raising only of 50*l*., and that still further limited to the purposes of repairing the workhouses. (Hear) On the whole, he conceived that it was essential the bill should be passed without unnecessary delay, not, however, without due deliberation, for he had witnessed the growing evils arising from the administration of the poor laws. He was mainly anxious for the passing of this bill, because he was convinced that those from whom the rates were raised required this measure of relief, which he trusted their lordships would not refuse to afford them. (Hear, hear).

The Duke of WELLINGTON said that he felt called upon shortly to state the reasons why he should give his vote in favour of the second reading of this bill. (Hear, hear). In the first place, he must say that if it was proper to pass the bill, he was satisfied there was ample time during the present session to go through the committee with it, and regularly through all its stages, and that it was the duty of their lordships, without any further loss of time, to proceed with a measure which, if necessary at all, was necessary now. (Hear). He should on this ground alone vote against the amendment for a postponement. (Hear, hear). He concurred with the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, and with the noble Lord opposite, as to the necessity of this measure. He agreed first of all in the existence of grievances consequent upon the administration of the existing poor-laws, but he did not concur in the opinion expressed by the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) in disapproval of the provisions of the statute of Elizabeth; but he did disapprove of a system of administration which differed in each and every of the 12,000 parishes in this country, and in each of which different and varied abuses had crept in. He maintained that it was impossible for Parliament to frame any law that could by possibility remedy or apply to the abuses which prevailed at the present moment—abuses which were as varied in their character as they were numerous. Hence it became absolutely necessary that such an appointment of a central board of commissioners should be made with powers to control the whole of the parishes in the land, and to adopt such remedies as would secure a sane administration of the poor-laws throughout the country. The subject had been submitted to the House by several noble Lords, and had also been under the consideration of every Administration that he had known; but no plan had ever been suggested, or scheme proposed, to remove and remedy the evils of the existing laws, which in his judgment at all equalled the present, and for it he must return the noble Lords opposite, with whom it had originated, his sincere thanks. (Hear, hear). The present remedy for the evils of the existing laws was most unquestionably the best which had ever been devised; at the same time he must observe, that as the central board of commissioners must necessarily have very extraordinary and full powers, it would be necessary that they should keep such a record of their proceedings as should render them liable to the actual control at all times of the Government and Parliament of the country. He doubted much whether the provisions of this bill gave such a control to the Government as would afford a full knowledge to the Parliament at all times of the course pursued by the commissioners; but in committee on the bill he should consider whether some alteration was not necessary in order to make that control more active. There were several other clauses in the bill which required much alteration and modification. He entirely approved of the removal of the allowance system, which was one of the greatest evils arising from the existing poor-laws, but he was of opinion that it ought to have been gradually and slowly destroyed, and without a fixed day for its termination being specified in the bill. He would recommend

that this clause should be left out, and that power should be given to the commissioners to carry gradually such alterations in this respect into effect as to them might seem meet. With respect to the clauses of the bill relating to the laws of settlement and bastardy, he should reserve himself until the bill went into committee; and he should not have troubled their lordships with these few words but that he was anxious to declare his sentiments upon a bill which should have his support. (Hear, hear).

Lord SEGRAVE, in reference to what had fallen from the noble lord on the cross bench (Alvanley), with regard to the parish of Uley, said that he was acquainted with the respectable magistrate who had been referred to, and he could state, that whatever had been accomplished in that parish could not have been so from any personal or local influence of that individual, for he neither lived in the parish, nor did he act as a magistrate in the district in which it was situate.

Lord STOURTON made a few observations, as we understood, in support of the bill, but in a tone that was totally inaudible to us in the gallery.

Lord MELBOURNE said, that after the full and able statement which had been made by his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, in support of the bill now before their lordships, it was scarcely necessary he should trouble their lordships with any observation; but such was the paramount importance of this measure, that he felt he should not discharge his duty if he allowed the bill to pass this stage without offering a very few words upon it. The bill was one of the greatest importance to every part of the British empire, to England especially; to Scotland, as it was calculated to make her persevere in that system which had been established by herself; and it was also of the deepest importance to Ireland, in order to teach those who advocated the introduction of poor-laws into that country what form should there be applied. (Hear, hear). This last subject was well known to be now under serious consideration (hear, hear), and he trusted it would be deliberated upon with that care, calmness, and patience which its importance deser[illegible] He could not agree with those noble lor[illegible] who wished for a postponement of the present bill. Such a course might be well for those who were opposed to, and wished to get rid of, the measure altogether, but those who felt that it would afford a remedy for existing evils, and considering that there was now ample time for a full consideration of the subject, would, he thought, concur with him in thinking that it would be the grossest absurdity, nay, almost madness and insanity, to lose the present opportunity of settling this great question. (Hear, hear). He had heard with much pleasure the speech of his noble Friend on the cross benches (Lord Alvanley), and he regretted that he could not entirely concur in the sentiments which had fallen from that noble Lord. He knew the acuteness and power of mind possessed by his noble Friend, and was the more surprised to find how much he had misled and deceived himself on the present occasion. So long as he (Lord Melbourne) had thought on the subject of the poor-laws, nothing had struck him so forcibly as the great absurdity which arose from them of placing so heavy an amount of taxation under uncertain, temporary, and local control and government. (Hear, hear). The poor-rate was the heaviest direct tax levied in the country, and was equal in amount to the assessed taxes and the land tax put together,—nay, exceeding both those imposts by 1,500,000*l.*; indeed, in some parishes, the amount of poor-rates quadrupled that of the assessed and land taxes united. (Hear). Was it then not necessary that in a financial point of view some regulation should be made? (Hear). It was worse than the income tax, which had been objected to because it was a growing tax, and thereby afforded a temptation to the Government in time of need to put on, year after year, a little more, until they could confiscate the whole property of the country; for the poor-rate was a growing tax—increasing every year, secretly and silently; while an income tax could only be increased by the consent of the legislature openly and publicly obtained. (Hear, hear). Again the question of the poor-laws was still more important, because it involved the state of morals in the country. (Hear, hear). The subject was all-important, and he concurred with the noble Duke in the opinion that the evils were only to be remedied by a central board, armed with powers ample and sufficient for the duties it was destined to perform. With respect to the alterations which had been suggested in particular provisions of the bill, it would be time enough for him to enter upon them when the bill was in committee; for as far as he could collect the sense of the House, it appeared to him that their lordships concurred in the motion for the second reading of the bill, and he could not but congratulate the country upon the determination to which the House was likely to come in reference to this measure. (Hear, hear).

The Marquis of BUTE next addressed the House, but in so low a tone of voice as to be most indistinctly heard. The noble Marquis was understood to support the bill on the ground that he believed it to be calculated to benefit the honest and industrious classes, and to bring the gentry in nearer connexion and acquaintance with the wants of their fellow-countrymen.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said he would vote for the amendment of his noble and learned Friend (Lord Wynford). The noble Marquis read a long extract from a letter of Mr. Cartwright, one of the magistrates of Durham, in support of his view of the question.

The Duke of CLEAVELAND denied that such were the opinions of the magistracy generally in the county of Durham: at all events he

had received no intimation from them against this measure.

Earl MANVERS would give his cordial and hearty support to the bill.

The Duke of RICHMOND said he would vote for this bill because he was aware of the evils in his own county that had arisen from the mismanagement of the poor-laws, and because he did not see proposed, and he could not himself propose, a better measure to meet such evils. He could not avoid, however, looking at the bill with considerable alarm, and he thought that some of the powers given by it were to be viewed with much jealousy and suspicion. (Hear). He trusted that regulations would be introduced to control the powers given to the commissioners, or that at all events the Secretary of State for the Home Department would watch the exercise of those powers with a jealous eye. He should have the utmost confidence in his noble Friend now at the head of the Government, if he filled the office,—that office, the duties of which he had so long discharged,—as he knew his opinions on the subject; but without any disparagement of the noble lord now appointed to that office, he (the Duke of Richmond) felt considerable anxiety on this point If an effort should be made to introduce the system all at once, and per force on the country, the worst effects might be produced. He trusted that those in power, and whose duty it would be to watch over and superintend the conduct of the commissioners, instead of consulting and acting upon the advice of any inexperienced young man, who, however well informed on other subjects, might be deficient in information as to the practical state, especially of the more remote parishes in country districts—he trusted, he said, instead of acting on such advice, the Government would take care that the system was introduced gradually, and according to the results of practical experience. He knew many parishes in the country where, if they attempted to carry the regulations of the board into effect, a rebellion might be the consequence, or something a great deal worse than they had in 1830. (Hear, hear). He admitted, therefore, that he looked to the bill with considerable anxiety, and he again trusted that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would watch with peculiar care over the conduct of the commissioners. He voted for the measure because he found no better proposed. He should wish to see a clause introduced into it, authorizing the commissioners to give power to the rate-payers, where a majority of them decided on it, to establish a labour rate. In the committee he would probably propose a clause to that effect.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said, he merely rose to state, that nothing was farther from the intention of Government, and nothing farther from the object of the bill, than to force this change upon any district of the country without full inquiry, and, in short, taking into consideration all the local circumstances connected with the place in question. With regard to the date referred to, when it was said that this measure was to introduce a totally different system all at once, it was a great mistake to suppose that the thing was to be done thus suddenly. What was intended by the fixing of that date was, that no change—not even in that worst abuse of the system, the allowance system—should take place until after that date. Until that allowance system was put an end to, it would be vain to attempt to raise the character of the people of England, or to restore amongst them those habits of industry and virtue for which they had been formerly so remarkable. The object of the measure was to liberate industry in every part of the country. His Majesty's Ministers would, in committee, be ready to listen to any amendments that were not opposed to the great principle of the measure.

The LORD CHANCELLOR replied.—In consequence of what had fallen from his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond) and some other noble lords, he had been thinking whether means might not be devised for increasing the responsibility of the commissioners (a very desirable thing he was ready to admit), and he would probably suggest in committee a clause founded on the principle of the clause inserted in the East India bill of last session, requiring the commissioners to keep a minute of all their proceedings, of all their discussions, of all their differences, &c., to be open at all times for the inspection of the Government, so that the Government would in such case, have full means of seeing how matters were managed, and what were all the circumstances connected with it. With regard to this measure he would say that the experience of two centuries and a half showed that they could not do without such a bill. As to centralization, and the effect which was attributed to such a system, interfering with every man's business, the poor-law system, especially as it had existed for the last 35 years, had, in a thousand times worse degree than any system of centralization, interfered with the business and pursuits of every man. The poor-laws centralized the mischief and localized it also, so as to make it ten thousand times worse than it ever would be under any system of centralization. He looked forward with the greatest confidence to the happiest results from this measure.

The House then divided upon the original motion that the bill be read a second time—

Content	76
Not Content	13
Majority for the second reading	63

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

BACK, R., Gardener's-lane, and Trig-wharf, Upper Thames-street, carman.

EVANS, W. S., Robert-street, Bedford-row, bricklayer.
M'INTOSH, H., Cambridge, tailor.
MORLEY, J. W., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, surgeon.
PEMBROKE, H, Cheapside, and King William-street, boot and shoe manufacturer.
ROBERTS, T., Watling-street, wholesale-stationer.
ROWLAND, J., Liverpool, victualler.
THOMAS, S, St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucestershire, soap-manufacturer.
TOONE, W., Lenton, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MENZIES, R., Perth, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, JULY 28.

INSOLVENTS.

COLVIN, B. D., Calcutta, East Indies, merchant.
OWEN, B., Regent-street, tailor.
SKEATH, W., Davies-street, Berkeley-sq., saddler.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

ROBERTS, R., Carmarthen, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDRIDGE, W., Maidenhead, Berkshire, chinaman.
BAGNALL, E., Edgbaston, Warwickshire, ironmaster.
BRATTON, J., Drayton-in-Hales, Shropsh., tanner.
HAWKER, J. B, Montague-street, Portman-square, plumber.
JAMES, S. C, Birmingham, pork-butcher.
KAY, R, Manchester, rectifier of spirits.
KESTEVEN, J and J, Strand, mercers.
THOMPSON, W. C., Liverpool, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 28.—The supplies of Wheat, coastways, from the home counties, as well as samples by land carriage, were moderate, to this morning's market. From Essex we received five small parcels of *new* wheat; the samples were coarse, and mostly inferior in colour, and not equal to the quality of last season, and worth about 52s. to 53s. The report was very generally circulated in market, that many of the samples would this year prove infected with *smut*. The trade ruled heavy, and sales were with difficulty effected at Tuesday's prices, being a reduction of 1s. to 2s. from the rates of this day se'unight, leaving the market the same as this day fortnight. In bonded corn nothing doing.

Barley being in very limited supply, with a partial demand for grinding qualities, maintained the previous quotations.

Malt was dull sale, and prices barely supported.

The stands were well filled with Oats, and several parcels of foreign were offering ex-ship, duty paid. Dealers, as well as consumers therefore, until they have ascertained the quantity of the latter article likely to be entered for consumption, are unwilling to effect purchases, and the market was in consequence extremely heavy, at a decline of 1s. per qr. on the rates of last Monday. In bonded Oats, little actual business transpired, as the offers making were on lower terms than holders seemed inclined to accede to.

Beans in short supply, but as the article met little alteration, purchases might have been effected on lower terms.

The samples of old white Peas offering in bond, and the supply of new English quality rendered the trade heavy, and prices generally must be noted 1s. to 2s. per qr. lower. New white were worth from 48s. to 50s.; and new Hog, 38s. to 39s., though 40s. was demanded.

The arrival of ship Flour was limited, and fresh qualities realized freely last week's rates.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	44s. to 52s.
White	49s. to 56s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	41s. to 47s.
White, ditto	45s. to 52s.
West Country red	41s. to 46s.
White, ditto	46s. to 52s.
Northumberland and Berwickshire red	38s. to 43s.
White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	36s. to 42s.
White, ditto	42s. to 41s.
Irish red	37s. to 41s.
White, ditto	39s. to 42s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 32s.
Chevalier	30s. to 32s.
Distilling	30s. to 31s.
Grinding	27s. to 30s.
Malt, new	37s. to
— Norfolk, pale	50s. to 57s.
— Ware	52s. to 55s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	36s. to 40s.
—— Maple	40s. to 42s.
— White Boilers	45s. to 49s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 36s.
—— Harrow	31s. to 36s.
—— Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	21s. to 22s.
—— Short, small	24s. to 26s.
—— Poland	21s. to 24s.
—— Scotch, common	21s. to 22s.
—— —— Potato	24s. to 25s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 25s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
—— —— Potato	24s. to 25s.
—— —— Black	21s. to 22s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 85.—No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, August 9th, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR,

On his reported Speech, in the House of Lords, on the 21. July on the Poor-Law Scheme.

Bolt-court, 6. August, 1834.

My Lord,

The report of your lordship's speech on the Malthusian poor-law scheme has surprised me more than any thing that I ever read, or ever heard, in the whole course of my life, not excepting your support of the Dead-Body Bill. On this reported speech I am now going to remark; but, before I proceed to the performance of this duty, it is right that I observe, that I do not *know* that you made the speech ascribed to you; and that my remarks, as far as they apply to your conduct in this case, are to be considered as *conditional;* that is to say, as having no application to you, if you did not make this speech; that it is on *a publication in a newspaper* that I am making observations, and that I address them to you because they are published under *your name.* I think it right further to observe, that your lordship has rendered great services to the cause of *justice* and of *freedom.* I might state, that, with regard *to myself,* I must be the most ungrateful of all mankind not to be forward on all occasions to acknowledge your goodness to me; goodness, generosity of conduct, in all manner of ways, but, particularly in your defence of me, in your place in parliament when base reptiles there attacked me, at a time when the atrocious tyrants thought that I should never survive my imprisonment and the other horrible cruelties by which they thought I should be silenced for ever. In short, I beg the public to understand me as expressing towards you every sentiment of gratitude that man can entertain towards man. Then as to your private character. It is impossible for me to form an idea of any thing more perfectly good. Your goodness to the poor people in the several parishes in which you have property and power, would, if it could possibly have been imitated by every other landowner in the kingdom, have rendered even the poor-law of Queen Elizabeth almost unnecessary; and it is, upon this occasion, my bounden duty to declare, that I have always remarked in you the most kind, compassionate, and indulgent feeling towards the working people. Far above all these, however, do I estimate your excellent conduct in that season of horrible tyranny, when those who prayed for parliamentary reform were plunged into dungeons, or had gags put into their mouths. In short, there is nothing that I can say, that would not fall short of that which I think in praise of your lordship's character, and of your conduct too, with the exception of the Dead-Body Bill, and of this Scotch, Malthusian, revolutionary, poor-law project.

But, my lord, in that same degree, which, from my writings, my readers will naturally entertain respect for your lordship, and be disposed to think that right which you do, in that same degree I must necessarily deem your conduct dangerous, when you do that which I think injurious to the country. Such is the case now before me. Your lordship will acknowledge, that I have, as to many important national concerns, shown as sound a judgment, and have

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seen as far before me, as most other men. I believe that you will, without reluctance, acknowledge, that, at several stages of our progress, if the following of my advice, instead of hunting me like a beast of prey, had been the course adopted, there would have been, at this hour, none of these troubles with which we are continually harassed; none of these dangers which menace us from every quarter. If you be willing to acknowledge this, and that, too, without any reluctance, it is not unreasonable in me to presume that my opinion ought to have great weight on a subject, with regard to which, as I have *always* taken a deeper interest in it than in any other, so I must naturally understand it better than I understand any other, having been placed too, all my life long, amidst circumstances giving incessant opportunities for the following of the bent of my mind, to make observations, and collect knowledge, as to this matter; and, my lord, all these things being considered; it being considered further, that it is utterly *impossible*, in the full sense of that word, that I can have, in this case, any motive other than that of the general good, I do hope that your lordship will not treat with contempt the opinion which I here express, with as much sincerity as if I knew that these were to be my last words; *that, if this Scotch Malthusian revolutionary project be pushed on to EXECUTION, the ultimate consequence will be, a total abrogation of the laws of property; and a total tearing to pieces of all the ancient institutions, and of the whole frame of society in England.*

When, in 1818, I predicted what would be the consequence of a bill like that of Sir Robert Peel's, if such bill were passed; when I predicted (after the bill was passed) that it never could be carried into full effect; when, in February, 1824, I predicted that Mr. Robinson's banks would blow up; when, in 1826, I predicted the ruin to agriculture, and to industry of all sorts, unless the army and the debt were reduced: when, at the very hour when the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passing, I predicted that it would add to the troubles, the violences, the miseries of Ireland, unless the Parliament at once resolved to remove the Protestant hierarchy, and consequent Protestant domination from that country; when I put forth these predictions, I was, by nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand men in the country, considered as a dreamer, and, by those who lived on the taxes, considered as a sort of rebel; and I was considered as a sort of wild jester, when I foretold that the Duke of Wellington's picture would come down from the sign-posts, and that his name would be rubbed off from the corners of the streets. Yet, every one of these predictions has been fulfilled to the very letter. I predicted also upon three or four occasions, that, if the *epitome of Scotch quackery* ever got possession of any considerable degree of power in conducting the affairs of this country, his brain would hatch something or another that would lead to the giving of this sort of government in England its last blow: and, is there any one of my readers who does not now see evident symptoms of the approaching fulfilment of that prediction as well as the rest?

In approaching that which is to be the subject of this letter, I am compelled to observe, that there seems to be something at work, very much like that blindness, with which men and nations are afflicted, when it is the intention of the all-wise Disposer of events to make them instrumental in their own punishment. In this case the punishment will not finally fall upon those who labour; but upon those who do not, whatever the intention may be to the contrary. Were not this species of blindness at work, would this particular TIME have been chosen for the adoption of a project like this? Were there not already difficulties enough for us to contend with? Were not the questions relative to that great branch of this Government and constitution, called the church; the question relative to that other great mass of public power called the corporations; the question relative to the debt; the question relative to the military and naval establishments;

the question relative to the FLOGGING of SOLDIERS, which would be quite enough of itself for any government on earth to deal with; the question relative to the future treatment of IRELAND, and the deciding whether, in future, a people were to starve in a land of plenty or not; the question relative to *parliamentary reform*, not by any means settled yet to the general contentment of the people: the question relative to the conditions on which trade should be carried on with foreign countries; the question of the currency, which must be decided, one way or another, at no very distant day? Were there not difficulties enough already in existence? were we not in a storm of difficulties, the elements contending one against the other? Was not this sufficient, which stirred up the passions of all the higher and middle classes of society? Was not this enough, without a project, which troubles the very cottage, the very shed, of the poorest man in the kingdom? This class, these millions, who were quietly drudging along, while the eternal turmoil was rumbling everywhere above them. They were quiet, at any rate: they casually heard of strange changes which they did not understand very clearly; but, comes this Scotch quackery, stirs up them too, and mixes them up in the general storm, by threatening them with the destruction of their rights, which have been enjoyed by their forefathers from all generations.

Besides this, the evil complained of, the pretended evil, which this measure affects to be calculated to remove, was very fast removing itself; that is to say, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the natural magistracy of the country, roused to attention, and justly estimating the unjust sufferings of the people, had, generally speaking, set themselves earnestly to work to produce contentment throughout the country; and the decrease of the poor-rates, as well as the diminution of crime, in the counties which had been most troubled, were an infallible proof of the success of these laudable endeavours. And, this is the moment chosen for introducing a revolution, a total revolution, in the management of these momentous concerns! Trouble, alarm, apprehension, are to come into every village; every group of men in the harvest field are to be compelled to discuss the *great question of property*; they are to be compelled to be civilians, and to decide the point, too, *who has most right to the land*, those, without whose labour it is worth nothing; those who were born upon it, and to whom God and the law have given a right to a living out of it; or those who do nothing to it, or about it, but receive the rents of it. Never, in the whole course of my life did I, what is called, "*talk politics*," with a labouring man. I have always deemed it unfair to do so; because I knew that I had it in my power to make him adopt my opinions, right or wrong; I being as much the master of his mind, as he would be of my body; I possessing over him as much superiority in the work of persuasion, as he possessed over me in the work of hedging and ditching. I have, therefore, never done it, and have confined myself to the use of the press, which can be used by others in answer to me; but, situated as I am, moving in the sphere in which it is my pleasure to move, it is impossible that I should not know what is passing in the minds of the working people with regard to this measure. They have heard that there are to be great workhouses: they have heard all about the thing as to its main features as affecting them; and they are making up their minds accordingly, as, indeed, they naturally would make up their minds. The people in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, have a sort of knowledge which is hereditary, and which is perfectly correct, of the food, the lodging, the clothing and the treatment, of the Scotch labourers and the Irish labourers; and be you assured, my lord, that dreadful will be the scenes which will arise from an endeavour to reduce them to the state of the Scotch and the Irish.

I will now insert the report of your lordship's speech as I find it in the newspapers; and I take it from the *Times*

newspaper, because it is likely to be the most full and accurate, stating, as I did before, that I do not know that your lordship uttered these words, or anything to the same amount, and that my observations, as far as they apply to your conduct in this case, are to be received by my readers as *conditional.* But, I find this publication in a newspaper; I know it to be gone all over the kingdom; I know that, in proportion to your high and excellent character, it is calculated to do mischief, to urge on the Scotch project, and to produce either the most villanous slavery, or the most terrific convulsion; and, being perfectly satisfied as to these points, it is my bounden duty to answer this publication.

The Earl of RADNOR concurred in the observations which had fallen from the noble Baron (Alvanley) with regard to a general system of centralization; but though the noble Lord had urged the continuance of a system of self-government, he must remind him that in many parishes this power became misgovernment; and hence it was that he supported the proposition for the establishment of a central board for at least a short period. He was surprised that the noble Baron (Alvanley) had not discovered that one part of his speech had answered another portion of his address. How came it, he (the Earl of Radnor) must inquire, that the measures which had been adopted under the system of self-government in particular places had not been adopted in the neighbouring parishes (hear, hear), and that they had not emulated the example (so much eulogized) set them by the parish of Bingham, and other places which had been enumerated? (Hear, hear). In order to obtain an effectual union, it was absolutely necessary that there should be a head able and qualified to carry the advantages of any system generally into effect, possessing the power to do so, and uniting such industry, perseverance, and courage, as would secure the success of the scheme. He admitted that if it could be shown that every parish in England contained a Mr. Lowe or a Mr. Litchfield, then the establishment of a board of commissioners was unnecessary and uncalled for, but in the absence of such proof he must contend that the proposed plan was essential for the formation and preparation of rules and regulations that could not by any individual parish be deviated from. This proposition would not have the effect, as had been contended, of superseding the law, but would rather be calculated to give it full and complete effect; for though every noble lord who had spoken had implied, that though the law was good, yet the administration was bad, the noble and learned Earl opposite had complained that the commissioners would be mere theorists. All rule and government was based upon theory, and these commissioners would be enabled to unite their theory with parctice. (Hear, hear). He deprecated the anxiety expressed by some noble lords that this measure should be put off for another year, in order to afford them time to make inquiries in the country, because sufficient opportunities had already been granted, for it had been admitted that the grievances arising out of the present system had continued increasing for the last twenty years, and yet in the face of that increase nothing had been done. (Hear, hear). He denied that the provisions of the present bill would reduce the people of this country to a state of slavery. Much was said, it was true, of the powers given to the commissioners; but it was forgotten that at present the most offensive powers were vested, not in the hands of men of education, experience, and learning, qualified in every respect to make rules and regulations, and to lay down just and equitable principles for the government of all parishes, but in the hands of overseers and guardians, whose mode of life (he spoke it not disrespectfully), whose occupations made them incapable of framing such regulations—in the hands of men open to all sorts and descriptions of bias and partiality. (Hear, hear). All these evils the central board would be calculated to remove. The objection as to the powers of these commissioners to compel the raising money, which had been raised by the noble and learned Baron opposite (Lord Wynford), in his opinion failed, for the bill itself limited those powers to the raising only of 50*l.*, and that still further limited to the purposes of repairing the workhouses. (Hear). On the whole, he conceived that it was essential the bill should be passed without unneces-

sary delay, not, however, without due delibe ration, for he had witnessed the growing evi arising from the administration of the poo laws. He was mainly anxious for the passin of this bill, because he was convinced tha those from whom the rates were raised re quired this measure of relief, which he truste their lordships would not refuse to affo them. (Hear, hear).

Here is not much in this speech it self, as to the particular points that i touches on. It is your prominent an decided support of the whole bill; an that, too, after the speech of the Lor Chancellor; and of course upon th grounds and principles laid down in tha speech. Nevertheless there are som particular points in your speech which it is necessary for me to notice. First you allow that if all parishes were unde a management like that of Bingham then no change would be necessary Let us then see what was the management in this parish of Bingham. It was this, as described by Cowell, one o the runners of the poor-law commissioners. A parson of the name of Lowe became incumbent of the parish in 1814 He was a magistrate, and resided on his living, and consequently a great payer of poor-rates. And the poor-law runner says that, "knowing that it was "impossible to refuse relief according "to the practice and custom of the "country, he devised means for rendering relief itself so irksome and disagreeable that none would consent to "receive it who could possibly do without it, while at the same time it should "come in the shape of comfort and "consolation to those whom every "benevolent man would wish to succour—the old, infirm, idiots, and cripples. For this purpose he placed in "the workhouse a steady, cool-tempered man, who was procured from "a distance, and was not known in the "parish, as master, refused all relief in "kind or money, and sent every applicant and his family at once into the "workhouse. The fare is meat three "times a week, soup twice, pudding "once, milk porridge five times." Then he goes on to say: "*The man goes to* "*one side of the* house, *the wife to the* "*other, and the children into the school-* "*room.* SEPARATION IS STEADILY ENFORCED. Their own 'clothes are taken off, and the uniform 'of the workhouse put on. No beer, 'tobacco, or snuff is allowed. Regular 'hours kept, or meals forfeited. Every 'one must appear in a state of personal 'cleanliness. NO ACCESS TO BEDROOMS DURING THE DAY. No communication with friends out of 'doors. Breaking stones in the yard 'by the grate, as large a quantity required every day as an able-bodied labourer is enabled to break." He tells us, that "the labourers SOON "CONTRIVED TO GET WORK. '*at twelve shillings a week, winter and* "*summer*, and that the whole parish was well off."

Now this, then, is the system which your lordship approves of; the workhouse dress, separation of husband and wife, separation of children and parents, and the separation steadily enforced; so that if a labourer cannot get work; if there be a *want of employment* in the parish, the workhouse dress and the separation come. If a man have a family of ten children, which is not unfrequently the case, and only three of them able to do anything at all, even the smallest thing in the world, towards a maintenance, the man is to clothe and feed, and find fuel and find rent for himself, his wife, and seven children, on the twelve shillings a week; that is to say, nineteen pence a week for each for food, washing, clothing, house-rent, and fuel, which will reduce the food to twopence a day each; and this is starvation; and to this starvation this family must submit, or be clothed like slaves, and submit to the brutal separation. But twelve shillings a week, do I say? Do your lordship's farmers in Wiltshire give more than eight shillings a week, summer and winter? In Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, the men get *twelve* shillings a week, and in Wiltshire *eight*, or at the most *nine*. However this is only a part of this monstrous story of Cowell the runner. The labourers, it seems, immediately got work at twelve shil-

lings a week. Why, then, there is *no want of employment in the country*; and the agricultural committee has told us a prodigious lie; for they tell us, that agriculture is in such a state of distress that there is "*great want of employment*," in consequence of the inability of the farmers to have their lands cultivated in a proper manner; so that this parish of Bingham, which is said to be in Nottinghamshire, cannot possibly be in England. It is a falsehood to say that the poor-rates arise from the indisposition of men to have work. Their great amount arises from the want of ability in the occupiers of the land to give employment, and that want of ability arises from the weight of taxes, county-rates, church-rates, and other local burdens, exclusive of the poor-rates; and from the low price of produce compared with those charges upon the land; and these burdens, which have arisen from the conduct of the landowners, and not from anything done by the labourers, are now, it is vainly imagined, to be compensated for by privations and sufferings inflicted on the poor.

According to this account work is plenty all over England, and farmers all stand ready to give twelve shillings a week to men who will work! Is there a man in the whole kingdom, besides this Cowell, who will put his name to a lie like this? Your lordship proceeds, therefore, upon the grounds which are notoriously false; and there remains to be ascribed to you in this case nothing but the disposition to render the getting of relief as irksome as possible; the disposition to send married men to workhouses, strip them of their clothes, put on them the workhouse dress, separate them from their wives, separate the children from the parents, cut them off from all communication with friends out of doors, or leave the skeleton of a husband with his wife and children to starve, let the children be as numerous as they may, and let their ages be what they may. This, then, is your disposition; for you say not a word about finding the man work at twelve shillings a week. Let the law include a provision for employing every man at twelve shillings a week, and then there is something like justice, there is something like humanity; but while the law makes no such provision, and while our own committees tell us that the employers are unable to give employment, to make it irksome to obtain relief, and to inflict the other degrading punishments, is barbarity indescribable.

So much for the exemplary parish of Bingham, which your lordship holds up to the admiration of the country. Your lordship next says, "that this bill will "not *supersede* the law, but is calculated to give full and *complete effect* "to it." What, then! surely your lordship cannot mean that this bill does not supersede the act of Elizabeth; that it does not set aside the power of the overseer to give relief; that it does not put an end, in fact, to the local government of parishes; that it does not supersede the power that the law gives to the rate-payers to manage their own affairs; that it does not supersede the bastardy laws; that it does not give to commissioners, appointed by the Government and removeable at its pleasure, the power of building great workhouses, only two, three, or four, in a county; your lordship cannot mean that this bill leaves one fragment of the law of Elizabeth in full effect; you cannot mean, that it is not one great step towards that *centralizing*, which is the character of despotic government; you cannot mean any of these; but you can mean what immediately follows; and that is, that the present "*administration of the poor-laws is bad*." I allow that, too, as far as those laws have been changed by *Sturges Bourne's Bills*, which have put the power into the hands of the rich, when it ought to have been confined, according to the Act of Elizabeth, to the hands of the middle class. But, here we must look at the great pretended ground for the passing of this bill, namely, that the *maladministration* of the poor-laws has caused the amount of the rates to increase, and has produced a state of things, which, to use the expression of the Lord Chancellor, threatens to "*engulf the landed*

estates." There must be some great evil attending the *maladministration of these laws*, otherwise there is no ground for this bill; and this "*great evil*" is, that the poor-rates are so heavy, that they threaten to destroy the proprietors of the land; that it is, they which make the farmer so poor that he cannot pay his rent. Now, in the first place, the last year's returns show that the poor-rates have decreased 3¼ per cent. in amount, on an average throughout the kingdom, which is an answer to that part of Lord MELBOURNE's speech, where he says, that the poor-rates are a "*growing tax, increasing every year.*" In another part of his speech he says that "the *poor-rates are the heaviest of* " *all the direct taxes, exceeding the as-* " *sessed taxes and the land-tax put to-* " *gether.*" He did not mean to say what was not true; but he should have recollected that less than one half of the sums collected by the overseers, go to the *relief of the poor*; and that the other half they do not occasion any more than I occasion the execution of the game laws. However, be the amount of the poor-rates what it may, it is very shallow work to proceed upon the supposition that the poor-rates have any thing to do in beggaring the farmer, who takes them into account in arranging his rent with his landlord; and, besides, who does not know that the goods sold out of a shop cause the consumer to pay the tax upon the shop, and the poor-rates upon the shop; who is there, possessing common sense, that does not know that the consumer of the corn must pay the poor-rates; and that the administration of the poor-laws can have nothing at all to do in the producing of distress to the farmer; or, in plain words, in making him poorer and worse off. It has long been attempted to be made out, that the poor-rates were swallowing up the capital of the farmer; that it is the maladministration of the poor-laws; that is to say, giving too much relief, that is the cause of the frightful and daily increasing distress of the farmer, and of the insufficient cultivation of the land; and this is the great ground for the passing of this bill; but besides the reason of the case; besides that reason tells us that this is impossible; besides the grossness of the absurdity, which supposes that the farmer can be beggared by relief or assistance given to those who work for him, and who, by the means of these rates are made to work for as little as any humane man would wish them to have to eat, drink, and wear; besides all this, we have the positive evidence, given by the noblemen, the clergymen, the magistrates, the overseers, all over England and Wales, to assure us that the administration of the poor-laws has had *nothing at all to do with impoverishing the farmer.*

The poor-law commissioners, whom your lordship is pleased to consider as high authority in this case, sent round circular questions. Amongst these questions, which were put to 17,17 persons, were these. "Is the amount of " agricultural capital in your neighbour- " hood increasing, or diminishing? " And do you attribute such increase or " diminution to any cause connected " with the administration of the poor- " laws?" To this question every answerer but one said, that agricultural capital *was diminishing*; but, in answer to the second question, *four hundred and one* say, positively, that nothing connected with the administration of the poor-laws has been the cause of the diminution of the farmers' capital. *Eleven hundred and fifty-seven* assign other causes of the diminution, or assign no cause at all. And only a *hundred and fifty-nine* ascribe the diminution to any thing connected with the administration of the poor-laws; and of that hundred and fifty-nine, several are ashamed to put their names, and are given as anonymous. This is evidence collected from noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and farmers, of all the counties of England and Wales; and yet, in the face of this evidence, the witnesses being selected by the poor-law commissioners themselves, your lordship urges the passing of this monstrous bill, upon the ground, that it *will relieve the payers of the rates*, who require it, to protect them against the maladministration of the

poor-laws! You prefer the evidence of a *hundred* and *fifty-nine* men, some of whom are ashamed to put their names to what they say, to the evidence of fifteen hundred other men, who are decidedly of a different opinion, and four hundred and one of whom positively assert, that the increasing poverty of the farmer is not owing to the administration of the poor-laws. Your lordship will not question the veracity or the judgment of these fifteen hundred men, of whom you yourself were one, giving your answer in these words: "I be-" lieve diminishing; but NOT OWING "TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF "THE POOR-LAWS"; and yet, my lord, you now support this bill, upon the ground that it is required to relieve the rate-payers, by putting an end to what you *now* say, is the *bad administration of the poor-laws*!

The next thing I have to notice is, your lordship's assertion, "that suffi-" cient opportunities have already been "given for considering this subject." I venture to say, that not one member of either House of Parliament has read one tenth part of the printed matter laid *before* them upon this subject. If you were now to read it, you would find, that it is the *opinions* of the commissioners, and not the *evidence* which they have collected, upon which you are proceeding. Their opinions are in conformity with those of the Ministry; the whole body of the *evidence* in hostility to those *opinions*. There has, therefore, not been a sufficiency of time and of opportunity to consider and discuss this measure; and the measure ought to have been put off until the next session; and, why it was not, no good reason can be assigned, seeing that the bill is not intended to go into effect until *next June*.

Your lordship says, "that the power "of giving relief is not now lodged in "the hands of men of *education, expe-*"*rience*, and *learning*, qualified in every "respect to make rules and regulations, "and to lay down just and equitable "principles for the government of all "parishes, but in the hands of *over-*"*seers* and *guardians*, whose mode of 'life (he spoke it not disrespectfully), 'whose occupations made them inca-'pable of framing such regulations; in 'the hands of men open to all sorts 'and descriptions of *bias* and *partia-*'*lity*." Now, I should be glad to know what *book learning* is required for a man to know the wants of the poor, he living in the same parish with them, and being one of their employers? and whose *experience* is so likely to be perfect as he who is constantly residing, and having daily means of observation upon the conduct of all who come before him for relief? According to the law as it now stands, those who pay the rates are to have the management of them: according to this bill, the owners, and not the occupiers are to have the votes; and, as they are to vote by *proxy*, your lordship being at PARIS, or at ROME, may regulate the relief to the poor at COLESHILL, instead of its being regulated by farmers living on the spot. As to your own particular case, I should be very willing to leave it even to your proxy; because I know that *you* would take care that no poor person should suffer; but all men are not like you; and, besides, even you yourself must delegate your power; and, then it becomes the power of the agent. But, after all, this bill takes away your own power; and, in virtue of it, you give power to a set of commissioners, who may, if they please, establish rules and regulations, such as you would shudder at the very thought of.

You say that overseers and guardians are liable to *bias* and *partiality*. It is right, and the Act of Elizabeth intended that those whose business it is to relieve the poor should not be in a situation of life which places them beyond the reach of all chance of want of relief for themselves. Men never act so justly as when they are compelled in some sort to make the case their own; and this was the motive, to be sure, which prevailed at the passing of the act of Elizabeth. There will probably be some degree of partiality in the distribution of relief by overseers; but this never can be carried to an extent to cause it to amount to a national evil. The motive is seen

through in a moment, all the partie being so well known to one another and all the parties being so deeply in terested in the matter. A striking proo of this objection to the power of over seers being futile is this, that STURGE' BOURNE's Bills were intended to plac the power in the hands of the rich, an to shut out the power of the magistrate as well as that of the overseer. Thesı bills authorized the appointment of se lect vestries, and of hiring overseers but it was left optional with the parishe whether they would adopt this mod of government or not; only a sixtl part of the parishes have ever adopte this mode; and many of those parishe which had tried it, returned to the ol mode. So that here is experience wortl ten thousand theories, in favour of the ancient manner of managing this im portant matter; but, after all, it is no your lordship's particular arguments in support of this bill.

But your general support of it as a whole; and it is not only fair to presume, but it is necessary to presume, that you support it upon the principles, and with the ultimate view, as these were frankly and boldly expressed by the Lord Chancellor, who moved the second reading of the bill; and though I do from the bottom of my soul abhor those principles and those views, and though I anticipate from the execution of the project, if the execution should be attempted, mischiefs of the greatest magnitude and of the most terrific character, justice to him demands that I say that he has done that which has been done by nobody else; that is, he has frankly avowed the principles upon which he proceeds, and the ultimate object which he has in view. He has been censured by those who call themselves his friends, and particularly by the *Morning Chronicle* (of which it is said that one of the poor-law commissioners is a part-proprietor), for going *too far*; for saying that which it was "*not necessary to say.*" He did not go too far; and it was necessary for him to say that which he said; or, at least, it was necessary for him to say it, or to disguise his real object; and, at the same time, to leave his poor-law commissioners to be mawled to death, little bit by little bit; for their opinions are in conformity with his, and directly at war with the professions of the supporters of the bill. The Lord Chancellor has boldly avowed the real objects and future intentions of the bill; and though your lordship did not do the same in your speech, you must necessarily see that ultimate object and those ultimate intentions; therefore, I am to presume that, in urging on with so much zeal, the passing of this bill, you *approve* of that object and those intentions.

Let us see, then, what are these doctrines of the Lord Chancellor.

1. That *all legal provision* for the poor, in whatever shape, or under whatever name, is *injurious to the poor themselves.*
2. That the poor *have no right to relief*, other than what is given by *act of Parliament*; and that, of course, that which the Parliament can give, *the Parliament can take away.*
3. That landlords will all become paupers themselves, unless something be done to put a stop to the increase of these all-devouring poor-rates.

Upon this last proposition I shall ob- erve first. Indeed I have observed upon it sufficiently already, having hown that the poor-rates are upon the lecrease, and that that which is collected y the overseers of the poor is not above ne half, if so much as one half, ex- ended upon the poor, or in conse- uence of the poor; and that, while the Lord Chancellor anticipates *becoming a auper himself*, in consequence of the oor-rates, he is in much more danger f becoming a pauper from the other harges, which are lumped up under he name of poor-rates, not to mention he fundholders, the dead-weight people, nd the other swarms of idle devourers, ho, if not stopped, will leave him his are salary or pension, and that only or a certain length of time. What a ght is here to behold; two Houses of 'arliament apparently frightened half death at the engulfing effect of hat is given to relieve the labouring

poor, the amount of which is about four millions, five hundred thousand pounds a year, while they are wringing from the pockets of the people, fifty-two millions a year, *full one half of the whole of which is taken from the working people themselves.* Yes, the whole of the poor-rates, bestowed upon the poor in the way of relief, do not amount to so much money as the yearly duty on the malt and hops, nine-tenths of which duty are paid by the working people themselves! No anxiety at all is expressed in either House of Parliament, lest the fifty-two millions a year should "swallow up the estates." No fear does the Lord Chancellor express lest he should be made a pauper by the fifty-two millions a year. It is the four millions and a half that alarm him, and drive him on his Malthusian theory for security. There are we, voting, to go to Hanover every year, to half-pay officers, their widows, and their children, a sum greater than the annual poor-rates of the county of Bedford; there are we voting eight shillings a week to support a soldier' child in the Asylum at Chelsea; there are we voting six millions a year to persons who are living in idleness, and who have no equitable claim whatever to one single farthing of the money; there are we voting nearly twenty-nine millions a year to fundholders, when they ought not to receive above twelve at the utmost; there are we voting eight hundred thousand pounds a year to better the lot of the negroes in the West Indies; and there are we passing a bill which abrogates the most precious part of the constitution of England, in order to lop off the four millions and a half a year, which are given to our own labourers, when extreme poverty and necessity happen to overtake them.

The proposition of the Lord Chancellor; namely, that all legal provision for the poor, under whatever name, and in whatever shape, is injurious to the poor themselves, I will now examine; and I shall not treat it as a monstrous and savage idea, because I myself once, and for a considerable time, had the same notion in my head; and I reasoned in support of it just in the same way that the Lord Chancellor now does. I thought that it closed the hand of private charity; I thought that it made parents and children and brethren less anxious for the well-being of each other, and less careful to succour each other; I thought that they referred those to the legal provision, without feeling shame, who, without such provision, they would have been ashamed not to provide for themselves: and it is very certain that the legal provision has this effect to a very considerable extent. But on the other hand the experience of the whole world, and of all ages, tells us that the charity created by a sense of Christian duty, and by the feelings connected with kindred, are not sufficient to prevent beggary generally, and sometimes starvation. The law, if it be just, will not leave the existence, and the happy existence, of the honest working man to chance. There are the passions of men, as well as their natural disposition, to be considered. The vagrant act forbids, and very wisely forbids, people to beg out of their own parish. In their own parish they have enmities and spites and vindictive feelings to contend against Christian compassion. Amongst relations there are quarrels and revenges and wrongs and retaliations; so that without supposing any in-born want of compassion, or any inborn want of natural affection, there is too great a risk of people perishing with hunger and with cold, unless the law come and say, that this shall not be; unless the law come and say, you who possess the land, possess it upon the condition of sharing with those who have no land, to the extent of their absolute wants in case of extreme necessity; unless the law come, as the law of England does, and say that no man shall perish from want, while the land whereon he was born produces a sufficiency for his relief.

It is urged, however, that a legal provision for the poor tends to *degrade* them; to make them careless in providing for old age or infirmities. I never hear this word *degradation* made

use of, as applied to the labourers of England, without comparing their character with that of the Scotch or the Irish. I once heard your lordship say, and I was very much pleased to hear you say it, that the labourers in England were the most civil, kind, and best behaved people in the world. I am sure you thought so; and I am sure you think so still; and it is the laws of the country, to be sure, the ancient and hereditary laws, which made the people what they are. And as to the degradation of applying for relief, how many thousands of most respectable tradesmen and farmers are compelled, in consequence of misfortunes, or have been compelled, to apply for relief from that fund towards which they themselves have been contributing all their lives! In the parish of CHADLINGTON, in Oxfordshire, it is related, in one of these immense p or-law books, that the hired overseer, "looking at the rate-"book of thirty years back, finds that "all the farmers of that date, except "two, are become poor men"! Now, is it an act of *degradation* in these men to apply for relief, or would it be better for them to be begging about the country from door to door; would their attitude be more manly and independent in going about, as they do in Scotland, with a beggar's badge upon their shoulder, and a beggar's license in their pocket? In the reign of the savage cub of a savage sire, EDWARD the Sixth, beggary broke out in England which never had been seen in England before. Enraged that the people would not lie down and starve in compliment to the Protestant religion, the ferocious government passed a law to burn beggars in the cheek; and for a second offence, to put iron collars round their necks, with chains descending to their ancles, and to make them work in this state as slaves to the rich. Even this savage law did not do: ELIZABETH tried martial law and the gibbet and the rack; but the people never gave up the struggle, till they obtained by the act of ELIZABETH a compensation for what had been taken from them by the plunderers, under HENRY the Eighth and EDWARD the Sixth. The rights which they acquired then, or rather which they reconquered, they have enjoyed ever since, and will enjoy (with the exception of the abridgment of those rights by STURGES BOURNE's bills), until there shall be a want of wisdom sufficient to endeavour to carry this new bill into effect.

The Lord Chancellor tells us, that *frugality* is prevented by this legal provision for the poor; that this provision makes people be at their ease about future consequences, and prevents them from saving against old age and infirmities. In the first place, I do not believe the fact. But, in the next place, if the legal provision had these effects, I discover more good than harm in these effects. What can be more desirable than that a man, whose life is, and must be, a life of hard labour; what can be more desirable than that such a man should be free from care with regard to old age and infirmities? Would you have him have the racking cares of the miser, and the toil of the labourer, too? It is quite enough to have the toils; and, in consequence of this assurance of support in old age, and in case of infirmities, he ventures upon greater toil, and upon greater risks, and he does more in the course of his life than he would do, if he had no such assurance. The curious thing is, that there is no grudging to make provision for worn-out and disabled soldiers and sailors, who are always well provided for, and ungrudgingly. They receive more pay than a labouring man, and yet it never came into the heads of any one to bid them save their money, or to reproach them with not having done it. We vote them millions a year without any grumbling; and vote it, too, out of the pockets of the men who labour at the loom or in the field.

Besides, has it never occurred to the Lord Chancellor, during his many years of philosophizing, that, if it were possible for all working men to save money, there would very soon be no work done. There always will be some few who will save a part of their earn-

ings; but this never can be general. The order of the world requires, and the good of the world requires, that working men, generally speaking, should live up in one way or another, to the full extent of their earnings; and that they should be at their ease with regard to old age and infirmities: this has always been the case in England, since the country has borne that name; and, until the Lord Chancellor, or your lordship, can find a better working people upon the face of the earth, let me hope you will cease your efforts to revolutionize this state of things.

The other proposition of the Lord Chancellor; namely, that the poor have no other right to relief than that which is granted by act of Parliament; and that that which is given by Parliament, Parliament can take away; this proposition would, in order to give it its full and complete confutation, require more time and a much larger space than I have at my command. Nevertheless, I shall say enough I hope to satisfy every reasonable man upon the subject. It never will be contended, by any man in his senses, that it is not against reason and against nature herself to suppose that men could have entered into civil society, for the purpose of exposing the millions to suffer of hunger, thirst, and cold, at the pleasure of the few. This never can be believed by any man in his senses; and all our lawyers agree, that even an act of Parliament made against natural justice is void in itself; for, as Blackstone tells us, no legislature has the power to destroy or abridge those natural rights which have been given by God himself. "Whatever," says he, "is done by a man to save "either life or member, is looked upon "as done upon the highest necessity "and compulsion; and the same is also "a sufficient excuse for the commis- "sion of many misdemeanours." Chief Justice Hale, and after him Blackstone, say, "that the act of Eliza- "beth has established charity as a "system; and has interwoven this re- "lief for the poor with the very consti- "tution of our Government."

The Lord Chancellor knows all this a great deal better than I do; but he prefers the law of Malthus to that of Blackstone and Hale, and his philosophy he prefers to that of Bacon and of Locke; and this great and wise institution, which has formed a people of so excellent a character, which has given patience to industry and cheerfulness at the same time; which has given peace to the country, and which has really been the greatest glory of the country for so many ages, he would now demolish, in order to "animate that *private charity,*" which he finds so *dormant in this kingdom;* when it is notorious to every man who knows any thing of the world, that the hand of charity is nowhere so liberal, so ready, so generous, as it is in this England itself.

The true history of the poor-laws of England is this. Before the Protestant Reformation, the necessitous poor were relieved by the monasteries, and by the parochial clergy. The Lord Chancellor knows this very well; but he denies that they had any *right* so to be relieved. Will he deny that certain persons of any parish, or any place, have a *right* to the benefit of a school, or an hospital, put into the trust of a municipal corporation? No, he will not deny this. Will he deny, that, when the convents were founded, there was always a condition that they should relieve the poor and necessitous, the widow, and the stranger; and that, in many cases, they were compelled by their endowment to relieve the poor of certain parishes or districts? If he deny this, I cannot refer to the original of any particular endowment; but I can refer him to Bishop Tanner, who, very amply, states the facts. He will not deny, then, that the poor had a *right* to relief from those monasteries, according to the terms of the endowments. Neither will he deny that their right to relief from those monasteries would still remain perfect, were there not a legal provision for the poor, in another manner; nor will he pledge his reputation as a lawyer, that it is not now, *in law*, as perfect as ever; and only lies *dormant* in consequence of the existence of the act of Elizabeth.

It was the duty and the practice of the owners of the land to relieve the poor, before the monasteries existed. When they endowed the monasteries they charged them with the relief of the poor, nothing being so proper as that that relief should pass through the hands of persons devoted to the service of God. By acts of Parliament the monasteries were taken away from the monks and the nuns; but the relief to the poor, which it was the duty of those monasteries to administer, WAS NOT TAKEN AWAY by those acts of Parliament. On the contrary, IT WAS EXPRESSLY RESERVED by the acts of Parliament which gave the monasteries and their estates to secular persons; and it legally belongs to the poor of this day as completely as it did to their Catholic forefathers. And it is just (and hardly that) to withhold this right from them, only because they had a compensation in the 43. of ELIZABETH.

But the parochial clergy also were bound to relieve the necessitous out of the tithes. The Lord Chancellor denies the correctness of the canons of the church; he denies the fourfold distribution; and, though that distribution is as much a matter of incontestable history as almost any statement of history of more than fifty years old, I will not insist upon that. I will only insist upon what he cannot deny. He cannot deny that which we find in Acts of Parliament; and then, he cannot deny that the 15. of Richard the Second, which was enforced by an Act of the next reign, makes the whole matter of right to relief clear and indubitable. Many of the livings in England and Wales had been appropriated to the monasteries; and they taking away the great tithes, and leaving only the small tithes to a vicar, deprived him of a sufficiency for the relief of the poor. To put a stop to this injustice the Act of Richard was passed, compelling the monasteries to leave a sufficiency in the parishes appropriated to them for the relief of the poor in those parishes. Thus, then, Englishmen in all ages had a right to relief out of the land. In other Catholic countries that relief was suffered to come according to the pleasure of the clergy; but in England, where the principles of justice prevailed more than in any other country, the common and statute law took care that the church should do its duty to the necessitous poor, and this was one great cause of the distinguished happiness, good living, good dresses, good character, absence of viciousness, of the working people of this country.

After the Reformation this holy law was violated: the new owners of the monasteries and Protestant possessors of the livings, neglected the relief of the poor; and there was a long fight between the working people and the landowners until the 43. of ELIZABETH, when the poor obtained the compensation stipulated in the Act of that year, which compensation will be taken away by the passing of this bill.

You, or the Lord Chancellor, may possibly ask me, what is the *worth* of this *prescriptive* right, even if it be established? What is the *worth* of it, if the Parliament pass an act to take it away, and have the power to enforce that act? You may ask me this; and I am obliged to confess that the right is worth nothing; but then, I must say, that the whole *depends upon the power of enforcement*. The *right* is as clear as your lordship's right to your estate. You could not keep that against an act of Parliament with power to enforce the act. The King could not keep his crown against an act of Parliament to repeal the act of the 12. and 13. of William and Mary. His right to the crown rests upon an act of Parliament, without prescription: the people's right to relief out of the land has both act of Parliament and prescription whereon to rest, and whereon to be defended.

But it may still be said, how do the endowments and the long custom, and the practice, of which I have been speaking, *constitute a right*? Doubt this; express a doubt here, my lord; and then no man has a right to any piece of property in the kingdom. You fling all into the air, and down it comes to be scrambled for; and the ten

thousand, or perhaps twenty thousand estates once held by the monasteries, are hunted up, and the owner called upon to produce his title! The owners of nearly one-half of all the lands in the kingdom, including the great tithes, have no title worth a straw to those estates and those tithes, if you treat as waste paper; if you treat as laws obsolete, the acts of the 27. and 31. of Henry the Eighth. Those acts expressly tell you that the rights of the poor are reserved. But when the mind is once set to work, and driven with great force in any direction, it never stops where it intends to stop when it begins to move. Set men to trace out these titles, and they will *trace out all others*. They will find that there is no estate which belongs in *absolute proprietorship* to *any man!* And the Lord Chancellor knows well that they will find Blackstone to tell them so, he taking his law from Hale and from Coke, and they taking it from lawyers that had gone before them. The historians of Ireland will tell you that James the First ousted all the proprietors of whole counties, upon a bare ejectment, stating that the lands belonged to him in the quality of *head of the Commonwealth*, and challenging them *to show the contrary!*

In short, here is a question to agitate, to disturb, all men who are proprietors, and to trace all rights of possession to their origin. I verily believe, that the projectors of this scheme are animated solely by their fondness of a theory. Very pretty theory, and very amusing as long as it remained a mere theory; but when it is proposed to put it in practice, those who have the power of such putting in practice ought to be very cautious how they move, especially when the practice must inevitably go to the quick of millions of the community; and when a commotion of any extent near the grand seat of paper-money may, in an hour, blow the whole fabric to atoms.

I cannot conclude without a more particular notice of that part of your lordship's speech which relates to the rate-payers. You are reported to have said: "He was mainly anxious for the "passing of this bill, because he was "convinced that those from whom the "rates were raised *required this measure of relief*." Now, my lord, these words mean, that the farmers, tradesmen, and people of the active and industrious classes of society, who pay the rates, want this bill to be passed. Reading the newspapers, and seeing the loads of petitions presented against this bill, and seeing who the petitioners are, and in what state of life, I hope I may pronounce it to be impossible that your lordship could have uttered these words. Whether, however, you uttered them or not, nothing of meaning more erroneous ever came from the lips of mortal man. Nine-tenths of the magistrates and the clergy disapprove of this bill, and expect it to produce something nearly approaching to rebellion. The farmers and the tradesmen, whether in London or elsewhere, detest it to a man. They think they see in it a project for drawing the poor-rates into the pockets of the landowners; and what is worse, *to draw the wages of the poor into their pockets also.* Some of the answers which the poor-law commissioners have received contain remarks to this amount: That the poor-rates do not hurt the farmer; that he pays his *rent* in two parts, "one part to the landlord, and one part to the poor." This was a tickler; but nothing upon earth could be more true; so that if you take away the poor landlord, you give to the rich landlord. But evident as this is it appears not more evident to the farmers and tradesmen, that is not all that is intended. They think that it is intended also *to reduce the rate of wages*, and to bring the saving into the pockets of the landlords; and though it is impossible, from every circumstance, that the Lord Chancellor can wish to do this; and though it is possible that your lordship might gain money by it, I sincerely believe that you would give up your estate rather than gain by such means; but it is my bounden duty to tell you, that this is the general opinion amongst all persons in the middle class of life, who think, and who say, that this bill is a

first step towards reducing the working people in England to the state of the working people in Ireland. And, my lord, have they nothing to induce them to hold this opinion? They hear the Lord Chancellor undisguisedly assert, that all tax upon the land, in any degree whatsoever, for the relief of the poor, is a thing that ought not to be; they hear the cry against the poor as swallowers up of the land, while they hear the landowners make no complaint about the millions expended on soldiers, on pensioners, on sinecurists, on retired people, on half-pay people, and the like; they see this bill putting almost the whole power of vestries into the hands of landowners voting by proxy; they see TUFNELL, as *student*-at-law, promoted to be an Irish church commissioner, after having recommended in his report the total abolition of poor-laws in Scotland at once, and the *gradual abolition of them in England*; they know, that, if the whole of the sum given as relief to the poor could be put into the pockets of the landlords, it would be but a mere pittance, to gain which it would not be worth while to set the middle and working classes at defiance; but they know that the WAGES amount to fifty or sixty millions a year, and that if the wages of labour could be reduced to the Irish scale, two-thirds of all these millions would go into the pockets of the landlords; and while all these things are well known to every intelligent man in the middle rank of life, they have all heard, and I vouch for the fact, that one of the poor-law runners complained that the labourers in Sussex were accustomed to *too high living*; and they have heard, and I vouch for the truth of this fact also, that the instructions to the barrister who drew the bill state, that IT IS DESIRABLE TO ACCUSTOM THE WORKING PEOPLE TO A COARSER KIND OF FOOD!

These are the facts, assembled together in the minds of the farmers, the traders, and all persons in the middle rank of life: upon these facts they found their reasoning; the conclusion is inevitable; and it is one and the same in every part of England and Wales. They reason all alike; and, indeed, it is impossible not to perceive that, whatever may be intended, the effect of this bill must be, to reduce wages to the Irish standard; to reduce the working people to the state of the Irish working people, and to put three-fourths of the present wages into the pockets of the landlords. The first effect in the country will be, to raise the rents of farms, upon the ground that the poor-rates were diminished, or abolished; and the augmentation would be so great, that the farmer would be compelled to lower the wages. Men would, at first, refuse to work for reduced wages; there would be the great workhouse for them, and the COARSER SORT OF FOOD. They must then submit, and come down to the potatoes and sea-weed, and the rags and nakedness. The farmer would not gain a straw, but would be poorer than he is now; for the landlord would demand high rent in proportion to the low wages.

It is one of the great misfortunes of men, situated as the Lord Chancellor is, surrounded with a race that write and flatter; all his walls covered with books, and other such-like sources of knowledge, to believe that tradesmen and farmers, and especially chopstick labourers, are wholly incapable of reasoning, and are destitute of all powers of penetrating into the designs of great men. This is a capital mistake; and in this present case, I would pledge my life, that the moment the contents of this bill become completely known to the people at large, as it will be, and must be, in the course of a very short time, they will all come instantly to one and the same conclusion, that it is a scheme for making the working people live upon potatoes, to let them have nothing but water to drink, to reduce their wages to next to nothing, and to make the farmer give to the landlords three-fourths of the money which they now get in wages.

What may be the consequences of their coming to this conclusion it is impossible that I can know, and not by any means necessary for me to guess at; but let what may come, I shall have

done every thing in my power to prevent the passing of the bill, and shall pray to God, that the Parliament and the Government will, when both have had time for reflection, not attempt to carry it into execution.

I am,
With the greatest respect,
Your lordship's most humble
And most obedient servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

P.S. My lord, do you not remember how people used to laugh at the Spenceans? Poor Spence, who was a sort of crack-skull, was sent to jail by Lord Kenyon for a couple of years; and that made him the founder of a sect. This sect contended, that all the land was the people's farm, and that it ought to be taken possession of by the people, and hired out for the public good; and, as the poor-law-projectors tell us that the poor people would be *benefited* by making it *irksome* for them to obtain relief, by putting a workhouse dress upon them, and by the separation from wife, children, and friends; or, being left to starve; so the Spenceans, taking the Duke of Bedford for an instance, asserted, and, as they said, proved, that *he would be benefited* by their taking away his estate. I am sure that your lordship remembers what laughter this occasioned; and yet was it more ridiculous, now, than the pretence, that the main object of this bill is to raise the character of the labouring man, to make him better off, to make him intellectual and happy! Ah! my lord! This is truly called *over acting* the thing; and it has done a great deal to awaken the suspicions of the people.

Your lordship, upon being asked by the commissioners as to the causes of the agricultural riots, answered them in the following words: "The low rate of 'wages; the harsh treatment of the la-'bourers; the desire to depress them; 'the general feeling of distrust and 'animosity existing between the agri-'cultural labourers and their em-'ployers." I insert and publish this answer, for two reasons; first, to do justice to your lordship; and, next, for the purpose of asking you what you expect to be the consequences of the present measure. If such were the consequences of the harsh treatment, the desire to depress, the feeling of distrust and animosity, existing before the riots, what will be the consequences now, when ALREADY, there is the greatest possible distrust created by the very sound of the measure? The wages have been raised; and all the talkers and all the writers in the world would not persuade the labourers, that this revolutionary scheme is not intended to compel them to submit to lower wages. I do not, as I said before believe it possible, that the Lord Chancellor can have this intention; because there is no motive for his having it; but there are others who have the intention, though they have not the hardihood to avow it; and, the suspicions have been greatly augmented, too, by the Tories suffering this bill to pass, in almost total silence on their part. At any rate, whatever may be the intentions or the wishes of any body with regard to this bill, its effect, if carried into execution, must be to reduce the labourers to potatoes and water, and to put three fourths of their wages into the pockets of the landlords.

An edition of the above letter, Price *2d., will be published immediately. I trust that those who think with me on the subject will do their utmost to circulate it.*

TO

LORD ALTHORP,

On the Paper-money works in the United States of America.

Bolt-court, 6 *Aug.*, 1834.

My Lord,—Do you, amongst all the nonsense that you have heard from the Negro-canters, and amongst all the incessant botheration about *centralization* that we have heard since last year this ime, remember, that, about a year ago, I did myself the honour to send you a

book that I had just then re-published called the *Curse of Paper-money*, being an account of the workings of tha thing in the United States? Do yo remember a letter addressed to yo soon afterwards, calling on *you* (on th suggestion of Mr. Woodward of Nev York) to *be prepared* for the *conse quences* of the measures, on the adoptio of which the President seemed resolved If you do remember these things th following news from the NEW YORK papers of the 9. of July, ought to be an must be, worthy of your particular at tention.

"INCREASE OF SPECIE.—When Mr. "Benton made his speech on the intro "duction of Mr. Taney's Treasury Re- "port of the 11. of June, that repor "which drove the ghost of alarm from "the Chamber of the Senate, he (Mr. "Benton) showed from the Custom- "house returns the great and regular "increase of specie which was taking "place in the United States; and which "then amounted for the year 1833, and "the first half of 1834, to near 20,000,000 "dollars. Authentic accounts since "communicated to the Senate, show 'that the increase is still going on as 'rapidly as ever. On the 30. of June 'being the last day of the session, Mr. 'Benton presented to the Senate ano- 'ther statement of the imports and ex- 'ports of specie, which had been re- "ceived at the Treasury Department "since the 11. of June. The aggregate "imports for this brief period, nineteen "days, were 2,165,700 dollars, and the "exports to 275,219 dollars, besides "what came by passengers, and which "is not entered in the custom-house "books. The clear gain must, there- 'fore, have exceeded D. 2,000,000, an 'unprecedented amount, and looking 'almost like an interposition of Providence to save the people of the United States from the atrocious and nefarious conduct of the Bank of the United States, which is now hoarding about D. 13,000,000 of specie, and might have accomplished her diabolical policy of distressing the country, and breaking the State Banks, had it not been for this great and providential "supply of more than D. 20,000,000 of "hard money received from foreign "countries.

"GOLD CURRENCY.—The new law is "to take effect on the 31. instant; but "*already gold is in circulation!* Already "the rare and precious metal *is jingling* "*in the pockets*, and glittering in the 'hands of the people. Already many 'travellers have supplied themselves 'with it, and will be able to traverse 'the country without the danger of re- 'ceiving, or the humiliation of offering "to pass, the counterfeit imitations of a "wretched paper currency. *Strangers as our whole population are to the sight* "*of gold*, it may be necessary to give "them some information upon the value "of the coins which will come chiefly "into circulation. Our old coinage, 'now in existence, will pass thus: the "eagle, D.10 66 2-3; half-eagle, 'D.3 33 1-3; the quarter-eagle, 'D.2 31 1-6; this being the true 'value of the pure gold now in those 'coins; the new coinage will contain 'as much less pure gold as will make 'the eagle and its parts pass at D.10, 'D.5, and D.2 50. British gold, of 'which a great deal will come in along 'the whole line of the northern frontier 'from Passamaquoddy Bay to Lake Su- 'perior, as well as on the sea-coast of 'the Atlantic, will pass thus: the 'guinea, D.5¾; the sovereign, D 4 84; the louis-d'or of France, about D.3 75; 'the doubloons, Spanish and Patriot, D.15 60. Note.—All these values 'suppose full weight, as the value is 'always to be corrected by weight. 'The doubloons, both Spanish and Patriot, are by law the same value, 'for they are of the same weight and 'fineness; but the Spanish doubloon 'will generally be above the legal rate in that market for exportation to Cuba, where that species of doubloon passes for D.17."

Now, my lord, that is news *worth* [r]*eading*. You perceive, that the Ame[r]icans have *lowered the standard of gold* [to] *that of silver*. They did not find the [g]*old come*, and this was the way to bring [i]t. This is the way to demolish the in[f]ernal machine of paper!

And, does your lordship remember, that I (about the time above-mentioned) took the liberty to tell you, that, *if America returned to specie*, they would give our affair *a shake*? And what do our own newspapers of THIS DAY tell us? They tell us this: *that our gold is going away to America*; that our paper *is contracting in consequence of it*; and *I know*, and *you know*, that this must *bring down prices*, and bring additional distress to farmers, landlords, and to all persons engaged *in active trade*; while it will augment the receipts of the fundholders, the army, navy, pensioner, placeman, annuitant and mortgagee! Our newspapers of to-day tell us this:

"Exchequer-bills have been termed "in the city the barometer of the money-market, and as a gradual continued decline in them has occurred "during several days past, people are "beginning to make inquiry into the "cause of it. The first suspicion in "these cases always falls upon the "Bank, since whenever a contraction "of the circulation is judged necessary, "the readiest mode of effecting it is by "sales of Exchequer-bills, which may be "done avowedly in the open market, or "in some circuitous way whenever it is "thought advisable to conceal the operation. In the present instance, however, no circumstance has come to "light affording a fair presumption that "the Bank are selling, but it has not "removed the suspicion nevertheless, "that this is the case. The state of the "money-market justifying the opinion "that the Bank ought in prudence to "curtail the circulation at this time, it "is still believed that they are sending "Exchequer-bills to market, and that "this is the sole cause of the decline in "them. A great demand for gold, as "we have already intimated, does assuredly exist, not only *for the United States*, where an immense amount "will be wanted to complete the measure for establishing a different standard between gold and silver, but also "for other parts of the world; and what "makes the matter more serious is, that "the stock of silver bullion and dollars "in the country is lower than has been "known for many years past, which "will cause gold to be called for in all "those cases wherein silver, if it could "be readily obtained, would be sent in "preference to it. Without looking "therefore to foreign politics, and considering merely the immense liabilities "of the Bank in notes and deposits, and "branch-bank circulation, in connexion "with the demand for the precious metals, there are abundant causes for "concluding that some contraction is "necessary, and that it is, in fact, now "in progress. This will be cause for "alarm or otherwise, according to the "extent to which it may be deemed requisite to carry it, but it is very generally apprehended by those who have "considered the subject, that *a very limited contraction* will by no means "answer the present purpose."

"City, Saturday Evening.—The "Public SECURITIES have evinced a "*considerable degree of heaviness* within the last few days, which is ascribed "to conflicting causes. One cause, "which has had its influence on the "funds, is the *impression* which exists "that there will shortly be *a drain of the precious metals for the United States*. Yesterday and to-day about "50,000 *ounces of gold coin have been entered for exportation to New York*, "and the shipments of silver have "amounted in the same period to upwards of 30,000 ounces. One large "capitalist, it is understood, is making "preparations to export *a million and a half of specie*, should it be required. "These circumstances have led to the "depression of full five-eighths per "cent. that has taken place in the public funds, and sales were made this "morning at the lowest prices of the "week."

Well done, Jackson! Well done, Jonathan! Only KEEP ON, and you are saved from an insolent monied aristocracy, and we are delivered, in a very short time, from more and greater plagues than God ever inflicted on the land of Egypt.

Now, I beg your lordship to consider, that America (in which there NEVER

was before a gold circulation!) *must* (if she KEEP ON) now have *a large share of the gold of the world*; and that the greater part of that share *must go from England.* To paper, sheer, bare, worthless, inconvertible, false, base paper *we must come*; or we *must reduce the interest of the debt*! Numerous have been the acts of hostility (open and secret) that we have committed against the liberties of America: the "*National Bank*" scheme was the last; a last deadly effort. The *people* of America have seen through the scheme; they are *defending themselves*, and *taking their revenge.* If you, my lord, have RESOLUTION adequate to the emergency, we are *safe*; but if you have not; and if you continue to endeavour to make us pay *fifty-two millions a year* in gold, with *wheat at the present prices* (and it must be *lower*); if you continue to attempt to do this (and I fear you will), then this nation, and especially this aristocracy and this church, and the landowners, will *suffer indeed* for all our unjust hostility to the liberties of the American people! Then, indeed, will the town of HAMPTON and the town of FRENCHTOWN be avenged! Then will the plots and conspiracies of Sir J. CRAIG and Captain HENRY; then will the manifesto of JOHN WILSON CROKER; then will the deeds of COCHRANE and COCKBURN; then will the putting to death of the American seamen in the horrid prison on *Dartmoor*; then will all these (faithfully recorded in my *History of the Regency of George the Fourth*) receive their just and appropriate reward!

I am,
Your lordship's most humble
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

FIRES IN THE COUNTRY.

FIRE AT COLERNE.

To the Editor of the Bath Guardian.

SIR,—Incendiarism has recently exhibited its devastating effects in this neighbourhood, and to discover the perpetrator a reward of two hundred pounds is offered, and his Majesty's pardon to those concerned who will give information, except the actual perpetrator. These melancholy and malicious visitations seldom occur without some powerful incentive; and deeply is it to be lamented that the vindictive feelings of our fellow-men should be exhibited by conduct so atrocious and repugnant to every thing like Englishfeeling, and altogether so novel in the hitherto open and straightforward character of the British people.

These incendiary fires are, however, of recent occurrence, and to trace the evil to its source is surely one of the first duties of the Government and the legislature. Many have been the legal examples exhibited to the country, and many the offences punished by the forfeiture of life; but these legalized immolations and examples appear wholly inadequate to arrest the soul-harrowing crime so derogatory to our national character. As it regards the fire at Colerne, a little inquiry might perhaps trace the lamentable event to a cause, and though no provocation can for one moment palliate the conduct of the incendiary, it would operate as a guide to the future proceedings of the statesman and the legislature.

Many are the causes to which the fire at Colerne are attributed; and worthy and respected as Mr. Pinchin is on all hands admitted to be, it is fair to presume that some strong incentive must have operated upon the mind of the guiltp party.

Is not Mr. Pinchin one of the overseers of the parish? Has there not been recently introduced into the parish of Colerne a new system of "farming" the pauper poor, by which their wretched condition is rendered more wretched than heretofore? Was there not some harsh conduct shown towards the widow and children of the poor man who broke his leg at the recent feast at Mr. Boody's, and fell a victim to his misfortune? Is not the rector of the parish absent from his living and attending another which he has in Oxfordshire or elsewhere,

leaving his flock to a curate; and when the rector was actually performing duty in the parish, were not he and the parishioners in unceasing disputation? And did his flock under such circumstances derive any useful assistance from his spiritual exhortations, or was his example so salutary as to produce any effect on his parishioners? Did he by precept and example teach them the evil consequences of spiritual teachers being game preservers, severe tithe collectors, begettors of an illegitimate progeny, and proclaim, with effect, that the kingdom of spiritual guides ought not to be of this world?

If the queries which are here submitted as to the new mode of managing the pauper poor of this parish be correct, would it not be one of the first duties of the Government to pause ere the new Poor-law Bill become a law of the land? Would it not be policy to trace the evils to their source, and to legislate accordingly, without fear, favour, or affection for any class, particularly the landed interest, to whose neglect and rapacious conduct the disastrous state of the country is in a very considerable degree to be attributed? The Government and legislature should bear in mind, that, in a country like England, renowned for its industry, skill, enterprise, great internal resources, and everything which constitutes real national greatness, when we see age going to the workhouse and youth to the gallows, something must be radically wrong in the system of Government; to the superficial observer everything may appear fair, but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation a mass of wretchedness, which has no other chance but to expire in poverty or infamy, and their very entrance into life is marked with the presage of their fate, and until that is remedied it is in vain to punish. How much worse must be the national degradation, and how far more appalling our condition, when not only youth and age are thus reduced, but the hale, laborious, and once proverbially honest of our labouring adult population, are the inmates of workhouses, or the parish-pay seeking, spiritless, dependents of poverty and want. I am, &c.

PUBLICOLA.

Box, July 16.

WINCHESTER ASSIZES.

At the opening of the Crown Court on Monday morning every part of it was thronged with persons anxious to hear the result of the trial of George Barrett and John Munday, charged with setting fire to a load of straw, on the 19. of February last, with intent to destroy the adjacent farm buildings, belonging to Upper Cranbourne farm, in the parish of Wonston, occupied by Mr. W. Saunders.

Mr. Missing, with whom was Mr. Dampier, addressed the jury for the prosecution, observing that the present was one of the most serious charges that could be brought before them. Acts of this description were generally committed when people were at rest, and property was consequently peculiarly exposed. The chief evidence would be that of an accomplice, which, if believed, would leave no doubt of the guilt of the prisoners. To such a witness considerable suspicion was attached, as he would be anxious to shift the suspicion from himself; and his evidence, therefore, could not be received unless corroborated.

Mr. W. Saunders deposed that the prisoners were his servants, lodging in the house belonging to Upper Cranborne Farm, about a mile to the south of Upper Cranborne. Was alarmed about eight o'clock on the evening of the 19. of February, when he mounted his horse, and rode as fast as he could towards the fire, which was increasing rapidly. When he arrived, Munday and Barrett were getting the harness out of the stable, and Parsons was driving the pigs from the yard. Both barns were on fire, the wagon of straw standing between them. Barrett told witness that the fire commenced in the load of straw, and that no one had been seen about the yard. Left the fire about twelve o'clock, accompanied by the two prisoners and Parsons. As they pro-

ceeded, Barrett said, "I think it is a pity that lucifer matches should be sold.

Cross-examined by Mr. Jeremy—When arrived at the fire the men were acting as promptly as possible. Never recollect to have heard prisoners make any complaint. Mr. Beckett, of Winchester, was sent for, who arrived about twelve o'clock, and took the two prisoners and Parsons into custody.

Charles Parsons—Lived at Upper Cranborne Farm with the two prisoners, were the only persons on the farm. Went to Sutton on the 19. of February, and returned about eight o'clock, when Barrett took a candle and lantern, and all three went out to rack the horses up Was in the stable about a quarter of an hour. On coming from the stable Barret blew the candle out, and Munday said they were going to set fire to the farm. Witness said he should have nothing to do with it. Barrett took hold of his arm, and drew him towards the straw, Munday saying he would kill him if ever he told. Munday drew a match through the sand paper, and set fire to the straw in the middle of the wagon. We all three returned to the house, and went into our bed-rooms. On looking out and seeing the two barns on fire, went to turn the horses out, followed immediately by Barrett and Munday. Saw Mr. Saunders come up and held his horse, and also the horses of other gentlemen, as many as he could. Barrett jumped over the pales and told me that Mr. Dallas, the parson, wanted to speak to me, and that I should say I knew nothing about it. Went with prisoners and master to his other house.

Cross examined—Have lived with Mr Saunders since Michaelmas. Was twelve months at Mr. Russ's with Munday, and was turned away for carelessness. Munday had thrashed me once at Mr. Russ's. Had said I should like to see Upper Cranborne Farm on fire. Had been in gaol a month before I said that Munday had set fire to the property. Never said "that I would say any thing to clear myself; that there was not a man in Sutton but I would accuse to clear myself."

Nathaniel Newman, a labourer, was told by Barrett that the fire broke out in the load of straw between the two barns, just as they were getting into bed, and that his box, and some articles of clothing were in the privy behind the house, where they were seen by witness.

Mr. Jas. Deare arrived at Upper Cranborne shortly after Mr. Saunders. Munday was working with witness in preserving the granary, and Barrett was similarly employed.

Mr. P. Lee, solicitor to the prosecution, in consequence of information he had received, searched the house and premises on the 21. of Feb. Found in the corner of a room on the ground floor, where Parsons slept, a lid of a lucifer match box, with some matches, apparently recently burnt, concealed in some hulls.

The examinations of the prisoners before the Rev. Robert Wright, were read to the court. The confession made by Munday shortly after the commission of the crime. charged Munday and the witness Parsons with the offence.

Mr. Jeremy, on the part of the prisoners, called Thos. Brindell, a private in the 12th regt. who was confined in Winchester gaol for exceeding his parole, in the same ward with Parsons, and had heard him say, "There is not a man in Sutton but I would accuse to get myself free, I know they will take my word first, because I am the youngest. I will nail up two next assizes."

Joseph Kelly, another private in the 12th, confined with Brindell, heard Parsons use similar expressions, which he had written down at the request of Daniel Rose, a prisoner in the same ward.

Mr. William Russ, of Wonston, gave Munday a good character during the three years he was in his employ.

The judge, addressing the jury, said that the charge, which was one of a very serious nature, rested almost solely on the evidence of the boy Parsons, whose testimony should be looked at with some degree of caution. Had he been an accomplice, no case would have

been made out against the prisoners. The boy had stated that he took no part; but was forced by the two prisoners. The learned judge, in recapitulating the evidence, observed that the depositions could not be received as evidence, and therefore the jury must dismiss them from their mind. If the Jury should consider the evidence of Parsons true, and sufficiently corroborated, they would find the prisoners guilty, but should any doubt exist, the prisoners should have the benefit of it.

The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty.

Mr. Justice Patteson, before passing sentence on Tuesday morning, observed that the evidence against the prisoners did not strike him with the same sense of their guilt as it did the jury. During the trial he entertained strong doubts of their guilt. The conduct of the boy was such at least to cast a suspicion on his evidence. It was quite clear, from the evidence of Kelly and the other witness, that all the testimony which the boy gave in the box was not true; but it was for the jury, and not for his lordship, to decide on the effects of his evidence. After mature consideration they found them guilty, and it was his lordship's duty to pronounce the sentence of the law. Since the trial the jury intimated to his lordship a wish to recommend them to mercy. He had considered the case with much anxiety. It was very rarely indeed that a mitigation of sentence took place in convictions for arson. He had not completely made up his mind on the subject; he would still consider it, and without holding out any hopes to them, he would merely say, that if he could satisfy his own mind that, consistently with his duty he could recommmend them to the mercy of the crown, he would do it; but as he had not made up his mind finally, he would prononnce upon them the sentence which the law directed. The learned judge then passed sentence of death upon the prisoners in the usual form.

The following letter to Parson Malthus was written in Long Island *fifteen years ago*! My readers will see the necessity of republishing it at this very critical period.

TO
PARSON MALTHUS.

On the rights of the poor; and on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the poor.

North Hampstead, Long Island,
6. *Feb.* 1819.

Parson,

I have, during my life, detested many men; but never any one so much as you. Your book on Population contains matter more offensive to my feelings even than that of the dungeon-bill. It could have sprung from no mind not capable of dictating acts of greater cruelty than any recorded in the history of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Priests have, in all ages, been remarkable for cool and deliberate and unrelenting cruelty; but it seems to have been reserved for the church of England to produce one who has a just claim to the atrocious pre-eminence. No assemblage of words can give an appropriate designation of you; and, therefore, as being the single word which best suits the character of such a man, I call you *parson*, which, amongst other meanings, includes that of boroughmonger tool.

It must be very clear to every attentive reader of your book on *Population*, that it was written for the sole purpose of preparing beforehand a justification for those deeds of injustice and cruelty, of which the *Parish Vestry Bill* appears to be a mere prelude. The project will fail; the tyrants will not have the *power* to commit the deeds, which you recommend, and which they intend to commit But, that is no matter. It is right that the scheme should be exposed; in order that, as we ought to take the will for the deed, we may be prepared to do justice to the schemer and to the intended executors of the scheme.

In your book you show, that, in cer-

tain cases, a *crowded* population has been attended with great evils, a great deal of unhappiness, misery, and human degradation. You then, without any reason to bear you out, predict, or leave it to be clearly inferred, that the same is likely to take place in England. Your principles are almost all false; and your reasoning, in almost every instance, is the same. But, it is not my intention to waste my time on your abstract matter. I shall come, at once, to your practical result; to your recommendation to the boroughmongers to pass laws to *punish the poor for marrying*.

I have in my possession a list of 743 parsons (of the church of England I mean) who have taken an active part in the Dungeon and Oliver proceedings, either as justices of the peace, or as suppressors, unlawfully, of my publications. They have threatened hawkers; they have imprisoned many; they have starved the families of not a few; they have threatened booksellers; they have, in many instances (not less than twenty that have come to my knowledge) caused "*Paper against Gold*," to be excluded from *reading-rooms*, though that is a work which ought to be read by every one, high as well as low, rich as well as poor. I much hate these execrable parsons; but, the whole mass put together is not, to me, an object of such perfect execration as you are. You are, in my opinion, a man (if we give you the name) not to be expostulated with: but to be punished. And, I beg the public to regard this paper of mine as intended merely to prove, that you deserve the severest punishment that outraged laws can inflict upon you.

The bare idea of *a law* to punish a labourer and artisan for *marrying*; the bare idea is enough to fill one with indignation and horror. But, when this is moulded into a distinct proposal and strong recommendation, we can hardly find patience sufficient to restrain us from breaking out into a volley of curses on the head of the proposer, be he who he may. What, then, can describe our feelings, when we find that this proposition does not come from an *eunuch*; no, nor from a *hermit*; no, nor from a man who has condemned *himself* to a life of *celibacy*; but from a *priest* of a church, the origin of which was the incontinence of its clergy, who represented views of chastity as amongst the damnable errors of the church of Rome; and have, accordingly, fully indulged themselves in carnal enjoyments; what can describe our feelings, when we find that the proposition comes from a priest of this luxurious, this voluptuous, this sensual fraternity, who, with all their piety, were unable to devote their own vessels to the Lord!

But, before I proceed further, let us have your proposition before us in your own insolent words; first, observing that, at the time when you wrote your book, the boroughmongers began to be alarmed at the increase of the *poor-rates*: they boasted of wonderful *national prosperity*; wonderful ease and happiness; wonderful improvements in agriculture; but still the poor-rates *wonderfully increased*. Indeed they seem to increase with the *increase* of the boroughmongers' *national prosperity*, which might, I think, very fairly be called the eighth wonder of the world.

Being in this puzzle, the boroughmongers found in a priest the advocate of a method to rid them of their ground of alarm. You, overlooking all the real causes of the increase of the paupers, assumed, without any internal proof, and against all experience, that *the giving of relief* is the cause of the evil, and then you came to your proposition of a *remedy*. The words, the infamous words, are as follows:

"To this end I should propose a regulation to be made, declaring, that "*no child* born from any marriage taking place after the expiration of a "year from the date of the law; and "no illegitimate *child* born two years "from the same date, should ever be "entitled to parish assistance. After "the public notice, which I have proposed, had been given, to the punishment of nature HE should be left; "the punishment of severe want; all "parish assistance should be rigidly denied him. HE should be taught that

"the laws of nature had doomed him "and his *family* to starve; that HE "had no claim on society for the smallest portion of food; that if HE and "*his family* were saved from suffering the "utmost extremities of hunger, he "would owe it to the pity of some kind "benefactor, to whom HE ought to be "bound by the strongest ties of gratitude."

I never yet knew a parson who understood *grammar*, so that I am little surprised at this HE, which, according to the words, means the *child* (though it may be a *girl*); but which HE does, I suppose, mean the *man*, who shall dare to marry or to have a bastard by some unmarried woman; and yet, in this latter case, what mean you by talking of the man's *family*? Cruel, impudent, and muddleheaded: a parson all through! I will, however, suppose you, by HE to mean the *man*: and will, if I can, coolly remark upon this atrocious proposition.

You talk of the "*punishment of nature*"; you talk of "the laws of *nature* "having doomed him and his family to "starve." Now in the first place, the laws of nature, the most imperative of all her laws, bid him *love* and seek the gratification of that passion in a way that leads to the procreation of his species. The laws of nature bid man as well as woman desire to produce and preserve children. Your prohibition is in the face of these imperative laws, for you punish the illegitimate as well as the legitimate offspring. I shall not talk to you about *religion*, for I shall suppose you, being a parson, care little about that. I will not remind you, that one of the articles of the church, to which articles you have *sworn*, reprobates the doctrine of celibacy, as being hostile to the word of God; that the same article declares that it is lawful for all Christian men to marry; that one of the church prayers beseeches God that the married pair may be fruitful in children; that another prayer calls little children as arrows in the hands of the giant, and says that the man is happy who has his quiver full of them; that the scriptures tell us that Lot's neighbours were consumed by fire and brimstone, and that Onan was stricken dead, that adultery and fornication are held, in the New Testament, to be deadly sins: I will not dwell upon anything in this way, because you, being a parson, would laugh in my face. I will take you on your own ground; the *laws of nature*.

The laws of nature, written in our passions, desires, and propensities; written even in the organization of our bodies; these laws compel the two sexes to hold that sort of intercourse which produces children. Yes, say you, but nature has *other laws*; and amongst those are, that man shall live by *food*, and that, if he cannot obtain food, he shall *starve*. Agreed, and, if there be a man in England who cannot find, *in the whole country*, food enough to keep him alive, I allow that *nature has doomed him to starve*. If, in no shop, house, mill, barn, or other place, he can find food sufficient to keep him alive; *then*, I allow that the laws of nature condemn him to die.

"Oh!" you will, with parson-like bawl, exclaim, "but he must not commit *robbery* or *larceny*!" Robbery or larceny! what do you mean by that? Does the law of *nature* say anything about robbery or larceny? Does the law of nature know anything of these things? No: the law of nature bids man to take whenever he can find it, whatever is necessary to his life, health, and ease. So, you will quit the law of nature *now*, will you? You will only take it as far as serves your purpose of cruelty. You will take it to sanction your barbarity: but will fling it away when it offers the man food.

Your muddled parson's head has led you into confusion here. The *law of nature* bids a man *not starve* in a land of plenty, and forbids his being punished for taking food wherever he can find it. Your law of nature is sitting at Westminster to make the labourer pay taxes, to make him fight for the safety of the land, to bind him in allegiance, and when he is poor and hungry, to cast him off to starve, or, to hang him if he take food to save his life!

That is your law of nature; that is a parson's law of nature. I am glad, however, that you blundered upon the law of nature; because that is the very ground on which I meant to start in endeavouring clearly to establish the *rights of the poor*; on which subject I have, indeed, lately offered some observations to the public, but on which subject I have not dwelt so fully as its importance seemed to demand; especially at a time, when the poor ought to understand clearly what their rights are.

When nature (for God and religion are out of the question with parsons); when nature causes a country to exist and people to exist in it, she leaves the people, as she does other animals, to live as they can; to follow their own inclinations and propensities; to exert their skill and strength for their own advantage, or, rather, at their pleasure. She imposes no shackles other than those which the heart and mind themselves possess. She gives no man dominion over another man, except that dominion which grows out of superior cunning or bodily strength. She gives to no man any portion of the earth or of its fruits for his own exclusive enjoyments. And, if any man, in such a state of things, cannot get food sufficient to keep him alive, he must die; and, it may truly enough, *there*, be said, that "the laws of nature have *doomed* him to be starved."

But, when this state of things is wholly changed; when the people come to an agreement to desist *for their mutual benefit*, from using their cunning and strength at their sole will and pleasure. When the strong man agrees to give up the advantage which nature has given him, in order that he may enjoy the greater advantage of those regulations which *give protection to all*, he must surely be understood to suppose, as a condition, that no state of things is ever to arise, in which he, without having broken the compact on his part, is to be refused not only protection from harm, but even the bare means of existence. The land, the trees, the fruits, the herbage, the roots are, by the law of nature, the common possession of all the people. The social compact, entered into for their mutual *benefit* and *protection*; not Castlereagh's "*social system*," which means the employment of spies and blood-money men, and the existence of mutual suspicion and constant danger to life and limb. The social compact gives rise at once to the words *mine* and *thine*. Men exert their skill and strength upon particular spots of land. These become their *own*. And, when laws come to be made, these spots are called the property of the owners. But, still the property in land, especially, can never be so *complete* and *absolute* as to give to the proprietors the right of withholding the means of existence, or of animal enjoyment, from any portion of the people; seeing that the very foundation of the compact was the *protection* and *benefit* of the whole. Men, in agreeing to give up their rights to a common enjoyment of the land and its fruits, never could mean to give up, in any contingency, their right to *live* and to *love*, and to seek the gratification of desires necessary to the perpetuating of their species. And, if a contingency arise, in which men, without the commission of any crime on their part, are unable by moderate labour that they do perform, or are willing to perform, or by contributions from those who have food, to obtain food sufficient for themselves and their women and children, there is no longer *benefit* and *protection* to the whole; the social compact is at an end; and men have a right, thenceforward, to act agreeably to the laws of nature. If, in process of time, the land get into the hands of a comparatively small part of the people, and if the proprietors were to prevent, by making parks, or in any other way, a great part of the land from being cultivated, would they have a right to say to the rest of the people, You shall *breed no more*; if you do, *nature* has doomed you to starvation? Would they have a right to say, "We leave you the *punishment of nature*"? If they were fools enough to do this, the rest of the people would, doubtless, snap them at their word, and say, "Very well, then,

"*nature* bids us live and love and have "children, and get food for them from "the land: here is a pretty park, I'll "have a bit here; you take a bit there, "Jack"; and so on. What! say the proprietors, would you take our *property*? No: but if you will neither give us some of the fruits without our labour, nor give us some of them for our labour, we will use some of the land, for starved we will not be. "Why do you *love* and *have children* then?" Because nature impels us to it; and because our right to gratify the passion of love was never given up either expressly or tacitly.

But there are the *helpless*, there are those who are *infirm*; there are babies, and aged and insane persons. Are the proprietors to support them? To be sure they are; else what *benefit*, what *protection*, do these receive from the social compact? If these are to be refused protection, why is the feeble and infirm rich man to be protected in his property, or in any other way? Before the social compact existed there were no sufferers from *helplessness*.

The possession of every thing being in common, every man was able, by extraordinary exertion, to provide for his helpless kindred and friends by the means of those exertions. He used more than ordinary industry; he dug and sowed more than ordinary; all the means which nature gave were at his command according to his skill and strength. And, when he agreed to allow of proprietorship, he understood, of course, that the helpless were, in case of need, to be protected and fed by the proprietors. Hence the *poor*, by which we ought always to mean the *helpless* only, have a right founded in the law of nature, and necessarily recognised by the compact of every society of men. Take away this right; deny its existence; and then see to what a state you reduce the feeble, shadow of a man, who calls himself a landowner. The constables and all the whole *posse* of the county are to be called forth to protect *him*. The able and hearty labourer is to be *compelled* to fight for this frail creature; but if the father of this labourer become helpless, this father is to be handed over to the *punishment of nature*; though nature would enable the son to provide most amply for the father, if there were not laws to restrain the son from using for the supply of the father that same strength which he is compelled to use in the defence of the feeble proprietor! Oh, no! Mr. Parson! If we are to be left to the *punishment of nature*, leave us also to be *rewarded* by nature. Leave us to the honest dame all through the piece: she is very impartial in rewards as well as in her punishments: let us have the latter, and we will take the former with all our hearts.

Their boroughmongerships were extremely angry with the Spenceans for their talking about a common partnership in the land; but the Spenceans have as much right as you to propose to return to a state of nature; yet *you* have not yet been *dungeoned*.

By this time the Hampshire parsons, who are at the bottom of all projects brought forward by Sturges Bourne, who is the chairman of their quarter sessions, may, though they are as stupid as they are malignant, begin to perceive, that you might as well have left the *law of nature* alone. Let us next see how the case stands according to the *law of the land*, which I fancy you and Sturges and his able crew will find, awards some *rights to the poor*.

To suppose such a thing possible as a society, in which men who are able and willing to work cannot support their families, and ought, with a great part of the women, to be *compelled* to lead a life of celibacy, for fear of having children to be starved; to suppose such a thing possible is monstrous. But if there should be such a society, every one will say, that it ought instantly to be dissolved; because a state of nature would be far preferable to it. However, the *laws of England* say, that no person shall be without a sufficiency of food and raiment; and, as we shall see, this part of our laws is no more than a recognition of those principles of the social compact of which I have just been speaking.

The lands of England, like those of any other country, were at one time, and before society was formed, the common property of all the people in England; *proprietorship* in individuals arose as I have above stated; till, at last, all the land was appropriated. But, so far (when society came to be formed completely) was the proprietorship of individuals regarded as *absolute*, that it was made a thing wholly dependent on the sovereign power of the nation. The sovereign power (which with us, is in a king as chief of the nation) was regarded as *the proprietor of all the land*; as the *lord* of it all. And, at this very hour, there is not an inch of land in the kingdom, to which any man has any *title*, which title does not acknowledge that the land *is held under the King*. There are lands held under lords of manors; but, then these lords of manors hold their manors under *the King*. So that, as the King has no Divine right to rule, but rules and holds his office for the good of the people, and as he may, in case of violation of the laws, be set aside, and see another put in his place, he, as Lord Paramount of the land, is only the chief of the nation: and, of course, all the lands are *held under the nation*.

Agreeably to this notion we daily see the lands of men taken away for public uses sorely against their will. We know that armies may be encamped on them, without liability to actions of trespass. We know that men are *paid*, indeed, for their lands taken away; but, they are *compelled* to give up the lands. Nay, their lands may be *ceded to foreign nations*. All which, and many other things that might be mentioned, prove, that the nation never gives up its paramount right to the lands.

Now, Parson Malthus, were there not some *conditions*, on which the lands of England were granted to, or made the property of, individual persons or families? Every one, who knows any thing at all of the laws of England, knows, that to every grant of land was attached the performance of some *service, or duty*, towards the sovereign, or chief of the nation. Sometimes the service was of a military nature: sometimes of an agricultural nature; sometimes of a pecuniary nature. Nay, the hold which the sovereign still kept of the lands was so strong, that he was regarded, and he acted too, as guardian of all heirs and heiresses; and, in default of regular heirs, took back the lands, no one being able to give his lands by *will*.

Thus, the king, or sovereign, held an estate in the lands. From this estate the sovereign drew his means of carrying on the government, of making war, alliances, and so forth. These services have, for the greater part, been abolished by acts of Parliament; and taxes have been raised to supply their place.

As to the poor, when the lands were at first granted to individuals, those individuals were the heads of *bands* or little *knots* of men. The leader, in time, called himself the *lord*, and those under him his *vassals*, or *villeins*, or, under tenants, and almost slaves. The lords had the services of the vassals and villeins, and the vassals and villeins were protected and taken care of by the lords. So that, in this, the worst state of things (always excepting the *present*) the *poor* must, of course, have had a provision, they being in some sort the property of the lords.

When Christianity came to make considerable progress in England, and the lords of the land became Christians, they caused churches and parsonage-houses to be erected; they were allowed to give lands to, and to settle tithes on, the priest. And now mark me, parson, for we are now coming to the point at which you will be pinched. These priests, you will observe, were to have no *wives*, and, of course, no *children* to keep. Therefore, it would have been preposterous to give them the tenth part of the produce of the lands, seeing that, besides, they disclaimed all wordly possessions. *What should they do* with this tenth part of the fruits of the earth? The fact is, that the endowment was made upon the condition, that the priest should expend a fourth in his own way; a fourth was to go to the bishop of the diocese; a fourth was to

maintain the edifice of the church; and a fourth was to *maintain the poor.* For a long while there was no *general law* for the yielding of tithes; but, when that charge was legally imposed on all the lands, the poor were, of course, everywhere entitled to this fourth part. *Villeinage* being at this time greatly diminished, it wat proper to provide a resource for the helpless other than that of the tables of the lords, and, therefore, this species of hospitality was transferred to the church, from which the poor had a *right* to demand a maintenance, and from which they received it, too, until the *robbery of the poor* (which has been called a *robbery of the church*) took place in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Before that time, the poor were, according to the *common law*, that is, the settled law of the whole kingdom, to be ***sustained by those who received the tithes,*** in the several parishes or districts, which, indeed, all became parishes, except some particular spots, now called extra-parochial. That this was the *law of the land*, at and before the grand robbery of the poor in the time of Henry the wife-killer, and defender of the faith, is certain, not only from the *law-books*, but from the *statute-book.*

This is so important a matter, that, though I have, on a very late occasion, gone pretty fully into it, I will not be deterred, by the fear of a charge of repetition, from doing the same again.

When the regular clergy, or monks, or more properly speaking, the persons, of whatever order, who lived in religious houses, or monasteries, came to be in high repute for their piety and for the efficacy of their prayers, in behalf of the souls of rich persons, they very soon persuaded those persons to give them a part, at least, of their property; and, some of these rich persons gave *advowsons* to the monasteries.

When churches were founded and endowed, the founder and endower became the *patron*, or *protector*, of it; and he had the right to *present* to the bishop the *priest* who was to officiate in the church and receive its revenues. This right of presenting is called an *advowson*, and we know that *advowsons* are now become objects of *traffic*, and have been frequently *gambled for.*

Rich persons frequently gave to the monasteries advowsons as well as other things; and then the monasteries sent a priest of their own to act as a parish priest, who was allowed a small part for himself; but who was obliged to send away the far greater part of his revenues to the monastery. So that, out of this arose great distress to the poor, who thus lost *their share* of the tithes. This gave rise to two acts of Parliament, one passed in the fifteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second, and one in the fourth year of Henry the Fourth, ordering, that, in all such cases, a sufficiency of the revenues of the church should be retained in the parish for the sustenance of the poor.

Thus, then, clear as day-light, stood the legal *rights* of the poor, previous to the grand robbery of them in the reign of Henry the Eighth; when, and in a few years afterwards, they were despoiled of the whole of their reserved resources. The tithes were either *given to courtiers*, or to *priests with wives*, and thus they have continued to this day.

But, still there would be poor and helpless persons; and as there was no such man as you at hand to recommend the "*punishment of nature*," provision was made for the poor in the way of *rate*, or *tax* Hence arose the present system of poor-laws; which, for those unable to work, provide food and raiment; and, for those able to work, employment whereby they may obtain food and raiment. And Blackstone, in his enumeration of the *rights of persons*, has this right to be sustained in case of need. "The law," says he, "not only "regards *life* and *member*, and protects "every man in the *enjoyment* of them, "but also furnishes him with every "thing *necessary for their support.* For "there is no man so indigent or "wretched, but he may demand a sup- "ply sufficient for all the necessities of "life from the more opulent part of the "community, by means of the several "statutes enacted for the relief of the "poor; a humane provision, and *dic-*

"*tated by the principles of society.*" Surely it was dictated by those principles; but the necessity of making it arose out of the *robbery of the poor* by Henry the Eighth's courtiers, and by priests of the succeeding reigns; which priests have, from that day to this, chosen to have wives and families. According to the law of the land, it is not *larceny* nor *robbery* where a person (not owing to his fault) is *reduced to extreme necessity, and steals victuals merely to satisfy present hunger, and to prevent starving*; and I have no hesitation in saying, that a jury who convicts a person under such circumstances are guilty of *perjury*. The law is just here; for, if there be a state of society which exposes persons to starvation, without any fault on their own part, such society is a monster in legislation; it is worse than a state of nature, and ought to be dissolved. What! a social compact, formed for the purpose of punishing persons (who have been guilty of no fault) for using the only means left within their power to preserve their lives! A social compact which does not recognise their right to live: oh no, you do not deny any body a right to live; you only wish for a law to make them *live on grass* or *dirt*, if they marry after a certain day, or are the fruit of any marriage or of any cohabiting or carnal communication after that certain day! That is *all* you want. *Only* that! Those who are alive now, whether married or single, may have a right to *live*; but all that marry, or that shall proceed from any marriage or any unlawful commerce, *after this time*, are to feed with the crows or the rabbits! So that, at the end of about forty or fifty, or, at most, eighty years, there shall be no person entitled to relief; and that, in a few years, the number of persons so entitled shall be very small.

Callous parson, hardened parson, I have proved, that the relief now given, and that ought to be more largely given by the statute law, to the poor, is their right; that it came to supply the place of that relief which the law of the land gave them before the thing called the reformation; and that the law of the land only supplied in this respect the place of the law of nature. I have traced the rights of the poor, meaning the helpless either from inability to labour or from inability to find labour. I have traced their rights down from the origin of the social compact to the present day, and have shown, that men, when they originally gave up their right of possessing the land in common, now gave up, either for themselves, or for future generations, the right of living, loving, and perpetuating their like.

But, muddy-headed parson, while you deny the labouring classes these rights, will you choose to consider them as having no claim *on society* for "the *smallest portion* of food, oh! impudent parson! *your* wife and children have, I suppose! But, to be cool if possible. While you consider the labouring classes as having no claim *upon society* even for the smallest portion of food; you do not say a word about the claims, the *many* and *great claims*, which society *has upon them*! If a young man, a labourer, just one-and-twenty, were to hear your proposition; if he were to hear you say, that, if he married, he should be left to the laws of nature, and should have no claim on society, even for the smallest portion of food, one may suppose that the *answer* which he would give you, would be in somewhat the following words:

"Mr. Parson Malthus,—I have no "objection to your proposition; for, "though I and my brother and our two "sisters have a father and mother, who, "owing to the taxes have never been "able to save any thing for old age, "and though we may have large fami- "lies of children, yet I am not at all "afraid, that in consequence of this "new regulation, we shall be able to "do very well for the future, as we "have not any claim upon society, "when we are infirm or helpless, for "even the smallest portion of food, it "will certainly not be pretended, even "by the Hampshire parsons, with he "of Botley at their head, that society "has any claim upon us. We have "been *born* here in England to be sure, "but, as society was not to blame for

"our not remaining in our progenitors' "loins, so we are not to blame for com- "ing into the world. Here we are, "however; and, as we now find, that "we have no right to protection from "society, we will set to work and do "the best we can for ourselves. The "society has shaken us off, and we will "shake it off. You send us to the "law of nature for food in our distress, "and we will avail ourselves of that "law for our benefit. As to any other "laws we know nothing of them.

(*To be continued.*)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

ELMORE, R., Bankside, Southwark, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, J. N., Lamb's Conduit-street, Red-lion-square, tailor.
BLENCOE, J., Knightsbridge, tailor.
COCKING, T., Great Portland-street, Mary-bonne, chemist.
SHOWELL, T., Bath-street, City-road, tailor.
VAUGHAN, W., Covington-terrace, Bermodsey, dealer.
VOGEL, A. L., Finsbury-circus, merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

ALLSOP, J., Belper, Derbyshire, wheelwright.
COWAN, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.
KEY, W., Isleworth, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, W., Southampton, linen-draper.
CROME, J. B., Norwich, drawing-master.
DUTTON, J. T., Harrington, Cumberland, manufacturing-chemist.
IRONMONGER, E., Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, builder.
JUDD, W. H., Bath, draper.
MAWMAN, J., Arbour-square, Commercial-road-east, shipowner.
MILLS, W., Lavenham, Suffolk, innkeeper.
WARD, S., Leeds, hackney-coach-proprietor.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 4.—The supplies from the home counties to this morning's market have been moderate, particularly from Kent. We have had several samples of new Wheat exhibiting, as well from the latter county as Essex. Although some of the parcels were of middling quality, yet the principal portion was fine, and in good condition, having been harvested previous to the rains, and therefore forms no criterion of the probable character of the general runs we are likely to receive from these counties. The weather having proved fine since Friday, the trade opened heavily at the improvement noted on that day of 4s. to 5s. per quarter, and though those rates were realized, yet lower terms were, in many instances, submitted to, and the market closed dull at an advance of about 4s. from the quotations of this day se'nnight. Bonded Wheat also relapsed, and attracted a limited attention.

Barley comes to hand very sparingly, and the samples offering found purchasers for grinding purposes at fully the previous currency.

Malt was in very limited request, but prices nominally the same.

The Oat trade remained steady at Friday's improvement of 1s. per quarter with a fair retail demand. The uncertainty however of the quantity of foreign Oats likely to be entered for the home consumption at the present duty of 10s. 9d., checks for the present any extensive operations. Bonded Oats are full 1s. 6d. per quarter dearer than this day week, sales having been effected at 11s. to 12s., as noted in the review of the trade of the past week.

Beans were firm, and in some instances obtained 1s. more than on Monday.

New White Peas maintained their quotations of 48s. to 50s. and hog qualities were rather dearer.

An attempt was made by the town millers to advance Flour 5s. per sack, but the depression of to-day, checking the animation of Friday's market, prevented their carrying their efforts into execution. Fresh ship Flour must be noted 2s. per sack dearer than this day se'nnight, and the top price of Irish qualities 39s. per sack.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	48s. to 52s.
—— White	52s. to 60s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	44s. to 51s.
—— White, ditto	45s. to 56s.
—— West Country red	42s. to 51s.
—— White, ditto	47s. to 56s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	42s. to 48s.
—— White, ditto	44s. to 51s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	44s. to 48s.
—— Irish red	40s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.

Barley, Malting	29s. to 31s.
—— Chevalier	29s. to 31s.
—— Distilling	30s. to 31s.
—— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	47s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	50s. to 58s.
—— Ware	56s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	36s. to 40s.
—— Maple	40s. to 42s.
—— White Boilers	45s. to 49s.
Beans, Small	32s. to 37s.
—— Harrow	32s. to 37s.
—— Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	21s. to 22s.
—— Short, small	22s. to 24s.
—— Poland	22s. to 24s.
—— Scotch, common	22s. to 24s.
—— —— Potato	25s. to 26s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 25s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s. to 23s.
—— —— Potato	22s. to 24s.
—— —— Black	21s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
—— York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
—— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
—— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
—— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, August 4.

This day's supply of Beasts was sufficiently numerous, but in great part of very indifferent quality; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and, for the time of the year, Porkers good. Trade was, with prime Beef, Mutton, and Lamb, somewhat brisk, at an advance of full 2d. per stone; with the middling and inferior kinds, as also with Pork, dull, at Friday's quotations, and with Veal at a depression of from 4d. to 6d. per stone.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90¾	90¾	90¾	91⅛	91⅞	90¾

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4*s*. 6*d*. The Price of the second volume 3*s*. 6*d*.

13. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8 The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3*s*. 6*d*. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d*.

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1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

Hamburgh, July, 1834.

HEINE BROTHERS, in Hamburgh, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburgh, beg to inform, that the 64th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1, October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l*. 10*s*. sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l*. 10*s*. sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburgh, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8*l*. 10*s*. sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

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Item							
Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	2	10	0	to	3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5	0		3	15	0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	13	6	& upwards			
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3	10	0	to	4	0	0
Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0		1	10	
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0		1	1	
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0		0	14	
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0		0	10	
Valencia and Toilenet	0	10	6		0	14	
Silk Ditto	0	16	0		1	0	
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0		4	10	

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 85.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 16TH, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



POOR-LAW BILL.

THE next *Register* will contain a second letter to Lord RADNOR, and the *Register* of the next week, or the week after, will contain a third letter to him on the same subject. The first letter is now republished in a pamphlet, price twopence, and may be had at BOLT-COURT. I have sent five hundred of them to be distributed in Berkshire and Wiltshire, and I send, besides, to all my correspondents, to whom I write, in every part of the kingdom. It does not become me now to speak of this *act of Parliament*, as I spoke of the *bill*; but, every thing that I can lawfully do, I will do to prevent its being put in execution; and, if I have life and health, I will move for its repeal as soon as the Parliament shall meet again, unless some other member shall immediately give notice of such motion.

I applaud the protest of Lord KENYON. Of all the eight lords, as far as they go; but, I applaud the protest for all the seven reasons, and the whole of the protests reflects infinite honour on the noble lord, KENYON, who drew it up.

It is very curious that Lord ALTHORP should have acknowledged, as he did, upon our discussing the amendments proposed by the Lords, that "he must "be a bold Minister who would ven-"ture to bring in the same bill again." What! persevere in it now, and acknowledge at the same time, that he could not venture to bring it in again. So that the same bill would not do, we having now had time for reflection and inquiry; though, even up to that day, I myself did not know that Lord RADNOR's eulogised parson, LOWE of BINGHAM, in Nottinghamshire, had had his stacks burnt by men of that "*contented parish*"; and that the men avowed that they did it, *because he would not give them relief without putting them into the workhouse*; and that all this was proved in a court of justice; and that, though one of the men was found guilty, *he was recommended to mercy, and not executed*. We did not know this even up to the day when we were discussing the amendments.

Upon this last occasion Mr. RICHARDS had the manliness to acknowledge, that during the progress of this bill he had completely changed his opinion, and that he now voted against it. And it was curious to behold the scene on this day. The feeling of the whole House was hostile to the bill. Its former supporters were dumb. Out of a hundred members twenty-four voted against it, nine of whom spoke against it, while not one single word was uttered in defence of it, except by Lord ALTHORP himself; though, upon the second reading there were but twenty members out of four hundred to vote against it! And, is a bill going forth thus protested against; is this bill, which makes an actual revolution, to go into effect. When it is now notorious to every man, that the House of Commons never would have passed it, had it not been taken by surprise. The truth is, that that House was deceived all the way through. However, as I shall discuss the whole matter in the three letters to Lord RADNOR; and as I shall take care to make them notorious as the sun at noon-day, I will say no more upon this subject at present.

PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

"PROTEST AGAINST THE PASSING OF THE POOR-LAWS' AMENDMENT BILL.

"Dissentient,

"1. Because this bill is unjust and cruel to the poor. It imprisons in

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

workhouses, for not working, those who cannot procure employment, and others for not maintaining their families who cannot, by the hardest labour, obtain wages sufficient to provide necessaries for their wives and children, although the want of employment and the low rate of wages have been occasioned by the impolicy and negligence of the Government.

"2. Because the present rate of wages, insufficient as it is, cannot be sustained, or employment found for the poor, or their condition materially improved, without ameliorating the condition of the Irish poor.

"3. Because we think that no necessity or sufficient expediency has been established to justify the withdrawing of the power of executing the Poor-laws from the local authorities, and transferring them to a Board so constituted as proposed by the bill, and possessing the arbitrary powers conferred on three Commissioners appointed, and removable, by the Crown.

"4. Because we think the system suggested in the bill, of consolidating immensely extensive unions of parishes, and establishing workhouses necessarily at great distances from many parishes, and thereby dividing families, and removing children from their parents, merely because they are poor, will be found justly abhorrent to the best feelings of the general population of the country; and especially, inasmuch as it introduces the children of the agricultural poor to town poor-houses, it will conduce greatly to the contamination of their moral principles, and be calculated to prevent their obtaining in youth those habits of industry most likely to be beneficial to them in after life.

"5. Because the alteration of the law of settlement is calculated to operate unjustly, and to lead to still more extensive removals and more intricate lawsuits than the law as at present existing.

"6. Because the alterations made in the bastardy laws are inconsistent with the principles of Christianity on which the Parliament of the united empire has always professed to proceed, since both parents being equally bound by those principles to maintain their offspring, the father, being more able to contribute to that maintenance than the mother, ought to pay more largely, whereas by this bill he is all but exonerated from any such obligation.

"7. Because we consider that nearly all, if not all, the evils which may have existed in the administration of the present laws might have been corrected by a short act, securing the due administration of the Poor-laws under the control of the existing magisterial and other local authorities.

"KENYON.
"ROMNEY
"WYNFORD
"MOUNTCASHEL.
"TEYNHAM.

"For the 1st and 6th reasons:
"PENSHURST.

"For the 4th and 6th reasons:
"H. EXETER.
"ROLLE."

GET GOLD! GET GOLD!

EXCELLENT NEWS,

FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

My readers know my opinion that, unless this THING (for it is still a THING, notwithstanding the bit of a reform); unless this THING can destroy the American government and American freedom along with it, this THING itself must come down, and we must be free too, in spite of poor-law "amendment" bills, in spite of the projects of PETER THIMBLE, MALTHUS, and CARLILE; notwithstanding the THING has a thundering standing army of a hundred thousand men; and notwithstanding the practice of flogging is upheld in that army. Whoever shall read my History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth, which will be published in two volumes on the last day of this month, will see exhibited in that history twenty years of

efforts to accomplish the destruction of the government and the freedom of America. After the battle of Waterloo our base press openly inculcated the necessity of making France have a great debt and paper-money, and a great bank. More caution was necessary with regard to the United States; but the thing, most prodigiously drubbed during the war, seeing no hope of destroying freedom in America by arms, set to work to accomplish it by the means of a national bank, established through the instrumentality of a corrupt West Indian of the name of Dallas, who had been citizenized in America a great many years, and who had long been the tool in the hands of a most corrupt and villanous governor of Pennsylvania.

It was soon discovered, that the principal shareholders in this concern were English, and the greater part of them lords and ladies, getting the money out of our taxes; and that the bank was, in fact, neither more nor less than a "*branch*" of our THING here. This being discovered by the virtuous and brave President, Jackson, he resolved to stifle this monster of a bank. My readers are well acquainted with the nature and progress of his efforts. He was going on, smiting the monster hip and thigh, wherever he could come athwart it. He was driving away the paper before the silver, as the blessed sun drives away the pestiferous fogs. But dollars are heavy, and people in America have money in their *pockets*; and they wanted *gold!* But, how to get it? for, my readers should be informed, that gold never has been in *circulation* in any part of that immense country since the country was first discovered. In this state of things, it being next to impossible to do away with the immense mass of paper without bringing in gold, it was necessary for the rulers of that country to discover a mode of bringing the gold from Europe; for, wonderful as it may seem to the English reader, the rulers of that republican country have *heads* upon their shoulders, and heads with *brains* in them too.

Being thus set out with heads and with brains, they quickly found out a way of making the sovereigns go from England to America; and now let me explain how they did this. The standard circulating coin in that country is the silver dollar, which dollar is supposed to contain a hundred parts, which are called *cents*, *cent* being an abbreviation of *centime*, which means a hundredth part. According to their law the English sovereign was to pass for four dollars and forty-four centimes. They, in order to get the sovereigns from England, altered their law, and made the sovereign pass for four dollars and eighty-four centimes, adding to its former value forty centimes, which is about an *addition of one shilling and ten pence farthing*. So that, I, having a sovereign here in London, can, by sending it to America gain one and ten pence farthing; and, if a gain of three half pence upon a sovereign will send our sovereigns to France, as it always does, the sovereigns will keep on sailing for America, until we get rid of so much of our paper-money as to make the sovereign worth as much here as it is there, and that it is not at this time; because it is, in fact, pulled down from its real value by circulating side by side with the base paper-money.

Now then, what is to happen here? Why our THING must *diminish its quantity of paper*. By diminishing its quantity of paper it can check the wandering disposition of the sovereigns. There is pretty good evidence to show that about a million of sovereigns have already gone across the sea, many of which are circulating about the United States. I state upon very good authority that two hundred thousand louis d'ors (each worth about eighteen shillings of our money) had, from *Paris*, travelled the same way more than a week ago. While this is working us, it is working Portugal at the same time. In order to preserve coin in that country our most faithful friend, Don Pedro, has raised the value of gold ten per cent. This draws gold into Portugal, in order that it may have it to protect itself against America; and it is from this

country that the principal part of the gold must go to Portugal as well as to America!

Well, then, what will be the consequences here? The Bank must get in its paper; or, it must stop paying in gold. If it get in its paper to a sufficient extent to be able to face its creditors with gold in its hand, then the quantity of circulating money will be so greatly diminished, as to bring down the price of wheat to about THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE A BUSHEL; beef to *two shillings a stone*; and bacon to *five shillings a score*; cheese to *threepence a pound*, and butter to a *groat*; and then the fundholder will receive six times as much as he ought to receive; but this cannot be, and the whole system will blow up.

In my letter to Mr. TIERNEY, written in Long Island, in 1818, I said that a bill like Peel's bill (which bill was passed the next year, in spite of my predictions) "would bring wheat down to five shillings the bushel;" but, said I, "though I name *five* shillings, I beg to "be understood not as saying that that "will be the lowest; for I think it very "likely that it would come down to "three shillings and sixpence." People thought I was *romancing*, and the swellings, which the Almighty, for our sins, had been pleased to place upon the shoulders of our rulers, having, on one side, features fixed on to them, sneered and sniggered, and, as far as such things could do it, expressed contempt of the prophet and of his prophecy. Nevertheless, the five shillings came, though the bill was, in fact, repealed for the better part; and now who will say that the three and sixpence will not come? If it do come, and without that equitable adjustment which I have been so long recommending, down will come tumbling this nobility, this church, and this famous form of Government; and to make this equitable adjustment, is actually to proclaim me, WILLIAM COBBETT, the man, and the only man, able to settle this mighty affair, rather than which, all that belong to the THING will exclaim: "Let both worlds meet: "let chaos come again; let darkness be "the burier of the dead!" while I, sitting quietly at my farm, shall say, Exclaim away, and the devil exclaim along with you!

There is, however, one way of parrying this thrust of the Yankees. It is this, to repeal Peel's bill altogether, *and put out the one-pound notes again; and make them a legal tender all over the kingdom*! Oh, God! And will the THING do this! Will it do *this*? Will it give me this triumph? Yet, it has a choice of evils. The blowing up in the other way will give me a triumph as complete, and nothing can prevent my triumphing, and sitting and laughing till I nearly split my sides: nothing can prevent this but the adopting of my recommendation of an equitable adjustment; and though that would give me a triumph, too, it would give me anxiety also, and pull me constantly up to this monstrous, iniquitous, wicked, stinking, horrible town The pleasant thing would be the total repeal of Peel's bill, and the *one pounders*! Up would go the wheat to twenty shillings a bushel; perhaps to forty. Down would come the pensioners and fundholders tumbling out of their carriages. We should see the gentlemen of Whitehall and of the "sister services," walking about in coats the seams of which would be showing their teeth; and with faces so pale and delicate, and as sharp as the sharp ends of pennyworths of cheese! The farmers with leases would be swollen out like their own bacon hogs, riding fat horses to market, and cracking their whips to the bodily fear of the inhabitants on the sides of the roads. Those without leases would make a shift to get along by persuading, or endeavouring to persuade, the labourers that a pound was still a pound, whether it be "paper" or gold. The landlords who have let upon lease would be in the situation of the gentlemen of the sister-services, but then they would lick themselves whole out of the mortgagees. What a revolution! What ruin on one side! What prosperity on the other! Thus it is to be governed by men not having such heads, and heads so furnished, as those which I

have described as existing in America. Yet, this is a better course than the three-and-sixpenny course; if there be any *better* in the case of two things, both of which are so bad, that no words can describe the extent of the badness.

This paper plan could not last for above a year, or a year and a half, without blowing the whole concern to atoms. And yet, if I were compelled t name a something that was most likely to take place, I should certainly say one-pound notes and legal tender.

Leaving this matter to be decided by time, let us now look at the wise mea sures of the republican government o America. That truly great patriot and statesman, JACKSON (the son be it remembered of a poor Irish emigrant without the possibility of a drop of aris tocratic blood in his veins), became the President and head ruler of that commonwealth six years and a half ago. He found his country with a debt round its neck, the greater part of the fund-holders being in England. He saw that the villanous "British Bank would destroy the liberties of his country, if he did not destroy it. He, there fore, resolved on its destruction; but there was the debt *to pay off*, and it was just that that should be paid in the villanous depreciated paper. Having completed the payment; having kept "*national faith*" with the English fundholding crew, who had lent to America that which they had got out of English taxes, he said, "Now, my "boys, we will have nothing but gold "and silver circulating amongst us; and "we will make the THING send us "gold, that our pockets may not be "overloaded, leaving the THING to "get out of the scrape as it can!"

Ah! curse these republicans for choosing rulers with heads upon their shoulders and brains in their heads! If they had chosen men with mere swellings upon the tops of their shoulders, they would have raised the value of the money before they had paid off a farthing of the debt. They, honest swellings, would have made the people give the greedy fundholders three bushels of wheat for one, and would have boasted of their "*national faith*," while they were robbing all the industrious classes for the benefit of the idlers.

I must not conclude, however, without endeavouring to enforce the injunction, expressed by the words at the top of the title of this article, namely, "GET GOLD! GET GOLD!"

READER. What should I get *gold* for, when a five-pound note passes for as much as five sovereigns?

COBBETT. At present they do; but, if *one-pound notes* and *legal tender* should come, I venture to say, that a sovereign in gold will buy as much victuals, or as much clothes, or as much of any thing else, as five or six one-pound notes.

READER. But, if I owe a pound, the paper is as good to pay the debt with as the sovereign.

COBBETT. Just as good. I give you the recommendation, on the supposition, not that you owe money, but that you have got money, or have got an *annuity*, or *mortgage*, or *pension*, or *retired allowance*, or *sinecure*, or *stock*, the nominal value of which is always the same.

READER. But, how shall I gain by selling these, or any of them?

COBBETT. I will show you. Suppose you have a pension for life of a hundred pounds a year, and suppose the calculators to determine that your life is worth ten years' purchase. Then, without troubling ourselves with the interest, your pension being a "*vested interest*," and being as "*safe as the Bank*," it will . . .

READER (*interrupting*). And safer, too, if you be right.

COBBETT. No, not *safer*; but just as safe; for be you assured, that the pension hangs upon the Bank, just as completely as the black wool hangs upon the head of a nasty stinking negro.

READER. Or as a scab hangs upon the cheek of a half-rotten old rake.

COBBETT. Yes, yes, yes; but, I was about to say; you being invested with the pension for life, and the life being deemed worth ten years' purchase, your pension, not speaking of the interest, is worth a thousand pounds; and a thou-

sand sovereigns you can get for it, if you have a mind to sell it; and I advise you to sell it, and go and get the thousand sovereigns, which you can do now, and either keep the sovereigns by you till the one pounders and legal tenders come, or lay them out in land or house.

READER. But will not my pension sell for a thousand pounds after the one pounders come?

COBBETT. Yes; it will sell for a thousand *one pounders*, to a certainty.

READER. Well, then, if I can get the thousand pounds after the one pounders come, why should I sell now?

COBBETT. (*Laying hold of his ear and giving it a gentle pull*). Now, mark me. You can always get the thousand one pounders; but the thousand one pounders will not purchase you a quarter part of as much victuals, drink, clothing, or lands, as the thousand sovereigns will now.

READER. Why should that be, Cobbett?

COBBETT. Because the prices of every thing will be raised. A bushel of wheat will be twenty shillings; an acre of land that you can buy for twenty sovereigns now, you must give a hundred one pounders for; and (*seizing hold of both his ears*) do look at me and mind what I say, your pension will always be the same *nominal* sum. You now get a hundred *sovereigns* a year; you will then get a hundred *one pounders* a year; and . . . . . .

READER. Oh, my God! I begin to see!

COBBETT. You do, do you! And the devil is in you I think, if you don't.

READER. But, I have my *property* in the *funds*.

COBBETT. *Property* d'ye call it.

READER. Yes; it is property, isn't it?

COBBETT. A devilish droll sort of property, that is worth a sovereign to-day, and may not be worth a penny to-morrow. Grammarians tell us, that a noun is the name of something which we can see, feel, hear, or smell. This "*property*" of yours seems not to be a noun, at any rate. But the definition of grammarians is defective; for there are nouns, which represent things which have a mere ideal existence; such as envy, scorn, wrath, and the like; and, if yours be property, it is of this ideal description.

READER. But do you mean to say, then, that I have *nothing* in the funds?

COBBETT. I not only mean to say it, but I do say it. The Government has entered into an engagement with you, to pay you something every year out of the taxes; and, as long as it can raise the taxes, it may, if it pleases, continue to pay you this sum every year, and it is a very pretty sort of property which rests upon these two contingencies; first, that the Government will have the will; and next, that it will have the ability to pay you.

READER. What ought I to do, then?

COBBETT. What ought you to do, why to sell your stock, to be sure, to any greedy fool that will buy it; the fool will give you bank-notes for it; and you can now carry them to the bank and get gold in exchange. You will get a sovereign for every pound of stock; and, if legal tender come, you may, perhaps, not get a shilling for every pound of stock.

READER. But will they defraud the "*public creditor*" then? Will they be guilty of such a shameful "*breach of national faith*"?

COBBETT. By no means; they will be honest as the day, and true as the sun: they will count you down your dividends as honestly as possible.

READER. Well, then, what need I care, so long as I get my dividends?

COBBETT. Why, you fool, you jack-ass, you brute beast, you worse than calf or sheep, do you not see that they would pay your dividends in one pounders, which you could not get changed into sovereigns without giving for one sovereign five one pounders, or thereabouts; do you not see, that those dividends, which now enable you to swagger about like a pensioner or sinecure lord, would be so lessened in value as to make you glad to creep into a farm-house at Christmas to get a cut of a spare rib? Do you not see that

whereas you know hiccup from fulness, this change would make you hiccup from emptiness, and bring upon you that calamity which you and the whole race of you dread more than you dread the wrath of heaven, or the fires of hell; namely, the calamity of being compelled to earn your bread, instead of gormandizing upon the fruit of the labour of others.

One would imagine that it is utterly impossible for even a negro not to understand this; for it not to penetrate into his skull, though it be proof against a sledge-hammer. However, there are few white people so excessively stupid as this; and as gold becomes scarce, they will seek to secure it in their possession. When they do this to any considerable extent, one of the events contemplated above must come: for one or the other I pray most earnestly; because I am sure that, as long as paper-money shall exist to any considerable extent, this country never can know any thing of its ancient freedom; and, without that freedom it can be neither great nor happy.

This prospect of good we owe, in great part, to the American President, and to his humane, brave, just, and sensible constituents, the people of America. It was hoped by the malignant thing, that a "damned aristocracy," as GOLDSMITH calls them, would be created in the United States; and that there would be the example of their slavery to hold in terrorem to us; the THING hoped to be able to induce the transatlantic aristocracy to surround itself with a mercenary army, and a mercenary police, and that then it would have to exclaim, "See what is pro-"duced by universal suffrage and voting "by ballot!" This is what the THING hoped: its malignant hopes have been blasted for ever; and we now hear from our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic: we now hear echoed and re-echoed throughout the dominions of that famous republic, the motto, "HIC-"KORY, HOME-SPUN, AND HARD "MONEY:" the former, which is the name of the toughest of wood, meaning the brave and wise President; the second, inculcating the precept of plain dresses made at home; and the third, meaning real money of gold and silver to supplant the base and fraudulent paper-money. Let this then be our standing toast; let us, who wish to see England once more what she once was, take as our toast, our motto, our watchword, "HICKORY, HOME-SPUN, AND HARD MONEY."

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Amongst other effects of the gold and silver work in America will be the draining of a great part of the silver, and of all the gold (if there be any) out of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and all the West India Islands. Our North American territory is all over-run with base and infamous paper-money, propped up by the national bank of the United States. Chaos will come there, unless real money be sent out from here. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have their victuals, their cabbages, their peas, their cherries and their eggs from the United States. No longer able to get these for paper-money, they must now give specie, and we must send it out to them. I said a year ago, that President JACKSON had the power of doing more good than any other man that ever lived in the world, since the days of the Apostles. Oh! what agony he is producing in the breasts of the base enemies of the freedom of his country, and the freedom of ours! It is not a little gratifying to me to reflect that I am thought worthy of the execrations of the paper-tribe in America. If they will but ascribe to me a tenth part of the achievement, I desire no other mark of honour whereby to be remembered. To be thought, only to be thought, to be hated by that base and deadly crew, whose hearts are made of fraud, whose money is their God, who have no other God, and who have no country at all; the bare rumour that I am abhorred by them is an honour as great as I can possibly covet.

THE PARLIAMENT

WILL be prorogued before this will come from the press. On Wednesday night a sort of parting explanation took place. Amongst other things I asked my Lord ALTHORP whether we might be assured that nothing would be done by the Government in our absence *having a tendency to alter the value of the circulating money*. His answer was, "that he believed that it would not be legal to do such a thing." And I knew that as well as he; but I also knew that the thing had been done without the assistance of Parliament, in 1797; and that pretty nearly the same had been done in 1826; and I know that, if we do come to one-pound notes again, and legal tender (and many persons think that we shall), I know that it must be done by order in council; unless it be wished to enable this hellish town to rob all the rest of the kingdom, which it is impossible that any one can wish, except he actually come out of hell, casting off his horns and putting on a broad-brimmed hat. I cannot say that I ever saw the devil myself; but in America where they appear to see him more frequently than we do here, they say that since this bank quarrel, which is working us so sweetly, the old gentleman has changed his costume, and put on that of the unbaptized buttonless blackguards, and that he may be seen in these habiliments, in *Wall-street*, NEW YORK, or in *Chestnut-street*, PHILADELPHIA, at any time between half-after eleven and half-after twelve at midnight.

Several notices of motions for the next session were given; amongst others, I gave notice that, unless the Government instituted a full inquiry into the abuses of the navy, appertaining to the mode in which numerous officers had obtained their commissions, I should take a very early opportunity of bringing the whole matter before the House at the meeting of Parliament. And my readers may be assured that this is a subject that must command great attention.

Some questions were put to Dr. LUSHINGTON, relative to the reports made, and about to be made, by the church-commissioners of England. I observed to him that there appeared to be between three and four thousand of the livings in England and Wales yielding very small amount to the incumbent, while the tithes of the parishes amounted to immense sums; and that I wished to know whether it was the intention of the commissioners to inform us who it was, in each case, that took away the incomes from the working clergy; whether the incomes were taken away by clerical corporations, by clerical dignitaries, or by lay-impropriators? His answer was, that that which I wished to have would be furnished me as far as related to the clergy, but not as far as related to the lay-impropriations. This is a matter of great moment, on the measures which we shall adopt with regard to this matter depends the question, whether the church shall stand or fall! There are numerous benefices which yield the incumbent less than sixty pounds a year; and some less than ten pounds a year, while the parishes yield in tithes, in many cases, from five hundred to a thousand pounds a year. Now, if we should find, which I think we shall, before we have done, that the benefices are thus impoverished by the *higher* clergy, who perform none of the duties, will any man say that this church ought to stand as it now is. My constituents may be assured that this is the true ground to go upon. The established church is the poor man's church. The law said, and still says, that there shall be *proprietorship* in house and land; but it also says, that that house and land are not to be an *absolute* possession, that they shall be *charged* with the maintenance of a church for the poor man as well as for the rich man; and that the poor man shall not be told that he should pay a parson, if he want one. I recently presented a petition from some of my constituents, and those of the most respectable character, praying for a *separation of the church from the state*, in which prayer I joined, unless the church were thoroughly reformed; and, in that prayer I shall join,

if any attempt be made to shuffle us out of that thorough reform. A separation of the church from the state means, *an abolition* at once of all the revenues of the church; and the consequence of that would be, that the church-people would have to pay a parson out of their own pockets, and the landlords would take all the tithes to themselves; and this I would see done, and lay a tax upon the land to the amount of all the tithes, and all the church-rates, rather than let the church remain in its present disgraceful state. The next session of Parliament will not pass over without some decision as to this important matter.

CANT AND SPITE OUTWITTED;

OR,

EXPOSURE OF THE TWENTY MILLION NEGRO JOB.

This job was partly the creature of cant, and partly of spite. When one saw Fowell Buxton with the petition from two hundred and seventy odd thousand humane English females, brought into the House of Commons by the two door-keepers, and saw the dirty bundle laid upon the table amidst roaring cheers, there was ground for blushing, to be sure; but still the thing was too monstrously beastly to appear worthy of serious attention. Voting a loan of twenty millions, however, and saddling this burdened people with eight hundred thousand pounds a year interest was another matter. That demanded something more than a contemptuous smile.

My readers will recollect that I always said, that our emancipation, as it is called, of our negroes, supposing it to be a good thing, which I always said it was not, would be of no use, unless we could prevail upon the United States of America to emancipate their blacks. There was something very suspicious in the King's speech at the last opening of the Parliament. He congratulated us on the *great work of humanity*, which we had performed in the last session; having changed his opinion, I dare say, since the time when he received a service of plate as a present from the *slave-traders of Liverpool* for having ABLY DEFENDED THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. Kings have a right to change their minds as well as other men; and, therefore, I dare say his Majesty was very sincere when he uttered the words "*great work of humanity.*" But, there was one ugly passage in this same speech of the King, namely, that in which his Majesty was pleased to express his "*anxious hope* that "OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD "FEEL IT NECESSARY TO FOL- "LOW THE HUMANE AND GENE- "ROUS EXAMPLE"! Buxton the Great, member of Parliament and brewer and slave emancipator, having brought up the matter one day, Dr. Lushington expressed a hope in conformity to the hope expressed in his Majesty's speech. Dr. Lushington never talks nonsense; and he looked so sharp when he said this, that he seemed to me to mean that other countries would be compelled to follow the brilliant example of humanity, I, therefore, observed, that it is exceedingly good not only to be piously humane one's self, but also to endeavour, by the use of words, and of every thing persuasive in the way of pen and tongue, to prevail upon others to be equally pious and humane with ourselves; but that I protested against all attempts to *compel* them to be pious and humane, whether by force or otherwise; and that I was very much afraid that, with all our piety, humanity, and disinterestedness in this case, there were persons who wished to plunge the United States of America into confusion by the performance of this pious deed ourselves.

So much by way of preface: now for some *curious facts*, to show how this cant and spite have been outwitted. For fifty years and more, there have been negro-emancipators in the United States in great abundance: they have preached and harangued and subscribed and petitioned pretty constantly during the space of that fifty years; and the blacks have been actually freed in the New England States, and also in New

Jersey and Pennsylvania and Delaware, stopping at the state of Maryland. No notice was taken of the workings of these people, who were called abolitionists, they being for abolishing slavery. No notice was taken of them: they were suffered to carry on their cant at their pleasure, and, sometimes, they got credit for really humane and good intentions; but (pray, hear it Mr. STANLEY, I pray hear it!), when the Americans saw the twenty million bill brought in by the very man who had just before brought in the Irish Coercion Bill, they "*guessed, you*," that there was something besides *pure humanity* at the bottom of this twenty million bill. They had not long to hunt: they knew that the measure must be injurious to England, they, therefore, calculated that some good must be counted upon to countervail the injury; and they saw that, if, by this measure, the THING could plunge the United States into confusion, and thereby cripple them for an age or two, the THING would really gain by the measure, though it lost the West Indies altogether.

Taking this view of the matter JONATHAN looked out sharp; clapped his eye upon the abolitionists more closely than he had ever done before. In the meanwhile we heard from various parts of England, especially from the cracked skulled county of York, of missionaries about to proceed to the United States, to effect the liberation of their brother blacks there. It would not do to begin in the southern states. The pious campaign was, therefore, opened in the north. A scoundrel missionary, most likely in full pay, landed in Connecticut, a state in which there are no slaves, and a very few blacks. There, at the town of NORWICH, a place about the size of GUILDFORD in Surrey, he got admission to a Methodist chapel, got up into the pulpit, took up a black fellow along with him, called him his brother, and began to preach the doctrine of perfect equality, and *to reprove the prejudice and injustice, which prevented the whites from intermarrying with the blacks.* The people, who are, at once, the most gentle, the most kind, and the most brave, in the whole world, went and took him down gently out of the pulpit, walked him out into the street, clapped a drum and fife behind him, playing the "*rogues march*"; and thus they conducted him to the confines of the township of NORWICH, enjoining him by all means not to return into the township again upon pain of tar and feathers, and a little previous tickling on the back.

In the city of NEW YORK work more serious took place in the beginning of July, an account of which work is given as follows in the *Times* newspaper. Attend to the words in *italics*.

We received last night, through the North and South American Coffee-house, and from our Liverpool Correspondent, files of New York and other American papers, brought by the line of packet ship *Sovereign*, Captain GRISWALD, to the 17. of July. By the following extracts, it will be seen that some rioting has taken place in New York and some other parts of the Union, arising out of the question of Negro Emancipation; among others, who have suffered wrong in the expression of popular feeling, is an individual named LEWIS TAPPAN, a gentleman who had taken an active part in the Abolition question. The first riot took place on the 7. ult., and its origin and progress are thus described in one of the papers:—

"The riot at the Chatham-chapel "seems to have grown out of the following circumstances. The New York "Sacred Music Society have a lease of "the chapel for Monday and Thursday "evenings throughout the year. Some "person, on behalf of the blacks, had "obtained from the Secretary of the "Music Society permission to occupy "the chapel last evening. The blacks "thereupon issued printed notices of "their intended meeting, which it is "said was called for the purpose of "celebrating the postponed festival of "the 4. of July. In pursuance of this "notice they met and commenced their "exercises. Certain members of the "Music Society also arrived, not knowing the disposition which had been

"made of the chapel; but being in-
"formed of the circumstances, agreed
"to postpone the purpose with which
"which they had themselves assembled
"Their number, however, being soon
"augmented by the arrival of other
"persons, they reversed their first peace-
"able and proper resolution, and con-
"cluded upon insisting that possession
"of the chapel should be given to
"them. The blacks, in the meanwhile,
"had prayed, sung a hymn, and had
"commenced reading the declaration
"of independence. They did not seem
"disposed, at that stage of the proceed-
"ings, to break up their meeting and
"retire from the chapel. One of their
"number rose and requested them to
"do so, but others called on the meet-
"ing to keep their seats. The Sacred
"Music Society then took forcible pos-
"session of the pulpit, and thereupon
"a general battle commenced, which
"seems to have been waged with con-
"siderable violence on both sides, and
"resulted in the usual number of broken
"heads and benches."

This fracas was followed, on the 10. and 11., by extensive and destructive riots. The friends of the blacks were denounced as fanatics, whose objects were the immediate emancipation of the negroes, and the promiscuous marriage of the two races. *Mobs*, composed of the *very dregs of the whites*, attacked the churches, the dwelling-houses, and the stores of the prominent abolitionists, which they gutted and robbed: they also attacked the dwellings and the *stores of the leading coloured people*, destroying their furniture and *stealing* their goods. The civil force being unable to check the career of the rioters, the mayor of the city called out the *military*; and the united powers succeeded, on the night of the 11., in putting an end to the most flagrant and *most disgraceful* outrages that ever occurred in the United States. The military paraded the streets during the day and night of the 12.: they were all furnished with *ball cartridge*, the magistrates having *determined to fire* upon the *mob*, had any fresh attempt been made to renew the riots. *Dr. Cox*, whose church and house were gutted, and Mr. *Tappan*, whose house and store were entered and robbed, seem to have been the chief sufferers by these riots. Happily no lives were lost.

The *Daily Advertiser* estimates that the total amount of property destroyed is not less than 20,000 dollars. *Seven churches* have been attacked, and all more or less injured; twenty private houses have been stripped, and as many *poor families* of black people have had their *property destroyed*. Many black persons were obliged to remove *their furniture* and other effects, and seek safety in flight. The conduct of the black population, generally, throughout these disorders has been of the *most exemplary kind*.

Now, reader, there are no mobs in America, and the man who writes this would get his bones broken if he were there and called the people mob. There are no "dregs of the whites." The blacks and mulattoes have no "stores," stores being great shops. There are no "military" in our submissive and servile language: they are militia coming from their own homes with their own arms. It is a lie to say that the magistrates had determined to "fire upon the people." A magistrate threatening to do it would have been hanged up at his own door. There was nothing "*disgraceful*" in the conduct of the people, who went the shortest, the most effectual, and the most humane way to work to put down these mischievous men. The blacks have no furniture and property worth speaking of; and as for this "*Dr. Cox*," he told the people that JESUS CHRIST *was a negro*; and if a little tar and feathers were too much for him, I think it strange.

At the very pretty town of NEWARK in New Jersey, which is on the west side of the north river, a scoundrelly missionary got up into a pulpit, and, like the villain of NORWICH, endeavoured to persuade the people that the two colours ought to be united by marriage. The Jersey men were not so gentle as those of Connecticut: they took the scoundrel, while he was turn-

ing his eyes up in a hymn, tossed him and the black fellow out into the street, tore up the benches, pulled down the pulpit, and demolished every thing inside of the building, and then the windows and doors; drove the beastly blackguard out of the town, with an order never to show his face there again.

It cannot be true that seven churches were destroyed in NEW YORK, or attacked. It must be seven meeting-houses, and those for the blacks most likely. At any rate, *the question is settled* in the United States; for, if this is the treatment of the fellows in the *north*, what would it be in the *south*? It has been stated in several of our newspapers, that a most magnificent hypocrite of the name of THOMPSON has sailed for South Carolina, for the purpose of preaching sermons on the text of our King's speech! A good voyage to the hypocrite and *safe arrival*, with all my heart. If he ever should return to England, he will smell of tar to the last hour of his life.

I must not conclude without a word or two on a commentary of the *True Sun* newspaper on these transactions in America.

"The New York papers of the 15. "of July bring accounts of certain most "*disgraceful riots*, which had just oc- "curred in that city, and which were "scarcely quelled at the moment the "last packet sailed. The object of the "rioters was to scare the advocates of "slave emancipation from their bene- "volent purpose. The institution of "slavery in North America has long "been the opprobrium of the United "States, and many have been the sneers "at Republicanism with which that "unfortunate circumstance has fur- "nished the enemies of America. The "institution of slavery, however, is as "abhorrent to the spirit of Republican- "ism as it is to the feelings of ordinary "humanity. The *institution of slavery* "*in the United States* is, *in fact, a di-* "*rect and gross violation of the funda-* "*mental principles of the American* "*constitution*. Slavery exists in the "United States, not because the United "States are Republics, but because they "are *not a perfect Republic*. Slavery, "moreover, was created in the United "States by the English Government— "by the same power which created "slavery in our West India Colonies. "For the existence of slavery, therefore, "the citizens of the United States are "not responsible; but they are unques- "tionably responsible, and deeply too, "for the existence of *those habits of* "*thinking* which have given birth to "the *infamous outrages* which are re- "corded in our paper to-day. We had "thought that the influences of *educa-* "*tion exercised in America* a more pow- "erful sway than in any other quarter "of the world We are sorry to find "ourselves mistaken, but instead of "referring, as Whigs and Tories in this "country will be apt to do, the preva- "lence of brutal prejudices to the pecu- "liarities of the American form of go- "vernment, we may rest assured, that "but for the mitigating influences of "the general spirit of the political in- "stitutions of the United States, we "should, in the circumstances, instead "of riots, unattended by the loss of life, "be reading of massacres and confla- "grations on as great a scale as any which the history of despotic and aristocratic states records."

This SUN, though doubtless very TRUE in its movements, is not always quite so full of light as I could wish. These "*riots*," as you call them, Mr. *True Sun*, were not "*disgraceful*," any more than it was disgraceful in the Israelites to fling out the accursed thing from their camp. But, how came you, sir, so deeply read in legislative and constitutional lore, to make this capital mistake; namely, "that the institution "of slavery in the United States of "America, is, in fact, a direct and gross "violation of the fundamental princi- "ples of the American constitution": how came you, sir, to blunder upon this monstrous assertion? The second section of that constitution not only recognises the institution of slavery, but gives the slave-owners votes in proportion to the number of their slaves, allowing five slaves to reckon for three free men; while the ninth section allows

of the *slave trade*; that is to say, *of th importation of slaves from Africa* Thus it is, sir, to talk without book and a very good way this is where ther is no book, but not where there is a book.

And what may you mean, sir, by thos "habits of thinking," of which yo speak? Habits of thinking, I suppose that a stinking creature of a black fellow is not a fit person to be married to a white woman; and you lament that their "*education*" does not reconcile them to this mixture of colours. To the honour of the women of America, such a thing as a white woman having carnal communication with a black man is never heard of. Seldom does it occur that such communication takes place between a white man and a black woman. There are, doubtless, many instances of this; but I never knew of but one, and in that instance the man was an Englishman: he worked for me in Long Island; the black wench said she was with child by him; he did not deny the fact, and I turned the brute away What a contrast, in this respect, between the American women and the English, whom we see strutting along the streets, hanging on upon the arms of nasty black men, whom, on a hot day, you may smell a hundred yards off. When I used to relate this in America, the women there would not believe me. I do not believe that I ever prevailed upon one to believe the fact, common as it is here to our deep and indelible disgrace.

Now, before quitting the subject entirely, let me desire the reader to observe how completely cant and spite have outwitted themselves, and how firmly resolved the Americans are, not to be enslaved or duped by us. They suffered these cracked-skull-hypocrites to go ranting about, without notice taken of them; but the moment they saw us emancipating, they concluded the gabbling devils to be missionaries from the THING, and they resolved to stifle them at once. Where these fellows are thus knocked about there is no slavery at all: all the blacks are free; but these sagacious people saw how the troublers would work southward; and, looking upon them as missionaries from the malignant and pestiferous THING, they resolved to crush them at once, and crushed them they have.

WM. COBBETT.

SUSSEX MAGISTRATES.

OH! OH!

THE following pretty story, for which we are very much obliged to the writer of the letter, does not shut out the hope of my discovering something about the BATTLE conspiracy against me. There was a great galloping backward and forward to London and to-and-again to BRIGHTON; and they tell me stories about a man and his frow, and of their pretty sayings, that will be very musing, if ever the whole thing should ome to light. I honour Sir CHARLES BLUNT for the part which he has taken upon this occasion. More will come to ight yet of this sort.

To the Editor of the Brighton Guardian.

SIR,—I have read the report, pubished in the *Sussex Advertiser* on the 7. inst., of the debate which took place in the magistrates' room on the subject of Lord de la Warr's motion for a vote of thanks to Mr. Mabbott, as also the article headed "From a correspondent." The first I affirm to be a very unfair and garbled detail of those proceedings; and the latter, calculated to lead the public to a conclusion very favourable to the noble Lord's motion, and equally unfavourable as to the motives of its opponents.

It is necessary that I should here state hat Messrs. Cohen, Phillips, Gold, and Hallett, were the only strangers in the room during the debate, the three first named taking notes of the proceedings; nd if the report published by your coemporary was furnished by any one of hose gentlemen, it has undergone such lterations and curtailments that it leaves ittle resemblance to the original; and he only speeches reported at length, nd with any degree of accuracy, being

those of Mr. Courthope, Mr. Sergeant D'Oyley, and Mr Gear, the three gentlemen who supported the motion, I am directly led to the conclusion that your cotemporary's "correspondent" was a person officially present at the meeting, and that the report of the debate has been cut and trimmed to suit his or their purposes, and to accord with the observations of your cotemporary's anonymous correspondent.

The following are quotations from the latter of the two documents I have above noticed:—

"The speakers against the motion "thought the prosecution against the "publisher only made more public "that, which if left unnoticed, would "have passed into oblivion, and been "unattended with any injurious effects; "and they also opposed the motion on "the ground that it was an implied "censure upon those who supported the "petition of Mr. Cohen for a mitigation "of punishment. Thus we find in the "minority five members of Parliament "opposing a vote of thanks to Mr. "Mabbott, because they thought the "same *implied a censure* upon their "parliamentary conduct." Again, "it "was expressly, unequivocally, and dis- "tinctly stated, that no such *censure* was "intended. The supporters of the mo- "tion only claimed a right of expressing "to their brother magistrate, Mr. Mab- "bott, *their* approbation of his conduct, "a similar privilege having been exe "cised by the opponents in supporting "the petition."

The first assertion, as regards myself, is unfounded. I opposed the motion because I considered it to imply a censure upon myself for dissenting from the policy and the *justice* of the prosecution. I stated that, in my opinion, I was justified in the first objection by the result, and that the second and main ground of dissent rested on the defendant having, in my judgment, offered an atonement adequate to the offence, when he made Mr. C. Cavendish, Mr. Curteis, Mr. Kemp, and myself, the channel of a written communication to Mr. Mabbott, stating that he, Mr. Cohen, was not the author of the libel, but merely the publisher of the offensive article—that it came late to his office, was inadvertently inserted, and that he was ready to apologize and retract whatever it contained offensive to the magistrates. It was upon this ground that I stated in the House of Commons that the prosecution ought not to have taken place; it was for this reason that I could not concur in the vote of thanks to Mr. Mabbott: and viewing in that vote an implied censure upon the magistrates who disapproved of the prosecution, I opposed the motion and moved the amendment.

Your cotemporary's correspondent, it would appear, considers the *justice* of the measure as wholly unworthy consideration, and altogether omits that point of my argument, and it is rather a curious coincidence, that both Mr. Courthope and Sergeant D'Oyley, who spoke at such length and with such great ability, should have also passed over unnoticed and disregarded this main ground upon which my dissent rested, namely, Mr. Cohen's appeal to the merciful forbearance of a powerful body of prosecutors.

It is further said to have been expressly stated, that no such censure was intended. It is true that the noble lord early in the debate, in explanation, said that "he had strenuously endeavoured "so to word his motion as not to imply "any censure;" but then the noble lord in his opening speech stated, that the vote of thanks arose from "certain ex- "pressions made use of by certain hon. "gentlemen in the House of Commons, "tending to show that the prosecution "of Mr. Cohen was one that reflected "disgrace on the prosecutors; and that "it would be difficult to conceive that a "body of gentlemen could sit down "under an accusation like this." And the same noble lord, in his reply speech, further stated, that in consequence of my having reiterated the opinion before expressed, "he was sorry he had excluded "every thing but a vote of thanks from "his motion." Now, I put it to any dispassionate judge, whether the caution observed by the noble lord in framing his motion, coupled with the regret sub-

sequently admitted by him, the fact of his having gone to that meeting prepared with notes of my observations in the House, together with the tone and substance of the speeches of the two learned gentlemen, Mr. Courthope and Mr. Sergeant D'Oyley, are collectively in accordance with the positive assertion of your cotemporary's correspondent, that "It was expressly, unequivocally, and distinctly stated, that *no* "censure was *intended*." I am still of opinion it was; but a candid and open avowal of such a motive would not have been in accordance with the character of the rest of the proceedings of that self-constituted committee.

Having stated as briefly as possible the reasons I gave for questioning the policy and justice of the prosecution, I proceed to make a few observations upon its origin and progress.

It appears that in November, 1832, thirteen visiting justices, including Mr. Partington, the liberal and learned chairman of the Quarter Sessions, assembled at Lewes for purposes connected with the jail. At this meeting one of the magistrates (Mr. Seymour, I believe) produced from his pocket the *Brighton Guardian* paper containing a libel on the magistracy of Sussex; a discussion followed, and the result was, that those thirteen gentlemen decided to prosecute the editor, *formed themselves* into a prosecuting committee, and selected Mr. Mabbott to be the active agent. Thus the very first step was of a character to create suspicion. If the avowed object had been the sole and real one, the regular course would have been, either to enter a notice on the agenda and have submitted the measure, (which was one of a public character, as well as one of the most delicate and the most questionable of any that can constitute the subject of a prosecution,) for consideration and adoption at the ensuing general Quarter Sessions, or by some other means to have taken the sense of the magistrates upon the subject. But to return to the progress of the prosecution. The next step of this committee was to draw up and sign a resolution; and this document was then made the ground of an application to the Government to take the prosecution out of their hands. Mr. Mabbott and another gentleman had two personal conferences at the Home Office, which ended in the noble Lord then at the head of that office positively declining to make it a Government prosecution, but agreed to defray the reasonable expences, should the *magistrates of Sussex* decide upon prosecuting, and were of opinion that a Sussex jury would convict. This resolution, I conclude, was made known to the committee; and Mr. Mabbott received instructions to return information to the Home Office, that all the magistrates, with the exception of one (Mr. Gear), had no doubt about the jury; and he concludes the communication by observing, that the magistrates were all of opinion that "*no opportunity should be lost to suppress the Guardian newspaper.*"

I will not trust myself to make any comment upon this hitherto hidden object. It at once dispels the cloud that has rendered the course pursued by the committee so indistinct and so unusual; it accounts for the rejection of Mr. Cohen's offered atonement, and well accords with that part of the sentence which imprisoned the defendant in a jail of a distant county and far removed from the office of his paper.

In addition to the aforegoing, I shall merely observe that I am authorised to state that the part taken by the Government in this, I must still think, disgraceful affair, was pursued under the impression that the committee expressed the sentiments of the body of the magistrates, not aware that it was a self-constituted committee and had never been sanctioned by any public notice or special public proceeding; and that the fact of Mr. Cohen's not being the author of the libel, together with his offer of atonement, were withheld from the knowledge of the Government.

Feeling that I could no longer, with the confidence and satisfaction essential to the discharge of a very responsible duty, continue to act with gentlemen whose views of justice so essentially differ from my own, and who have fur-

ther thought proper to seek their own justification at my expense, it was with very great reluctance and regret, and because I could see no other course left open to me, that I resolved to cease to act as a magistrate; and in order to b wholly absolved from the responsibility of the office and the control of self-constituted committees, that I have made application to the Lord Lieutenant, respectfully requesting that my name may be erased from the commission of the peace for this county.

I remain, sir, yours obediently,
CHARLES BLUNT.
Heathfield Park, 30. July, 1834.

POOR-LAW BILL.

By the time that this comes from the press, this bill will be out of the hand of both Houses of Parliament; but it will not be out of my hands, as long as I have health in my body, until it be repealed. It will require some little time to consider what proceedings to adopt with regard to it; but if I do not hang upon its skirts, no house-dog ever hung upon the skirts of a thief. As soon as I possibly can, I will get ready the POOR MAN'S BIBLE, and then we shall see how far this bill squares with the precepts and commands of God.

FLOGGING OF SOLDIERS.

MILITARY AND NAVAL FLOGGING.

AT a public meeting held at the Court Hall of the ancient town of Rye, on Monday the 28. of July, 1834, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon,

William Ramsden, Esq., Mayor, in the chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.:—

1. That this meeting do view with concern and regret the continuance of the practice of flogging in the British army and navy.

2. That their sentiments relative both to general humanity and the national policy of this country induce them to exercise every lawful and rational means in their power for the abolition of the same.

3. That in order to effect this desirable object, it is expedient forthwith to petition both Houses of Parliament.

4. That the following petition be adopted:

To the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the ancient town of Rye, in the county of Sussex, and its vicinity,

Showeth,—That your petitioners do not wish to encourage insubordination in the army or navy.

That your petitioners do not think the punishment of flogging is the most effectual means of obtaining the subordination required, inasmuch as that the wisdom of Parliament has seen fit to reduce the amount of that punishment, and also to restrain it to particular cases of delinquency.

That your petitioners view with horror and disgust the barbarous scenes which have been exhibited in cases of flogging, and that your petitioners do humbly presume to think that when such punishment is inflicted, it is productive of more evil than good. That the notorious offender is not likely to be reformed by it, and that the inadvertent culprit may be hardened so much in his crime as to make him reckless of punishment. And besides which, they deem the effect of it not to rest entirely with the individual receiving the infliction, but to extend to the whole of the persons in his Majesty's service in the army and navy of this kingdom who by law at present are liable to the punishment, by putting a character on those services which they ought to be too honourable to bear.

That without imputing improper motives to those who hold commissions in his Majesty's army and navy, your petitioners do consider it probable that circumstances have occurred and will occur, so as some individuals might be

subjected to the punishment of flogging without deserving the same.

That this impression has taken such fast hold on the public mind as to prevent persons entering the army and navy from motives of honourable ambition, and to be at variance with the humane feelings and best judgment of the people of this country

That without requesting your right honourable House to take example from other countries, your petitioners beg that the effective means of preserving discipline in the army and navy of this country may be distinct from the present practice of flogging; that they hail with pleasure the announcement made in Parliament by a high authority of an inquiry into the matter by a commission to be appointed; but humbly hope that the report of that commission will induce your honourable House to entirely abolish a practice which your petitioners cannot view but with horror and disgust, inasmuch as they consider it at once barbarous and impolitic.

That while the most salutary laws have been enacted by your honourable House for the extinction of the brutal system of corporeal punishment in our West India Colonies, and also the most benevolent measures adopted for the protection of the brute creation from cruelty,—your petitioners greatly regret that the human species of their own blood and their own country should not have received that protection to which your petitioners think they are justly entitled.

And for which your petitioners will ever pray.

5. That Captain Curteis, M.P., be requested to present the petition to the House of Commons; and that the honourable member be further solicited to obtain the service of some patriotic peer to present that addressed to the House of Lords.

6. That these resolutions be inserted in the *Brighton Guardian* and such London newspapers as the committee may think fit; that a subscription be entered into for paying the expense of the same and other necessary charges attending this business; and that Messrs. R. W. Butler, Jeremiah Smith, James Russell, Robert Alce, William Ellenden, Stephen Lindridge, David Manser, sen., and John Blundell, do form such committee with power to add to their number. (Signed.)

WM. RAMSDEN, Chairman.

Resolved: That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Ramsden, Esq., the Mayor, for his kindness in convening and presiding over the same.

POOR-LAW BILL.

THE following excellent letter is taken from the *Newcastle Press.*

TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE, GATESHEAD, AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Friends and Fellow-countrymen,

Although I have thought fit to inscribe the following address to all of you, thus generally, I wish to be distinctly understood, as not only chiefly expecting, but as chiefly seeking the attention of the working classes, and of such others only of their wealthier neighbours as being of a wiser and better mind than others of their own degree, are able to discern and venerate the claims of justice, with relation to their poorer countrymen and brethren. The notice of the rest I little wish, and still less hope for. Their very existence I would willingly, in such a case, forget; for though I am not able to respect them, I do not wish to scorn them, and would, most willingly, escape the sharp temptation which their conduct generates, at times, at least, to hate them.

Friends and fellow-countrymen, the best and noblest portion of our English constitution, is now, indeed, and vitally endangered. The principle, the sacred fundamental principle of English legislation, and of social order; the principle that every man, who, whether from misfortune, from disease, or otherwise is found unable, by his labour, to maintain himself, shall be assisted at the public charge, in due proportion to such actual inability; this sacred principle, which lies beneath the very basis of our social structure, is sought to be insidi-

ously abolished and subverted. It is for you, the people, to defend this principle, according to your own appreciation of its value. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say, that although, by the favour of fortune, I am myself amongst the class of those on whom it constitutes a charge, and who may never, according to all human chances, expect to need participation in its benefits, yet still I prize and estimate this portion of our ancient polity above all other parts of it. I was so taught by parents, who, in their turn, before, had similarly learnt from theirs. I was so taught by parsons of that church which holds, of late, far other notions upon points of public right and private duty, until at length no vested rights or interests are held inviolable, except the rights of kings to taxes and of priests to tithes. I must, however, faithfully adhere to my old notions. I still must think the people's interest in the constitution is solely through the medium of the poor-laws I still must deem the crown and aristocracy to be chiefly useful to the public weal, as guarantees for the continuance of this most wise, humane, and Christian policy and legislation. I trust they will be found indissoluble. I pray that one may not survive the ruin of the other. But should the fates or heaven refuse to grant the object of that prayer, I think it were not hard for statesmen to conjecture, which is the portion of our institutions that is most likely to survive the others, or, if unhappily, awhile subverted, most likely, early, to revive again.

However this may be, my friends, this portion of our public policy—this grand characteristic—this splendid, this magnificent peculiarity of English life and English laws—this glorious distinction of a long-glorious land, is now, in circumstances, perilous and critical in the extreme. A bill has passed! aye, passed through all its stages in your said-to-be reformed parliament: I shame me for the share I had in such reform—and has been read, after a fruitless opposition, a second time before the Lords, which will, if passed into a law, not openly repeal the letter, but totally destroy the spirit of this Poor-Law system—will render it, indeed a mockery—a scourge—a curse.

The objects of this measure, too, are no less hateful than are its obvious effects and tendency; they are no other than to undermine that system which its open foes dare not, too openly, assail by law, although they do not blush to openly calumniate it. The whole affair is but a covert approximation of the beastly Malthusians, the impious economists, towards the consummation of their most abhorred designs. It is the second stage in their insidious progress; for Sturges Bourne's Bill constitutes the first, towards the pious politic and Christian end, of leaving sickness, poverty, and age, and infancy to "nature's charity." How dare they mention nature with their unhallowed lips?

Observe, my friends, I do not charge these views and motives upon the movers or supporters of this bill in Parliament. I charge them only on that too notorious sect of meddling and destructive theorists, which seems, by very dint of impudence alone, to have misled the legislature into, I will not say the adoption of their execrable principles and views, but into the adoption of so many of their fatal measures. I charge them on those vain and barbarous economists, too many of them lawyers, and some of them, alas! are parsons: I charge it upon these, who acting partly as prime-movers and partly as machines or instruments; who partly as commissioners, and partly witnesses and prompters, have laid the plausible foundations of this half-mad, half-execrable project. Yes, these are they on whose suggestions, poor-laws, even though administered by hireling overseers, and often, I regret to state it, by interested and by partial magistrates, are deemed too rich a patrimony for the English poor! On their suggestions therefore are we soon to see a band of hired commissioners assembled round a CENTRAL BOARD, and building CENTRAL WORKHOUSES, or Central PRISON-HOUSES, rather, for our wretched poor. In these most prison-like receptacles, they are to order, or are, at any rate, at liberty to order, the

miserable inmates to be dressed in prison-house costume, or else to wear some badge equivalent in point of insult and of cruelty, for being poor! And finally my friends, to cap this climax of unnatural horrors, is womanhood itself throughout the labouring classes of the land, at first most falsely, barbarously and infamously slandered; and next, abandoned utterly, without protection or redress, to all the arts and powers of profligate seducers; in lieu of whom, it seems they are to bear all single and alone, the total consequence in every kind; the cost, the sorrow, and the shame!

Is this my friends, mere folly, or mere madness; or is it blasphemy, iniquity and murder? Alas! I fear it is the latter. There is a terrible and systematic method in this madness of the heart, which speaks a reason and motive, shameful though they be, for all these prodigies and portents of a monstrous legislation. The men whose theories are thus at length to be invested with the sanctions and the power of law, contemplate nothing less than countervailing nature, and limiting the numbers of the human race! They set up anti-population schemes against religion and the word of God; they bid men to fall down and worship this obscene and hideous object of their own idolatry; they worship him themselves with human sacrifice, and bring before his altar as its proper victims, a throng of helpless infants, of unhappy women, and of infirm, decrepit, and diseased men! alas! my friends, there are still darker horrors, which decency forbids me to do more than glance at, behind the curtain of this varnished scene. Monsters of wickedness as well as prodigies of folly, there are amongst the foul projectors of this purposed law, no want of men acquainted with those horrible inventions of accursed science, which teach to kill the very germ of life before it blossoms—to blight the fruit and fruitfulness of human nature! The subject is too horrible.

Proceed, ye great reformers of the human race! Proceed, and render earth once more a paradise; not verily of men, but devils.

A public meeting is intended to be held, in order to oppose the progress of this dreadful measure upon an early day. I do regret exceedingly that I shall be so far from home as to make my own attendance there a thing impossible. I take this method, therefore, to make known my feelings, and leave it, confidently, to yourselves to say, if yours and mine do not agree. If I may venture to advise you, my advice is this. Send forward a petition to the lords, and tell them this is not the way, whoever says so, to preserve their own estates, or to perpetuate their titles. Send forward, also, an address to the King, beseeching him most earnestly to finally withhold his sanction, should the Peers unhappily adopt the measure. Do these things, then, my friends, *effectually and well*; sign them quickly; sign them in multitude, and doubt not you will find your countrymen in general prepared to stand by you, for good and evil, in driving back to hell, from whence it came, this spawn of an unnatural and infamous philosophy.

Believe me to remain, my friends and fellow-countrymen, your ever deeply obliged and much admiring friend and servant,

CHARLES ATTWOOD.

Whickham, 7. August, 1834.

P.S. It affords me pleasure to observe the opposition rendered to this bill by Bishop Phillpots. Could I suppose the Bishop would regard my praise or censure, I would, respectfully, return him my most grateful thanks.

TO PARSON MALTHUS.

On the rights of the poor; and on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the poor.

(Concluded from page 379).

" We love good beer very much. " And we will work for barley and " make malt; and we will grow hops; " and we will make our beer for three

"half-pence a pot. We will go to the "sea-side and rake up our salt, which "will not cost us more than sixpence "a bushel. We will get our tea, "sugar, coffee, and tobacco, from Ame- "rican ships, for a tenth part of what "they cost us now. We will get some "wine and brandy from men, whom the "society-people call smugglers. We "will get some rushes and dip them "into our fat, and make us candles. We "will boil up our grease and steep our "ashes, and make us soap. All these "things, and many more that I can "name, are perfectly agreeable to the "law of nature, and are only forbidden "by the laws of society, with which, in "future, thank God, we are to have "nothing to do; and our savings, which "will arise from this change, will be so "great as to put us out of all danger of "future want.

"We shall soon have a little farm in "the family; and, though we may owe "something for a while to the man who "may sell us the farm, it will soon be "our *own*. No contributions from us. "You, who will perhaps be the parson "of the parish, shall never put your "head over our gate, nor poke your "nose into our pig-sty. You may be "useful to the *society*, perhaps; it may "think it wise to keep you and your "wife and children in idleness; but *we* "want nothing of you, and therefore we "shall keep the tenth part of the crop "to ourselves. If we should want a "priest, we will engage him and pay "him for his work.

"As to personal service, as soldiers or "sailors, we shall not need to waste our "time and strength and to hazard our "lives in that way. We shall be always "able to defend ourselves against any "body that can be supposed likely to "attack us. The safety of the society "is nothing to us. There may be riots "or rebellions or treasons or invasions "by dozens for any thing that we need "care. Your proposition frees us from "all *duties* towards the society, since it "frees the society from the *only duty* "that it had to perform towards us. It "is impossible for you to point out one "single advantage that society ever "offered us, save and except that of "giving us food, in case we were wholly "unable to earn it for ourselves. And "the society having freed itself from "that duty, we owe it no duty at all; "and no duty shall it have from us."

Reply to him, Parson! Reply to John Chopstick! And yet John might have gone much further; for, it will be denied by no man living except a parson, that if such an act of *outlawry* were passed against the labouring classes, the bonds of society would, as to them, be wholly broken. They would have a right to recur to the laws of nature, and to take every man of them, whatever lands and houses and goods he was able to take. The doctrine of *natural allegiance* is, that every man is bound to be faithful to the sovereign, to aid, assist, and obey him; and *for what*? Because every man receives *protection* from the sovereign; and, that he contracts the obligation of allegiance *before he is born*, because he is *protected before he is born*. But you, hardened and impudent Parson, are for passing a law to *cast him off before he is born*, and for leaving him "to the *punishment of nature*."

You see the labouring classes heavily *taxed*; you see part of the money raised from them given to swarms of lord and lady pensioners; you see the children and other relations of the boroughmongers supported in idleness out of the taxes; you see whole families of women and children upon the list of splendid paupers; you see every parish with its priest's wife and her litter of children, living on the tithes; you see millions of the people's money given away to French emigrants, some laymen, and some Popish clergy; you see hundreds of millions of taxes squandered on war for the restoration of the Bourbons, and a debt, which never can be paid, contracted for the same purpose, and that of restoring the pope and the inquisition; and seeing all this, you who are a Prosestant priest, have the infamy to affect to believe, that the miseries of the nation are occasioned by the *labouring classes*, and, accordingly, you propose to *punish them!*

If you had not been a shallow and muddle-headed man, you never could

have supposed, that the increase of the paupers in England had been caused by the practice of affording parish relief, seeing that, at the end of *two hundred years* of that practice the poor-rates amounted to less than *three hundred thousand pounds a year*; that, at the end of another *eighty years*, they amounted to *two millions and a quarter*; and that, at the end of the last twenty years before you wrote, they amounted to about *five and a half millions* a year. Seeing that such were the facts communicated to you by authentic records, any one but a mud-headed parson, or a perverse knave, would have looked about him for causes of the increase other than the practice of giving parish relief. When any rational and sincere man had seen, that this practice of giving relief had, in the first two hundred years, not debased the people and made them improvident; when he had seen, that, during the last hundred, while the increase of taxes had been gradual, the increase of paupers had been gradual, till the enormous taxes began to be raised; and when he had seen, that the last twenty years had been so very fruitful in producing paupers; he would soon have looked out for the real causes in operation during those several intervals. But, to have stated these causes would not have pleased the boroughmongers, who had imposed the taxes, and who had livings to give to prostituted priests; and therefore, you pitched upon the *labouring classes*. They were to be *punished* for the rapacity and waste of those who had tyrannized over them, and brought them to misery. The cause of the increase of paupers has been *taxation, co-operating with a false money*. But, as this has been proved so many times, I will not now prove it again. Amongst the labouring classes there want no more proofs of this kind. *They* now know the real causes of their misery and slavery.

As to your notion of *danger* from an increase of the population of the kingdom, it is too absurd to merit serious remark; seeing that, at the end of a thousand years of the kingly government, there remain *six or seven acres of land* to every man, every woman, and every child! However, in order to expose the follies and falsehoods of the boroughmongers as to this matter, I will here make a remark or two on it. These tyrants caused what they called an *enumeration* to be taken in 1801, and another in 1811. The tyrants wanted to cause it to be believed, that the people had *increased in number under their sway*. This would have been no *proof* of an absence of tyranny to be sure; but, at any rate, it would have been a proof that the number of their slaves had augmented. They were extremely eager to establish this proof; and to work they went, and at last put forth the population return of 1801, which made the total population of *England alone* amount to 8,331,434. Now mind, parson. In 1811 they caused another enumeration to be taken, when they made the population of *England alone* amount to 9,538,827. Bravo! Impudent mountebanks! Here is *more* than a *seventh* of increase in ten years! So that, at this rate of going on, the population of *England alone* will, in 1851 (only 32 years from this time) amount to 16,292,527; and at the close of this present century, if their *paternal* sway should continue to that time, the population of *England alone* will amount to 27,891,000. Oh! monstrous liars! And this is not all: the increase must be much greater than this; for from 1801 to 1811 were ten years of most bloody war, when not only many men were killed, but when *two hundred thousand* of the men, and those of the most efficient of papas, were always *out of the country*, either on ship board or in foreign lands. Impudent liars! The boroughmonger sway began in 1688; and if the population have gone on increasing only since that time, the population at that time could not have exceeded 2,000,000! Talk of "our Creator" indeed! The boroughmongers are the most active creators that this world ever heard of.

The second return is made very nicely to keep pace in most of its parts with the first. The *houses*, *families*, all increase in very *exact* proportion. But

there is one difference in the mode of making up the *lie*, which is worthy of attention, and which blows up the whole mass of cheatery. In the first return the persons were divided into three classes as to *occupations*, as follows:

1. Persons employed in agriculture	1,524,227
2. Persons employed in trade, handicraft, and manufacture	1,789,531
	3,313,758
3. All other persons	5,017,434

This was a damning fact for the boroughmonger system! Here were almost *two idlers* for every *one working man!* No wonder that the *labouring classes* were *oppressed!* No wonder that they were *starving!* I, in my *Register*, very often observed upon *this fact*. Therefore, when the *second* return came to be made out, care was taken to *suppress this fact*, and yet to preserve an appearance of fairness. The classes, as to *occupation*, were now stated in *families*, and not in *persons* as before.

1. Families employed in agriculture	697,353
2. Families employed in trade, handicraft, and manufacture	923,588
	1,620,941
3. All other families	391,450

This is a pretty change in the space of ten years? To be sure the families of idlers are the *most numerous*; but what a monstrous difference is here! They must amount upon *an average* to nearly 20 persons in a family, while the labourers, journeymen, farmers, and tradespeople amount to little more than *two* in a family, including *lodgers*; so that there could have been no children at all amongst these labouring classes! Take heart, parson! There can be no fear, then, of *their* overstocking the land! Oh, foolish parson! Oh, lying boroughmongers!

The returns were *ordered* by *boroughmongers* and *executed* by *parsons*; and, of course, no truth could be expected to be found in them; but the falsehood might have been *better disguised*. This band, or rather, two bands, of liars, should have remembered the old rule: "when you have told a lie upon any subject, *never speak on the same subject again!*" In 1801, there were 3,313,758 persons of the labouring classes; and, as the increase upon the whole population was, in 1811, a *seventh*, these labouring classes would, in 1811, contain 3,787,029 persons. But this last return states them in *families*, of which the return says, that there were (in 1811) 1,620,941. So that, in 1811, there were, amongst the labouring and trading classes, only *two* and a *third part of another*; to each family, *including lodgers*; or only *seven persons* to *three families*!

Now, boroughmongers and parsons, take your choice; was the first return a lie; or was the second a lie? Both. It has all been a lie from the beginning to the end. It is a mere fabrication to delude, deceive, cajole and cheat the nation and the world; and the money expended to propagate the cheat ought to be, every farthing of it, refunded by the cheaters, and given back to those labouring classes, from whence the greatest part of it was taken, and to whose detestation I now leave you, Parson Malthus, and your foolish and insolent performance.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR OF STEWART'S DESPATCH.

(From the Dublin Stewart's Despatch.)

Sir,—As you have thought proper to publish a comment which appears in Mr. Cobbett's last weekly *Register*, on certain remarks made by me at the last meeting of the shareholders of the agricultural and commercial Bank of Ireland, I trust you will also publish the following reply to that gentleman. I am,

Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS DIXON.

Abilene, August 5, 1834.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

Sir,—As you now seem disposed to discuss the merits of the proposed agricultural and commercial Bank of Ireland somewhat more temperately, I am induced to rely on your candour while I reply to the remarks in your last *Register*, so far at least as they refer to a speech of mine delivered on a recent occasion.

And in the first place, I trust you will be ingenious enough to admit that, to say the least of it, you were mistaken in stating that " a million of men " were necessary, according to the rules of the prospectus, to carry into effect the objects of the proposed establishment. The fact is, that the persons who have hitherto subscribed have taken from five to three hundred shares each, the average number taken being about twenty-five by each subscriber. Judging from present appearances, therefore, it is probable that the number of shareholders will not exceed forty thousand, or the twenty-fifth part of one million.

But you have challenged me to prove how the people of Ireland can gain by lending " bits of paper " among themselves, and taking interest for the same from one another.

This is the question with which you desire me to grapple.

Now, sir, it is matter of notoriety that the capital of the Bank of Ireland, which amounted originally to six hundred thousand pounds, has been increased by its own profits to three millions; that the one hundred pound shares, deposited when the establishment was formed, are this day worth two hundred and twenty-two pounds, although the proprietors have, from time to time, received large bonuses, one of which was paid a few years ago, amounting to twenty-five pounds a share, and notwithstanding they have been paid an average of nine per cent. per annum from the period when the bank was formed.

It is well known that other banks have been equally, and some of them more successful; thus, clearly establishing the fact, that enormous profits have been made, and I might add are still making, by these establishments throughout the country.

Now, sir, I cannot imagine why the proposed " scheme " should not succeed, at least as well as any of its predecessors. You, I fancy, are not the man to deny that forty thousand persons subscribing a million of money are as likely to obtain and deserve public credit, as any half dozen or half score of persons would be, who put in their claim to public confidence. It was never pretended that the " whole people" were to " profit by lending paper money to themselves." Wild as you think us, we were not quite so visionary as to suppose that every man and woman in Ireland, rich and poor, who had twenty shillings to spare, would be likely to join the undertaking, but we were anxious to give to the lower and middling classes an opportunity of participating in the profits arising out of a business in which by reason of their scanty means, they have hitherto been unable to engage, and we are encouraged to hope that we shall thereby induce them or some of them to acquire a stake in the country, which however small will be to them important—will give them a lift in the social scale, and attach them to that social fabric which, no wonder, if in their present wretched condition, they are less anxious to uphold than to destroy. But, sir, as you will not be content, unless I go the whole length of your own hypothesis, I will suppose that *every* man and woman in the country owning property, were partners in the trade " of issuing bits of paper " among each other, or of discounting bits of paper for each other, and why may not *they* gain thereby, provided they can find a safe, profitable, and available investment, no matter where, for their gold, which these bits of paper would represent ? Five sovereigns will, when thus invested, yield me five shillings a year, and if (having always occasion to carry five pounds, or their representatives in my pocket) I can make use of a bit or five " bits of paper," instead of five bits of gold, who will deny that I thereby save as much money as the gold will annually produce when

invested in the manner aforesaid? What is true in reference to five pounds holds good were the amount five millions.

Nor is it necessary that this same nation of bankers should issue only as much paper as they can pay in gold, for these "bits of paper" may, and you know daily do, represent other kinds of property as well as gold; and all this may be done by "the whole people" with a degree of security which no private banking company could ever hope to possess, and hence it follows, that the greater the capital subscribed, and, what is, perhaps, still more important, the greater the number of subscribers, the less fear of a run will there be in seasons of commercial difficulty. Were the entire community formed into one vast banking company, could not they, by their agents, transact the business as well, and as there would then be no fear of panics (the dread of small companies, realize profits as large as those which are now exclusively enjoyed by the several smaller companies composed of wealthy capitalists, and who form a part only of the aggregate body? You should bear in mind that we have here nothing but paper-money, and all we expect is either to substitute our notes for others now in circulation, or what is, perhaps, more probable, to make some addition to the present currency, of which Ireland has too little, or certainly has comparatively much less than England or Scotland.

I have now only leisure to add, that if, instead of impugning our motives, and pouncing upon us as your prey, you will meet us in the field of fair and open combat, we shall give you a hearty welcome to our hospitable shore, and treat you with that deference which a person possessing your gigantic powers of mind will, under such circumstances, have a right to expect at our hands

I am, Sir.
your obedient servant,
THOMAS DIXON.

August 5, 1834.

BERKHAMPSTEAD SCHOOL.

HERE again there is some pretty parson-work. I have no time to comment on it. I am very much obliged to the gentleman who sent me the papers, and who tells me that a petition on the subject was to be presented on Tuesday last by Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT; but of which petition I heard nothing, though it might be presented. I should like to know who this Mr. DUNCOMBE is, and where he resides?

Extract from the Minutes of the Relators and Committee of the Berkhemsted Free Grammar School, 21. February, 1834.

King Henry the Eighth, in the 33rd year of his reign, granted to John Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, letters patent, dated the 14. October, 1541, to erect and found a free grammar school within the town of Berkhemsted, for "the "teaching of youth with all kind of "good learning, to the number of not "exceeding 144"; for which ample grants were made, directing after the necessary expenditure, the residue to be paid to the poor of the parish of Berkhemsted. This was confirmed by an act of Parliament passed in the 2nd and 3rd of Edward the 6th. Under these authorities a master and usher were appointed, and the Warden of All Souls, Oxford, Visitor of the School, investing him with power to admonish the master and usher, and to discharge either of them, if they fail in the execution of their office. The right of appointing the usher is vested in the master; which said master and usher are sole trustees of the estates. In the year 1805, the present master, the Rev. T. Dupré succeeded his father. In the year 1811, *Mr. Duncombe* (brother-in-law to the master) was appointed receiver of the rents and profits of the school estates: from the time of the said appointment, to 1832 (a period of 21 years), the rents and profits of the estates, extracted from the verified accounts of Mr. Duncombe, amount to the sum of £15,645 4 1½

The expenditure being, for the same period, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Repairs of the School, the Master's and Usher's Houses	1711	16	11
Salary to the Master....	5993	10	6
N. B. He has now 250*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* per annum, an excellent residence, with all Government and parochial assessments paid.			
Salary to the Usher	2991	19	6
He has 125*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* per ann., a suitable residence, with the like payment of Government and parochial assessments.			
Salary to the Receiver ..	530	1	5½
In addition to this salary the interest at 5 per cent., of the balances retained to the period of this account, amounts to 247*l.*			
Government & Parochial Assessments	946	0	4½
Including an annual payment of 1*l.* 17*s.* 4*d*, quit rent, and stamps for receipts.			
Law Proceedings	2711	8	8
Incidental Expenses	142	4	5
Balance in the hands of the Receiver on the 5. of April, 1832	618	2	3½
	£15645	4	1½

During which period of twenty-one years not one boy was taught, or any money paid to the poor of the parish of Berkhemsted, and an attempt has lately been made to expend a large sum in altering and beautifying the master's house.

On the 21. of October, 1833, by the injunction of the visitor, the master was compelled to resume his residence at the school, from his living at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire; and about the 20. of December last the usher, from his residence near Cheltenham, attended at the school for a few days previous to the holidays, for the first time since his appointment in the year 1818: he has since resigned. At present there are nine boys in the school, the admission of scholars being limited by the master to the children of residents in Berkhemsted, and the course of education to the classics exclusively.

J. Crofts, Rector.
J. C. Brown, Curate.
Granville D. Ryder.
Augustus Smith.
J. Hyde.
Archibald Campbell.
J. Steel.

Further extract from the Minutes of the Relators and Committee of Berkhampstead Free Grammar School. 21. July, 1834.

Soon after the publication of the former extract, which briefly set forth the original purpose of the above noble foundation, the misgovernment of the same, and the recent amount and appropriation of its revenues, an opportunity offered for opening a communication with the master, the Rev. Thomas Dupré, and a disposition having been evinced on his part to come to an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between himself and the public, after a long and rather laborious negotiation, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter, all difficulties appeared at last to have been surmounted.

The result was, an undersranding that all parties should, apply in concert to Parliament for a new act, without which it is the conviction of the relators no effectual remedy can be applied to the defects incident to the original foundation, or any permanent security obtained for its future good management. It was at first hoped, that an act might have been procured during the present session, and an application was made to Lord Shaftesbury on the last day for presenting private bills, with the view of obtaining an extension of the time allowed by the standing orders of the House of Lords for the introduction of, such measures, but his lordship did not consider the bill as one of sufficient importance to entitle the parties to the indulgence asked.

A further agreement was in consequence entered into with the master for at once carrying into effect the provisions of the proposed act, and the relators and committee had the satisfaction of reporting to the public, on the 19. of May, the terms of an arrangement, which had been assented to by the master, for the immediate opening of the school,

and which appeared highly advantageous to the public, and equitable in respect of the master's interests.

This report announced that the master had consented "to yield the point of "confining his instruction exclusively "to the classics, and to introduce a more "comprehensive and useful system of "sound English instruction," on condition that an additional usher be provided to teach the scholars writing, arithmetic, and the elements of mathematics, such branches of tuition being rarely required at the hands of teachers entrusted with the classical departments. The salary of this assistant was to be paid out of the surplus funds of the charity, for which appropriation a joint application was to be made to the Court of Chancery, and a provision further introduced in the contemplated act of Parliament, the members of the committee in the mean time undertaking to guarantee the amount of the first year's salary, that no time might be lost in opening the school through the want of such an assistant.

The report above alluded to went on to state, "Your committee have, in "concert with the master, drawn up "the course of studies to be pursued by "the scholars, who shall be admitted "into the school, which has been for- "warded to to the visitor for his con- "sideration and sanction (which it re- "ceived). They have further made "arrangements for the supply of such "books and other school necessaries as "may be required on the cheapest and "most advantageous terms, and they 'cannot avoid taking this opportunity 'of impressing on the minds of parents 'the indispensable necessity of their 'children being provided with these 'articles, if they intend them to derive 'any real benefit from the instruction 'gratuitously afforded by this endow- 'ment. It being further necessary that certain regulations should be laid 'down both on this and other points for 'ensuring the most effective manage- 'ment and discipline of the school, as 'far as existing circumstances will 'admit, a table of these has likewise "been drawn out in concert with the "master, which are submitted for "your approbation and concurrence. "Your committee are further willing, "should such be your desire, to continue "to co-operate with the master for the "removal of any difficulties that may "arise, on such principles as may be "fair and equitable to the rights and "interests of all parties concerned. "Your committee, in conclusion, ex- "press their earnest hope, that a spirit "of good-will may at length be finally "established between the master and "inhabitants of Berkhampstead gene- "rally, and take this opportunity of re- "cording their satisfaction at the dispo- "sition now evinced on the part of the "former to meet the desires of the pub- "lic. It is almost needless for them to "remark, that without the existence of "such a good understanding and conci- "liatory temper, the benefit which the "inhabitants of this town and neigh- "bourhood expect their children to de- "rive from a useful, moral, and reli- "gious education, under the auspices of "the present master and usher, must, "in a great measure, prove abortive."

This report, and the proceedings mentioned therein, had the full concurrence of the master, who was not only treated by the committee with the utmost candour and confidence, but became a party to all their measures, and from time to time suggested various alterations. An assistant usher was immediately engaged, and the opening of the school announced to take place on the 2. of June. On that morning the committee assembled at the master's house, the assistant usher being present, when 38 scholars were formally admitted by the master in person, and their names entered on a register, 31 of whom were resident in Berkhampstead parish, (to whom it had been agreed a preference should always be given), 4 from the adjoining parish of Northchurch, and 3 from Chesham and Wingrave parishes, in the county of Buckingham. On being enrolled, a sum of 10*s.* 6*d.* was paid to the master in advance by the parents of each boy to be credited to his account for books, and a like sum was received by him from 14

other boys from the parishes of Netdleden, Chesham, and Aylesbury, whom he of himself admitted on a subsequent day. The school continued in operation for three weeks, till the period agreed on for the commencement of the summer holidays. during which short period the progress made by the boys gave general satisfaction, and redounded much to the credit of the assistant usher.

The relators and committee at last began to flatter themselves, that such a good understanding had been established as to prevent the recurrence of any further difficulties, and now directed their attention (still in concert with the master), towards the carrying of such measures through the courts, as were necessary for the substantial repair of the building, and the introduction of an act of Parliament as early as possible in the ensuing session. It was, therefore, with equal pain and surprise, that intimations of a change of purpose on the part of the master, reached them on the separation of the school for the holidays: unwilling to give credit to them without confirmation, two of the relators waited on Mr. Dupré on the 29. of June, when to their astonishment, he deliberately stated it to be his intention to recede from all the engagements into which he had so solemnly entered with the committee, and to open the school on such terms of pecuniary advantage to himself, and on such a system of instruction, as to him might seem expedient. A circular issued by him a few days after, put the matter beyond all further doubt, by which it appears that the benefit of an English education will be denied to all who refuse to pay an annual sum of five guineas, and that none will be admitted as scholars on the foundation unless resident in Berkhampstead parish, and the free instruction of these will be confined solely to the classics.

The relators and committee hesitate to characterise, as they conceive it deserves, such a deliberate violation of a most positive and solemn engagement, but their duty compels them to lay before the public a plain statement of the above-mentioned facts, as well as the course of proceeding which they feel immediately called upon to adopt, in consequence of the evident utter impossibility of effecting by any other than legal means, however tedious and expensive, the redress of long-existing abuses.

No time has been lost in submitting a full statement of what has taken place to the visitor, the Warden of All Souls. A similar report will be forwarded to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln; his lordship having been lately pleased to grant Mr. Dupré a license of non-residence on his living of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, in order to enable him to discharge his duties as master of this free grammar school. Petitions to the Court of Chancery will also be presented at the earliest period possible, praying such a decision from the Lord Chancellor as will leave it no longer in doubt, what kind of education ought to be afforded by an institution originally founded "that the "King's subjects might be garnished "and adorned with all kinds of good "learning," as well as "to teach grammar freely." The right of the master to limit the admission to residents in Berkhampstead, will, at the same time, be mooted. Steps are also taking with a view to prevent the master from carrying into effect the plan announced by his circular. Inasmuch as he is required to perform his duties, "without any exaction or request of money," it is conceived that he can have no right to appropriate to his own private emolument a public institution confided to his trust for a specific purpose, for the execution of which he receives a handsome salary, with many other advantages. One great end the committee have always had in view, has been not only to prevent this noble institution being any longer shut up, but also that the course of education afforded by it should be of such a character as would be of real benefit to the inhabitants of a country town like Berkhampstead, and of the neighbouring districts. They have been anxious, therefore, that the instruction here imparted should be especially suited to the sons of persons engaged as principals in various branches of trade, agriculture,

etc., and above all to prevent its sharing the fate of many large endowed schools in the kingdom, where, owing to the style of education introduced, the children of those moving in the upper walks of life, and with whom large yearly stipends are paid, have too frequently supplanted those, to whom a sound, useful education, superior to that now generally attained by such persons, would be of infinite service, while they have naturally the strongest claim in justice to the enjoyment of it. There is also every reason to believe that it was for such persons this school was formerly available.

The committee in giving this faithful narrative of the proceedings which have thus far ended in the delay of a final arrangement, to carry into execution what appears to them the intention of the founders, must leave it to the public to determine how far this disappointment can be imputed in any degree to them, because when acting with frankness and honour themselves, they would not anticipate the display of opposite qualities in those with whom they had to deal.

The committee have only further to report, that inasmuch as the present engagement with Mr. Scott, the assistant usher, cannot be dissolved, and books and stationery to a considerable amount having been purchased, it is proposed that those boys whose parents are so disposed, should avail themselves of his instruction, while the questions at issue are under legal process; and being desirous that this tuition should be afforded with as little expense as possible to the parties, who must have been subjected to some inconvenience, as well as disappointment, by the conduct of Mr. Dupré, the committee have resolved to raise the salary of the assistant usher, by private subscription, so that the scholars will have no other charge to bear than that of the necessary books.

J. CROFTS, Rector.
GRANVILLE D. RYDER.
AUGUSTUS SMITH.
J. HYDE.
R. STEELE.
HENRY LANE.
NOAH NEWMAN.

RUN FOR GOLD!

Friday morning.

I TAKE the following very important article from the *Times* of this morning. My readers will not be *surprised*. I have not time for comment.

Allusion was made a few days back to the circumstance of a delay in the publication of the periodical return of the assets and liabilities of the Bank of England. This return has since been made, and from its very nature and complexion it is not perhaps extremely difficult to assign the true causes of the original delay. The Bank, as was observed on the former occasion, is in the practice of making 12 returns of the state of its affairs in the year, of which eight embrace a period of four weeks, and four of five weeks each. The returns that embrace five weeks are those which are made in February, May, August, and November. The return, therefore, in last Tuesday's *Gazette* is incorrect, because it extends only to the 29. of July, and it ought to have extended to the 5. of August. Whether the blame of this faulty return rest with the Bank or the Government is not easy to determine, but if the Bank really did, in the first instance, make a return which extended only to the 29. of July, this return, in regular course, would have appeared in the *Gazette* of the 1. of August. The probability therefore is, that the Bank made out the account in the usual way, and up to the regular period of the 5. of August, in which case it might have appeared in the *Gazette* of the same evening, and at all events could not have been delayed beyond the 8. of August. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is presumed, not liking the appearance of the return, sent it back to the Bank, and desired an account to be made out which should extend no further than the 29. of July, which alteration naturally delayed the publication beyond the usual period. Hence two things are wrong: first, the

publication is delayed; and when the publication is made, the account is garbled, not taking in the full regular period.

Now to assign a motive for this procedure. It is very well known, because they have frequently been adverted to of late, that very recently there have been large exportations of gold to America and other parts, and of course the later the period to which the account of the bank should extend, the greater would be the effect of this exportation in reducing the apparent stock of bullion in the bank. This may or may not be the true solution; but one thing at least is certain, that the return is false, because it is a deviation from an arrangement prescribed and settled by an act of Parliament. It is for the parties, therefore, if what we state is incorrect, to set the public right by assigning the real cause. Until they do, the belief of some such motive will prevail.

The clause in the bank charter which provides that after the 1st instant Bank of England notes shall be a legal tender, is beginning to produce the effect which was anticipated by men who had considered the subject. The country bankers being no longer obliged to pay in gold, have in many instances allowed the branches of the Bank of England to get possession of the whole, or nearly the whole, of their stock; and this gold the branch banks send up to the parent Bank, in order that the latter may be enabled to make a grand display of bullion in its official returns. But while all this is going on, and the country is gradually robbed of its gold for the purpose of sending it up to London, *if any one tenders a 50l Bank of England note to a branch bank and asks for gold, he cannot get it, and is told that if he will bring one of their own branch notes they will give him gold, but that they cannot give gold for a Bank of England note but on payment of a premium of ⅛ per cent.* Thus the fact comes out, short as the time is since the clause of the act referred to has been in operation, that in many parts of the country there is already an agio on gold; and this cannot fail soon to become general.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A friend in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any *leisure*. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see anybody, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to where I am to be found, that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call there, find me there, but *engaged*, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me: for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the Doctor Johnson, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of the conduct of the persons in this house for several years, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

Friday, August 8, 1834.

INSOLVENT.

MACKINNON, D., Fitzroy-street, Fitzroy-square, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MESSENGER, F., Liverpool, corn-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CROWTHER, W., Sans-buildings, Islington, apothecary.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

DRAGE, J., Northampton, horse-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALVEN, F., Walbrook, ostrich-feather-merchant.
MASON, S., Ashby-de-la Zouch, Leicestershire, workhouse-master.
MILTON, M., Brick-street, Mayfair, Piccadilly, horse-dealer.
SKEATH, W., Davies-street, Berkeley-square, saddler.
STOCKWELL, W. jun., Bristol, basket-maker.
TARRANT, W., Bathwick, Somersetshire, coach-maker.
THOMAS, R., Wapping, potato-salesman.
THOMSON, R. and J. Dixon, Bolton-le-moors, Lancashire, iron-founders.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

JAFFRAY, W., Letham, Fifeshire, grazier.
MACKAY, H., Glasgow and the West Indies, merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

INSOLVENTS.

KENSINGTON, J. L., Mincing-lane, merchant.
KESTERTON, J., Camberwell, coach-builder.
SEDDON, W., Eccleston, Lancashire, flour-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BICKERDIKE, G., Huddersfield, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNETT, J., Tottenham-street, Fitzroy-square, copper-plate-printer.
CATTARAL, W., and W. Hinde, Liverpool, drysalters.
COLVIN, A., W. A. Bazett, D. Colvin, T. Anderson, and D. Ainslie, Calcutta, Bengal, merchants.
DUNNE, J., and T. Smith, Liverpool, merchants.
ELMORE, R., Bankside, coal-merchant.
LUCAS, G., Denmark-hill, Camberwell, coach-master.
MORGAN, J., jun., Bristol, silversmith.
MORRIS, W., and W. H., Princes-street, Leicester-square, and King-street, Hammersmith, feather-dressers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DOUGAL, W., Stirling, flesher.
DOW, A., Leith, silk-mercer.
PORTEOUS, R. and D., Haddington, iron-mongers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 11.—We have been this morning liberally supplied with Wheat from Essex and Kent, and several fresh samples arrived from Suffolk. A good proportion of the bulks consisted of new qualities, a few of Wheats were fine and in good condition, but the most part cold, and many coarse, and generally deficient in colour. The weather yesterday and to-day proving extremely fine, the trade opened without animation, at a decline of 1s. to 2s. on fine old Wheats, and 2s. to 3s. on new qualities; a fine parcel of new Essex, weighing 65½lbs. brought only 58s; and at the close of the market not more than 57s. could have been obtained. Fine runs of old red, realized 53s. as a top quotation. At this decline several sales were effected, but the currency finished heavily, being noted 2s. cheaper for old Wheat, and 3s. to 4s. for new samples. In bonded Wheat nothing doing on speculation, though for export a little inquiry existed at low figures.

New Rye met inquiry for seed at from 36s. to 38s.

Barley continues in very limited supply, and during the last week we have had no arrivals from England. To-day there were few samples offering, and those mostly Scotch and Irish, and some inquiry existing for grinding qualities, prices must be noted 1s. dearer than this day week. Bonded qualities meet attention and prices steady.

Malt dull at last week's improvement of 1s. to 2s. per quarter.

The supply of Oats was small, and the trade heavy, dealers and consumers exhibiting little inclination to purchase beyond their immediate wants. Free Oats, however, were held on higher terms, and purchases could not be made under an advance of 6d. to 1s on last Monday's rates. Bonded Oats were quite neglected, and might have been bought on lower terms.

Beans came very sparingly to hand, and supported Friday's improvement of 1s. per quarter.

Peas were also scarce, and the few samples offering maintained their previous currency.

The Flour trade ruled dull, and though the top price of the best town-made remained at 47s. to 48s., yet the advanced prices of ship qualities were barely maintained.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	48s. to 52s.
—— White	50s. to 58s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	46s. to 54s.
—— White, ditto	48s. to 56s.
—— West Country red	46s. to 50s.
—— White, ditto	52s. to 54s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	44s. to 48s.
—— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rotoshire red	43s. to 46s.

—— White, ditto	48s. to 54s.	
—— Irish red	40s. to 44s.	
—— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.	
Barley, Malting	—s. to —s.	
—— Chevalier	—s. to —s.	
—— Distilling	30s. to 32s.	
—— Grinding	28s. to 31s	
Malt, new	—s. to —s	
—— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s	
—— Ware	58s. to 64s	
Peas, Hog and Gray	36s. to 40s	
—— Maple	40s. to 42s	
—— White Boilers	45s. to 49s	
Beans, Small	34s. to 38s	
—— Harrow	3.s. to 37s	
—— Tick	32s. to 36s	
Oats, English Feed	21s. to 23s	
—— Short, small	23s. to 25s.	
—— Poland	23s. to 25s.	
—— Scotch, common	22s. to 25s.	
Potato	25s. to 27s.	
Berwick	21s. to 26s.	
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	23s. to 21s.	
—— —— Potato	23s. to 25s.	
—— —— Black	22s. to 21s.	
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s	
Flour, per sack	45s. to 48s.	

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
—— York	38s to —s.	
Cheese, Dble Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
—— Single ditto	44s to 48s.	
—— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
—— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, August 11.

This day's supply of Beasts was but indifferent both as to numbers and quality; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and, for the time of the year, Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, somewhat brisk; with the middling and inferior kinds dull, at fully Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90⅝	90⅞	90½	90¾	90½	90¾

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR,

On his reported Speech in the House of Lords, on the 21. July, on the Poor-law Scheme

LETTER II.

Normandy Farm, 18. Aug., 1834.

MY LORD,

LONG as my first letter was, it did not, and it could not, contain one-half of what it was my desire to address to your lordship on this most interesting and most ticklish subject. Since I published that letter, and, indeed, since the Lords' amendments of the bill were discussed in the Commons, I have received information, which, had it been received before the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons; and had I been able to attend at the time in my place in the House, would, I verily believe, have stopped the progress of this ill-timed measure, which is now looked at with alarm, even by its supporters in the House to which I have the honour to belong. This information has been sent me from NOTTINGHAM. It is, as your lordship will see, the report of a trial in that town at the last Lent Assizes. And this report shows the effects which this bill is likely to produce.

Your lordship was pleased to eulogize Mr. Parson LOWE of the parish of BINGHAM, in the county of NOTTINGHAM; and to say, that, if there were a Mr. LOWE in every parish, then this board of commissioners would be unnecessary and uncalled for. The words of your reported speech are these: "He admitted "that if it could be shown that every "parish in England contained a Mr. "LOWE, or a Mr. Litchfield, then the "establishment of a board of commis- "sioners was unnecessary and uncalled "for, but in the absence of such proof "he must contend that the proposed "plan was essential for the formation "and preparation of rules and regula- "tions that could not by any individual "parish be deviated from."

Thus, then, your lordship expresses your approbation of this parson LOWE; and, let us again see (for we never can see too often) what was the system of this parson LOWE. Lord ALTHORP reproved me one day for my *repetitions*. I know the value of repetitions I know the good effect of repetitions; and, meaning no offence to his lordship, only differing from him in point of taste, I will repeat here a small part of my first letter. In that I told your lordship, that COWELL, the poor-law commissioner-runner, gave us the following description of the excellent system of Parson LOWE. "Knowing that it was impos- "sible to refuse relief according to the "practice and custom of the country, he "devised means for rendering relief "itself so irksome and disagreeable that "none would consent to receive it who "could possibly do without it, while at "the same time it should come in the "shape of comfort and consolation to "those whom every benevolent man "would wish to succour—the old, in- "firm, idiots, and cripples. For this "purpose he placed in the workhouse a "steady, *cool-tempered man*, who was "*procured from a distance*, and was *not* "*known in the parish*, as master, refused "all relief in kind or money, and sent "every applicant and his family at once "into the workhouse. The fare is meat "three times a week, soup twice, pud- "ding once, milk porridge five times." Then he goes on to say; "*The man goes* "*to one side of the* house, *the wife to the* "*other, and the children into the school-*

"*room.* SEPARATION IS STEA-"DILY ENFORCED. Their own "clothes are taken off, and the uniform "of the workhouse put on. No beer, "tobacco, or snuff, is allowed. Regular "hours kept, or meals forfeited. Every "one must appear in a state of personal "cleanliness. NO ACCESS TO BED-"ROOMS DURING THE DAY. No "communication with friends out of "doors. Breaking stones in the yard "by the grate, as large a quantity re-"quired every day as an able-bodied "labourer is enabled to break." He tells us, that "the labourers SOON "CONTRIVED TO GET WORK, *at* "*twelve shillings a week, winter and* "*summer*, and that the whole parish "was well off."

COWELL, the runner, adds to this, that the poor *were all become contented and happy*; and that they even found fault with those who applied for relief. This story was so incredible, that I pronounced it to be a lie, at once; as base and infamous a lie as any of those which the poor-law commissioners, with the two bishops at their head, have thought proper to send to the House of Commons *against me*, and which are now in print, in virtue of a motion for printing them made by Lord ALTHORP, and of which base and infamous lies and libels his lordship and the House have not yet heard the last.

I showed your lordship that, on the reason of the case, COWELL must be a liar; and, indeed, the reports made to us are a tissue of lies. I showed, as clear as daylight, that that which he reported, was impossible to be true. This, however, was the result of reasoning. I now have the facts; and when I have stated them, your lordship will see by what means it is that you have been deceived into that course of conduct which is calculated to produce so much mischief in the country. It is you and Lord ALTHORP that have been the main cause of passing this bill. What was said by BROUGHAM, or by WELLINGTON, or by GREY, did not at all surprise me; but that YOU, that you, always so just, always so considerate, always so humane, should have been the defender of a project for the adoption of which Parson LOWE's system was to be cited as an argument.

COWELL tells you (and you believe COWELL) that the system produced harmony, peaceable demeanour, plenty, happiness, and content, throughout the parish of BINGHAM. Now, my lord, please to hear. At the very time that Lord ALTHORP was laying COWELL's report upon the table of the House of Commons: at that very time (as if God had ordained that the cruel recommendation should be blasted in the bud;) at that very time THE CORN-STACKS OF PARSON LOWE WERE BLAZING FROM FIRE PUT TO THEM BY A LABOURER OF THE PARISH OF BINGHAM; AND AVOWEDLY BECAUSE PARSON LOWE WOULD NOT ALLOW HIM RELIEF WITHOUT PUTTING HIM INTO THE WORKHOUSE! FIELDING, in order to give us the picture of the discomfiture of some one, imagines a case of a quack doctor, who, in the midst of his harangues in praise of the infallibilities of his medicines, should see the dead body of one of his patients brought and tossed upon his stage. Something like the feelings of this doctor must have been those of your lordship, if the report of the trial of GILBERT had been brought and laid upon the table before you while you were eulogizing the conduct of the *Reverend* Mr. LOWE, the *christian* minister of the parish of BINGHAM in Nottinghamshire!

I now lay the report of this trial before you, taken from the *Nottingham Review* of the 21. March, 1834; and when you have read it, I trust that you will be convinced that, as to this matter, at any rate, I am right and you are wrong. Never, considering the circumstances, was there a more interesting, or more important document put into print.

"STACK-BURNING AT BINGHAM.

"*William Gilbert*, aged 24, was "charged with having feloniously set "fire to a stack of straw, and a stack "of wheat, at Bingham, the property "of the Rev. Robert Lowe. Mr.

"Whitehurst called William Hemstock, "baker, who said that on Wednesday "evening, Jan 15, he had been baking, "and he looked at the clock, it was "half-past six; he went to the win- "dow, and observed a fire in the direc- "tion of his orchard, he went out of "doors immediately, and saw that it "was Mr. Lowe's stacks, which were "about two hundred yards distant; "there is only a ditch between the "orchard and the stack-yard; Mr. "Strong's house was at the opposite "corner of the crossing to his house; "he saw no one standing there. Cross- "examined by Mr. Willmore: It was "dark, he saw a man and a woman near "the church; had not been at the "window before.—John Parrott lives "about a mile from Bingham, and the "road from his house to Bingham is up "the Church-lane, which passes Mr. "Lowe's stack yard, it is separated "from the lane by a hedge, which had "gaps in it; the stack yard is a corner "of the Butt close fenced out; he was "going to Bingham that night, and it "was about a quarter past six when he "got to the gate out of the Butt close "into the lane, he remembered the field "he was in when Bingham clock struck "six, and he found afterwards that it "took him a quarter of an hour to walk "from there to the lane; he met the "prisoner, William Gilbert, in the lane, "about four or five yards from the "gate, Gilbert was walking briskly "towards the path that leads to Scar- "rington; it was about fifteen yards "from the stack yard, and in the direc- "tion from it, it was rather dark; he "at that time thought he saw a man, at "a little distance, but he believes it "might be a horse, that stands in a "close; he spoke to Gilbert, and said "it was a fine night, when Gilbert got "past, he said, yes, it was, or something "of that sort; he thought it was "Gilbert, and the day afterwards, Gil- "bert admitted it was him; witness "asked if he knew who it was that was "standing in Chettle's close, where he "thought he had seen the man stand- "ing, the prisoner said he did not; "witness said that it was very extra- "ordinary, as there was only a few "yards between them. He went on "towards Bingham after having met "the prisoner, he went close past the "stack-yard, the hedge is high, but it "is thin; if the stacks had been blazing "he could not miss but have seen them; "he went to the basket-maker's, and in "fifteen or twenty minutes heard an "alarm that Mr. Lowe's stacks were on "fire. Cross-examined: The stack "that was burnt was not nearest to the "hedge, but there was another between "it and the lane; if it had been on fire "low down, he might not have seen it. "—James Harrison was with John "Jackson on the night in question, and "going down Cherry-street, in which "the prisoner lives, he saw the prisoner "about half way down the street; it "was about half-past six; he was "coming in a direction from the stack- "yard, he was running; he spoke, and "said, "Yon's Lowe's stacks on fire," "and passed on; they could see the "light of the fire then; witness and "Jackson went to the fire, only the "wheat stack was on fire, and only two "people there. Cross-examined; There "were many people standing opposite "the stack yard, and durst not go in; "had seen the fire burning, but did not "suppose it was the stacks imagined "it was rubbish in a garden.—Thomas "Gilman, bailiff to the Rev. Robert "Lowe, went down on the night in "question, the corn stack was on fire, "and the straw stack was a little burnt. "It was about half-past six, there were "nearly a couple of hundred people "trying what they could do to put it "out.—Thomas Thorlby knows the "prisoner and Fearn; was at work in a "brick-yard at East Bridgford about "three or four weeks before the fire; "Gilbert and he were getting clay, "Fearn came up, and after some con- "versation, he said he should like to see "Lowe's stacks on fire, and Lowe and "Crook in the middle of it. The morn- "ing after the fire, heard the prisoner "say to witness's wife, that he was not "very well, he thought a walk would "do him good; witness was getting "up; his wife said to the prisoner

"'You had better stay a bit, and I will "'make you and your master a cup of "'tea'; witness got his breakfast, but "the prisoner refused, and did not go "to work. Cross-examined. The pri- "soner made no answer to what Fearn "said, he had worked for witness three "years, and *always a very honest lad.* "—William Huckerby, clerk to Messrs. "Tallents and Barnaby, proved having "made a sketch of the situation of the "premises: it is 170 yards from the "church to the stack-yard, and 50 yards from thence to the gate into Butt "close.—William Taylor, Esq., one of "the committing magistrates, proved "the prisoner's examination before him "on the 16. of January, at Bingham, "he said it was true, but declined to "sign it.'—William Huckerby proved "a second examination on the 20. of "January, at Bingham; and Edwin "Patchitt a third examination on the "5. of February.—The judge at great "length asked the cause of these "different examinations, which it ap- "peared were in consequence of com- "munications that the prisoner himself "made. The examinations were then "read, the first of which did not mate- "rially bear upon the question, but that "he had been walking in the direction "of Church-lane, he stood for some "time at the corner of Cherry-street, he "saw Mr. Hemstock get out at his "back door, and heard him call out that "Mr Lowe's stacks were on fire. On "the second occasion the prisoner said "that he and Fearn met on the Tuesday "evening about half-past six o'clock "near the church, and that Fearn com- "plained he had no work, and could "get no relief except by going into "the workhouse; that they agreed to "meet again the following evening, "when Fearn said he would set Mr. "Lowe's stacks on fire; they met ac- "cordingly, and went up to the stack- "yard, he saw Fearn against the fleaks, and then he went , and stood at "Strong's corner, expecting every "minute to hear the alarm of "soon afterwards he saw the blaze. On "the third occasion, he stated that "about three weeks before the fire, "Fearn came to Doncaster's brick-yard, "and asked Thorlby for work; Thorlby "said *he had not got work for his own* "*sons*; Fearn then complained that "*Mr. Lowe would not allow him relief* "*out of the workhouse,* and he wished "*that Lowe's house was on fire,* and he "*and Crook in the midst of it.* About "a week before the fire, as he was re- "turning home from work, he saw "Fearn before him, that they went on "together, and that Fearn got over a "style, into a field belonging to the "Rev. Mr. Hutchins, he saw Fearn "strike a light, and set fire to a stack "On the afternoon before the fire, that "he and Fearn agreed to meet at Pil- "grim's, they went into the tap-room, "and had a pint of ale; they conversed "together in an under tone of voice, so "that other persons could not hear, that "Fearn proposed that they should go "then, and set fire to Lowe's stacks; "they agreed to meet at six o'clock, at "the church gates, then Fearn went "out, and left the prisoner to drink up "the ale. At five minutes past six, he "went to the church gate, and was "there first; in two or three minutes "Fearn came up, and appeared to have "been running; Fearn said he would "go and set fire to Lowe's stacks, and "he, the prisoner, followed; he met "Mr. Parrott, and he passed him a few "yards, and then turned again; he "looked and saw Fearn, they got into "the stack-yard, Fearn went up to the "second stack in the first row, it was a "wheat stack, and a straw stack close "to it: Fearn took out of his pocket a "round tin tobacco box with some "tinder, he took out a flint and steel "and struck a light; he had a bunch "of matches and lit them, he lifted up a "sheaf, and set fire to it, the prisoner stood close by; when he had seen this, he the prisoner went away, and left Fearn in the yard. He assisted after- "wards in putting out the fire, and "about half past eight o'clock he saw "Fearn in the stack-yard and asked if he had helped to put out the fire, Fearn said he had not, and that he wished it had been Lowe's house. The prisoner then stated that he was

"so much distressed in his mind, that "he could not go to work the next "morning, and he had been so uncom- "fortable ever since that he could not "rest.—The prisoner being called on "for his defence, said that he was not "guilty; Samuel Brown, watch-maker, "Bingham, gave him an excellent cha- "racter; William Doncaster said that "he was the owner of the brick-yard in "which Gilbert worked, he had known "him for many years, and had always "found him a good character, only that "he was not quite so bright as he might "be.—The Rev. Robert Lowe, the "prosecutor, stated that he did not "personally know the prisoner, but he "had learnt on inquiry that he bore a "universal good character.—The learn- "ed Judge summed up the evidence "with great minuteness—Guilty—but "the jury recommended him to mercy. "The Clerk of the Arraigns having call- "ed upon the prisoner to know what he "had to say, why sentence of death "should not be passed on him, that he "should die, according to law, the pri- "soner declared that it was Fearn who "did it. The Marshal of the Court "having made proclamation for silence "during the passing of sentence of "death, under pain of imprisonment, "the learned Judge placed the black "coif on his head, and passed sentence "as follows:—'William Gilbert, after "'a full and faithful inquiry, you have "'been found guilty—['It was Fearn'] "'—you have been found guilty of "'wilfully and maliciously setting fire "'to a wheat stack and a straw stack, "'the property of the Reverend Robert "'Lowe ['I am innocent, it was Fearn "'that did it']. It matters not whether "'you were the person who actually "'set fire with your own hand, or "'whether you were standing by, aid- "'ing and abetting; in the eye of the "'law you are equally guilty ['Fearn "'done the job']. This offence has "'unhappily now become so common "'in this country, that the comfort "'and security of society actually re- "'quire that wherever the guilt is esta- "'blished, the severest measure and "'penalty of the law shall be inflicted. "'I cannot hold out to you the slightest "'hopes of mercy in this world; let "'me therefore advise you, as you your- "'self led the way to your own con- "'viction by the compunctious visit- "'ings of your own conscience, still "'further to listen to those admoni- "'tions, and to apply to that Maker, "'whose laws, as well as the laws of "'man, you have so grievously vio- "'lated; and as there is no hope of "'mercy in this world, let me entreat "'you to make your peace with God by "'penitence and prayer, that Almighty "'Being who can reconcile mercy to "'justice; nothing further remains for "'me, than to pass the final sentence "'of the law, which is that you, Wil- "'liam Gilbert, be taken from hence "'to the place from whence you came, "'and from thence to the place of exe- "'cution, and that there you be hanged "'by the neck until you are dead, and "'may God of his infinite goodness "'have mercy on your soul.'—Through- "out the passing of the sentence, he "continued to utter exclamations that "he did not do it; he appeared to be "amazed at the verdict, but did not "exhibit any of those deep indications "of concern which his awful situation "would seem to require. As he was "going away from the bar, he called "out, 'It was Fearn did it.'"

Now, my lord, will not that make you sorry for having given your support to this bill? I hope it will; and I wish I could hope that you, like the honourable member for Knaresborough, would plainly and clearly state that sorrow to the public. Here we have a warning given us by deeds, not by words. Here are two men belonging to the parish of Bingham, and here is one of them confessing before a magistrate that he was *without work; that* Lowe *would not allow him relief, unless he would go into the workhouse, and that he and his companion, who was in the same state, and in the same mind, went and set fire to* Lowe's *stacks.* Here is the cause, and here is the effect imme-diately following it!

And my lord, was this a [illegible]? Was this one of those sturdy, lazy,

wretches that your friend the Lord Chancellor described? Was he a profligate fellow? Was he a *bad* man in any respect whatsoever? No; none of these. He was a *good* man. Samuel Brown, a watchmaker of the town of Bingham, gave the prisoner an "*excellent character*." William Doncaster said that he was the owner of the brick-yard in which Gilbert worked; "he had "known Gilbert for many years, and "always found him a good character." Even Lowe himself (and your lordship may guess at his motive) said, "that "he did not personally know the pri- "soner, but that he had learnt, on "inquiry, that he bore a *universally* "*good character*." Is there not here enough to make you doubt, at the least, of the wisdom of passing such a bill as this, when you see a labourer of the very best of characters, taking revenge on account of the system which you so much eulogize? Is there not enough to make you fear that my forebodings are but too well founded?

It appears (for I believe Gilbert) that he himself did not put the fire to the stacks; but, according to his own confession, he was aiding and abetting. It appears that it was Fearn who actually set the fire. But it also appears, that Gilbert not only assented, but aided and abetted. Fearn's complaint was, that he was able to get no work. That he applied for work to a Mr. Thorlby; that Thorlby could give him no work; that Fearn then complained that Lowe *would not give him relief out of the workhouse*, and said, "that he wished that Lowe's house "was on fire, and that he and Crook "were in the midst of the flames"! And who was "*Crook*," that he was to be burnt too? Oh! this Crook was the "steady, *cool*-tempered man, who "was *procured from a distance*, and "who was *not known in the parish*." Faith! Crook would not have been very *cool*, if Fearn could have had his prayer; and your lordship remembers that those who had so much power and riches in France before the revolution were not very "*cool*" in their bodies, or in their mansions, whatever their *tempers* might be, when once the country labourers had been driven to madness.

Nothing can make this case more complete than it is: it is a case which, as the lawyers say, "marches upon all fours"; it is defective in nothing: it is the *hand-writing upon the wall*: it is a warning, apparently sent by Providence, for the express purpose of preventing this bill from being put into execution, or from being attempted to be put into execution; and I pray God that the warning may not be despised!

The above report of the trial reached me on the 13. instant, in a letter dated at Nottingham on the 12. I send your lordship, by post, that letter signature and all, and I describe at the bottom the *profession* of the writer. I shall insert a copy of the letter here, observing that the writer is a gentleman of the highest character in all respects whatsoever, an honour to his honourable profession, and, as to justice and benevolence, surpassed by no man that ever lived. I do not *publish* his name, merely because he does not absolutely tell me to do it, though I am quite sure that he would not have the smallest objection to have his name published at the bottom of this letter. But in the hope of inducing your lordship to reflect on the danger to be apprehended from the execution of this law, I send you the original letter; in order that you may be convinced of the truth of what I have said, relative to the apprehensions created by this law. I have had no communication with the writer of this letter on this subject: I have not had the pleasure to see him, or to hear from him, for more than two years. If then he is of this opinion, he, with the extensive knowledge which he necessarily must possess of the sentiments of all ranks of society, ought not this to have great weight with your lordship? This writer meddles not with party or with politics, and has, and can have, no desire not in accordance with the peace and happiness of the country. If my words have no weight with your lordship, I beseech you to suffer his words to have weight. The letter is in the following words:

"*Nottingham*, 11, *August*, 1834.

"I send you a *Nottingham Review*" of the 21. of March last, which contains the report of the trial of William "Gilbert, for setting fire to Parson "Lowe's stacks at BINGHAM. From "what is remarked in your last *Register*, relative to the system of treat[ing] "the poor at BINGHAM, you do not "seem to be aware, that the Rev. Parson Magistrate, in enforcing his favourite scheme of non-relief to out-door paupers, had thus exposed himself to incendiarism. Perhaps it would "be well, at this juncture, to give the "proceedings in the *Register*; particularly since you have been so repeatedly contradicted in the House of "Commons, when you have stated the "fact that assistant overseers, and those "magistrates who have sided with them, "are, most of all men, liable to the attacks of the incendiary. You ought "also to know, that *William Gilbert* "*was not executed*. When the scheme "of refusing relief to all but to the poor "dwelling in workhouses is carried into "effect, there is too much reason to "fear, that England will become, like "Moscow, '*an ocean of flames*.'"

One cannot think of Moscow without shuddering. While the nobility, the gentry, the "*ladies*," tax-eating ladies, and particularly the *parsons*, were *praising* the magnanimous ALEXANDER up to the skies, for burning a city containing three hundred thousand souls, while the country was covered with snow six or ten feet deep; while they were praising the magnanimous emperor for this act, by which he must have *burnt alive at least two or three thousand women in child-birth*; and perhaps not less than ten thousand persons confined to their beds; while the aforesaid genteel persons were applauding him to the skies for this act, I, as your lordship may remember, begged of them to consider a little what they were about, and to reflect upon the danger of justifying an act like this. I was told that it was *necessary*, in order to secure his dominions against the French. "What, then," said I, "if the French were to "get into DOVER, would it be justifiable to burn the houses and the people 'of DOVER, in order to get out the 'French?'" The French were his enemies. To be sure, in war you may, by a great stretch of the laws of war, burn your enemies, and the dwellings of your enemies; but this magnanimous emperor, instead of doing this, burnt his own people, and the "*high-blooded*" of this nation applauded him to the skies for the deed.

To be sure all just persons in England expressed their abhorrence of the deed; a deed which no emergency could justify. Any argument made use of to justify such an act would apply to a monster who should slaughter the whole of his people, under pretence that the slaughtering of them was necessary to preserve them from being conquered. Even the setting fire to a town or a village can never be justified, except under very peculiar and pressing circumstances. If such an act be, indeed, absolutely necessary to prevent some prodigious evil, it may admit of justification; but I do not recollect reading of one single instance, when base and bloody governments and generals have resorted to this sort of act, that any case of necessity could possibly be made out. However, I always lamented, and indeed reprobated this atrocious act on the part of the magnanimous, and I reprobated still more the applause bestowed upon it by the high-blooded in this country, who did not, I dare say, then anticipate that which they have since beheld upon a small scale.

Getting out of the heat of Moscow, let me come back to the cooler region of England, and remind your lordship that the basely calumnious poor-law commissioners, with a couple of bishops at their head, have sent to the Parliament what they call wisdom, and some of which evidence tells the House, *that I was the cause of the riots and the fires*. Whether this was told them by the ruffians, under whose name it is given, or hatched by themselves, I care not: they are the promulgators of the libels, and them I will make answer for them, in some shape or another. Your lordship's evidence tells them that the *low*

wages and *ill-treatment of the labourers* caused the riots and the fires; and that was true: and I had always deprecated these low wages and this harsh treatment. At any rate, however, I might operate upon the mind of the famous Thomas Goodman of Battle (of whose affair we have not heard the last yet), I did not operate upon the minds of Gilbert and Fearns! It was Parson Lowe and his "*cool-tempered*" man Crook, that operated upon their minds; and have you not observed, that in all the trials that have taken place for arson, not one fragment of evidence has ever been screwed out, that any one of the fire-setters had ever even heard of me. One member of Parliament from Buckinghamshire boldly asserted in the House that I instructed them how to apply the torch to the *standing corn*. This was Sir Harry Verney: and your neighbour, Mr. Benett, told my attorney, Mr. Faithful, that my writings had induced him to insure his standing crops. These gentlemen must have discovered that they were in error; but as they have never acknowledged their error, I proceed upon the supposition that they accuse me still. Mr. Goring entangled himself with Mr. Thomas Goodman, who said not a word about Mr. "*Cobet*" "*Cobet*" upon his trial, nor in his confession to the prosecutor in the condemned cell; but being conscience-smitten in prayer with the *Reverend* Henry Rush, *curate of Crowhurst*, and having his piety strengthened by the halter, put round his neck at Horsham, confessed, "that Mr. '*Cobet*' '*Cobet*' did so inflame my mind," that he felt impelled to communicate the inflammable matter to barns and stacks!

I have been told, and I believe the fact, that a Hampshire squire wrote to Denman, to get him to put into his indictment an article of mine, in whic[illegible] shown the great danger which [illegible] arise from setting fire to extensive [illegible]pices and timber lands, and, I am [illegible] that Denman answered him b[illegible] that that would not do to make part of the indictment; but that it might be pleaded in aggravation *on bringing up for judgment*! How the chuckle-headed squire must have been disappointed! I know the beggar well, and I trust I shall live to see him want a dinner, from which he is at no great distance at this moment.

The good of it is, that Sir Harry Verney, Mr. Benett, and all these people, say, that I *put it into the labourers' heads* to fire the corn-fields and the woods; just as if nobody ever thought of it before! When it is notorious that the thing has not only been thought of but actually acted, from the days of Sampson down to the present day, and when there is hardly a countryman in England who has not seen heaths and bogs and fields of stubble set fire to and burnt by orders of the proprietors themselves. Denman's mouth watered, I dare say; but, if these magistrates (for they are all magistrates) did not know that the setting fire to corn-fields and woods is minutely described in the recent *statute laws*, Denman was lawyer enough to know that, at any rate; and, therefore, it would never do for him to tell a jury that I had put these species of burnings *into the heads* of the people. I had no design to put any thing into their heads. I was writing an essay, addressed to the Ministers, with a view of prevailing on them to soften the laws which pressed upon the working people, in order to prevent their being disposed to set fires. I was endeavouring to show the inutility of any *force* that they could employ against the labourers to prevent their setting fires; and, in the course of my arguments, I described the different sorts of property to which fire might be set, and amongst others I copied almost literally out of the statutes, the firing of corn-fields and woods. How, then, could I put it into their heads?

Oh, no! my lord! it is not putting it into their *heads*; it is putting it into their *hearts*, that is the mischief; and I was wanting to induce the Ministers to do those things which would have taken it out of their hearts. This is the great point, after all, my lord; for while the thing is in their hearts, all force will be in vain. The Duke of Wellington

may talk of the "RURAL CONSTABULARY," and find in the seeming assent of Lord MELBOURNE, reason for diminishing his "*regret*" at the displacing of the "VIGOROUS" Lord GREY: there may be workhouses like fortresses; in short, do what you will, if the thing be put into the hearts of the people, it is in the power of God alone to restrain their hands. That the famous Parson LOWE and "*cool-tempered*" overseer-system has a tendency to put it into their hearts, you have full proof now before you; and you have proof, too, that nothing can stay their hands when the thing is once got into their hearts; and, as you perceive, it gets into the hearts of *good men*; for THORLBY, who was a master brick-maker, says that FEARN had worked for him for three years, and was *a very honest lad*. Your lordship observes, too, that Mr. THORLBY heard FEARN say, that "he should like to see LOWE's "stacks on fire, and LOWE and CROOK "in the middle of them"; and yet Mr. THORLBY never said any thing about this till this trial came. Then you see FEARN is asked openly, before many persons, whether he has helped to put the fire out in the parson's stack-yard; and he said he had not, and that "*he wished it had been* LOWE's *house*." All this proves that this meditated revenge was the common talk of the parish, and the country round about; and who, my lord, can wish, then, to see this system of Parson LOWE, which it was a sorrowful thing to hear praised by you; who can wish to see this system put into general execution? And above all the men living, can you wish it, who, in your evidence, ascribe the riots and the fires to the low wages and the harsh treatment of the labourers; when you must know, too, that this scheme has a direct and inevitable tendency to bring down wages lower than they are; and when you must know that the system of this LOWE is the harshest that ever was heard of or dreamt of? The report of your speech makes you say, that the board of commissioners is wanted to establish rules and regulations like those of LOWE and his *cool-tempered* man, and to insure their adoption by all the parishes. I have laid before you the effects of that plan in one parish: feelings of revenge openly declared; arson, proceeding directly and avowedly from those feelings, a man condemned to death for that arson. There are about thirteen thousand parishes; does your lordship wish to see thirteen thousand gentlemen marked out in this way? thirteen thousand stack-yards in a blaze; thirteen thousand men condemned to the gallows! Oh, no! You shudder at the thought of things so horrible. I verily believe that you would yield your own life rather than behold it. Well, then, is it not time to pause; and can you be angry with me for holding these consequences up to your sight?

I now turn to another view of this matter; and to observe, that it has appeared very curious that the Duke of WELLINGTON should have so eulogized GREY for his introduction of this measure, while every newspaper, and every writer of any ability, who has been labouring to get the duke back into power, has perseveringly opposed this measure from first to last. These gentlemen do not seem to have perceived what the duke has perceived; namely, that power and he have parted never to meet again; and that he really wished for GREY to keep his post, merely on account of his "*vigour*"; and *vigorous* enough he was, God knows, as far as related to the working people. I will give your lordship a treat in an article from the *Age* newspaper, upon the subject of the DUKE's praises of GREY and of this bill.

"Is the Duke of WELLINGTON afraid "of being too popular at this anxious "period? Is he afraid that the cares "of office may be forced upon him unwillingly, by the unanimous call of "an afflicted and affrighted country? "Is he so madly moved to break any "fond dream which may have shadowed the minds of men respecting his "sympathy with the people, and *especially* the *humbler classes*, that he feels "it necessary *to volunteer a declaration* "*in favour of the Martineau poor-bill*; "*the most odious and the most oppressive*

"*measure with the threat of which the* "*British nation was ever yet insulted*? "We hope he has been misunderstood; "for, if rightly reported, there was a "cruel mockery in combining the Coercion Bill for Ireland and the Poor-"Law Bill for England as measures of "Lord GREY, which enjoyed his cordial "approbation, and should receive his "strenuous support. Gracious Heavens! why this offensive union? A "Coercion Bill of some kind or other "is necessary for Ireland. The native "population of that country are not yet "fully civilized; they possess the vices, "the passions, and the blind ignorance "of savages; they are the easy prey of "the trading demagogue; it is a mercy "there to prevent that crime by the "strong hand, which it would be "scarcely justice, except in the eye of "the law, to punish. *But the people* "*of England are not in this condition*; "*the only sin which can be brought* "*home to any large body of Englishmen* "*is that they are poor*. The Duke of "WELLINGTON, *according to the report*, "*is willing to punish them for being* "*poor*; but not alone this, he appears "to confound them in his mind with "the robber, the incendiary, the murderer, whom he was willing to assist "Earl Grey in trampling to the earth. "Now, is not this, if it should indeed "be true, *too bad*? *Is it not wonderful* "*that men who are not fools will not* "*do that which even fools do, learn from* "*experience*? The Duke of WELLINGTON *must feel that he wrought infinite* "*evil to the people of England by his* "*inconsiderate* and *uncalled-for declaration about Reform*. Why is it that "he loses not a moment to commit the "same error with respect to another "measure, which is more cordially and "more generally abhorred than at the "time the other was desired in the "dreams of the most sanguine projectors of change? It would really seem "as if he wished to grace the fall of old "GREY, by *intimating to the people* "*that they had no interest in any change* "*of Government*; *that for them there* "*would never be more than a change of* "*names, and none of measures, so far* "*as they were concerned, and consequently that whether they were ground* "*to the dust by Ministers calling them-*"*selves Whigs or calling themselves* "*Tories, it was not a matter of the* "*slightest consequence*."

Now, I would pledge my existence, that if all the writers in favour of the bill were to club their talents, they would not produce any thing of *literary* merit equal to this; and as to the politics of it, putting aside what is said about the necessity of coercing Ireland, they are sound, and expressed in a manner so good that one can hardly speak of the article with too much praise. Certainly the Tories have now done that which damns them as a party for ever; and that too without giving any strength to their half-friends amongst the Whigs. It was wonderful, and it appeared wonderful to everybody, that the Duke should fling away his power in his uncalled-for declaration about parliamentary reform; more wonderful that he should not have seen a time between that and this, for the retrieving of that blunder; above all things wonderful that he should now volunteer to cut himself off from power for ever, by as good as telling the people, that while he opposes almost every thing of change which they deem to be in their favour, he is ready to assist GREY in this measure to which they have such an inflexible dislike. But how does this affect your lordship? Will those who have had so much confidence in you think that it is a good sign for you, that you are here hand-in-hand with the Duke of WELLINGTON?

There seemed to be, for some time, great unfixedness in the minds of the Tories, as to this measure. They appeared to hesitate on the division on the third reading; at last the main body, with their leader at their head, went over to the ministers. On the amendments, Lord GRANVILLE SOMERSET and Mr. PALMER of Berkshire spoke and voted against the bill; and I did not observe any others of the party that were present. This, however, retrieves nothing; the die is cast, and it was cast by the duke; and, as in al-

most every other case, because he knew nothing at all about the state of the people, or the sentiments of the people. He seems always to think that he is in a camp; and that every thing can be effected by force. In one year of the war, the prodigious, the monstrous, sum of thirty-four millions was expended. A man having the absolute power over such a sum may do any thing where there is nobody but mercenaries employed on both sides; but even that sum, expended every year, would not ensure success to this project.

The Duke of WELLINGTON must, however, have known how unpopular this measure was: he must have known that it was become unpopular even in the House in which it originated. By rejecting this bill; by arraying the Lords to reject this bill, he might, at once, have turned out the ministers and taken their places amidst the shouts of the people; but then he knew that he could not *keep* their places without doing more to relieve the people from their burdens than the Ministers now propose to do; this he was not willing to do, and, therefore, he gave his support to the Ministers in this, the most disliked of all their measures. However, though the Tories have done for themselves with the people, the Whigs have by no means gained; together they have given another blow to ARISTOCRACY in this kingdom; and that is all that they have done. The *very great* had the *very little*; the great *few* had the *little many* for their fast *allies*: they will have them for *allies no longer*: the little many have now seen how that matter stands; and they will feel and act accordingly.

In *another letter*, I will go more fully than I hitherto have done into an inquiry as to the RIGHTS of the people in this case; and will settle the question of RIGHT TO THE LAND, which is now become a PRACTICAL question; and, if the discussion lead to conclusions of a disagreeable tendency, your lordship and your coadjutors will have to thank yourselves for it. The REAL OBJECTS of the bill, too, as now elucidated more fully than before, I will amply develop, and will show this people what they have to expect, and what are the laws which God and man have given them to be appealed to in cases like this for their protection. It would not be right, however; it would not be just; it would not be acting an honest part, if, after having written these last sentences, without inserting here, to accompany this address to your lordship, the PROTEST of the Lords against this bill; and here it is, reflecting the highest honour on the noble lord who drew it up, and great honour on all the others.

"PROTEST AGAINST THE PASSING OF THE POOR-LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

"Dissentient,

"1. Because this bill is unjust and cruel to the poor. It imprisons in workhouses, for not working, those who cannot procure employment, and others for not maintaining their families who cannot, by the hardest labour, obtain wages sufficient to provide necessaries for their wives and children, although the want of employment and the low rate of wages have been occasioned by the impolicy and negligence of the Government.

"2. Because the present rate of wages, insufficient as it is, cannot be sustained, or employment found for the poor, or their condition materially improved, without ameliorating the condition of the Irish poor.

"3. Because we think that no necessity or sufficient expediency has been established to justify the withdrawing of the power of executing the Poor-laws from the local authorities, and transferring them to a Board so constituted as proposed by the bill, and possessing the arbitrary powers conferred on three Commissioners appointed, and removable, by the Crown.

"4. Because we think the system suggested in the bill, of consolidating immensely extensive unions of parishes, and establishing workhouses necessarily at great distances from many parishes; and thereby dividing families, and removing children from their parents, merely because they are poor, will be found justly abhorrent to the best feelings of the

general population of the country; and especially, inasmuch as it introduces the children of the agricultural poor to town poor-houses, it will conduce greatly to the contamination of their moral principles, and be calculated to prevent their obtaining in youth those habits of industry most likely to be beneficial to them in after life.

"5. Because the alteration of the law of settlement is calculated to operate unjustly, and to lead to still more extensive removals and more intricate lawsuits than the law as at present existing.

"6. Because the alterations made in the bastardy laws are inconsistent with the principles of Christianity on which the Parliament of the united empire has always professed to proceed, since both parents being equally bound by those principles to maintain their offspring, the father, being more able to contribute to that maintenance than the mother, ought to pay more largely, whereas by this bill he is all but exonerated from any such obligation.

"7. Because we consider that nearly all, if not all, the evils which may have existed in the administration of the present laws might have been corrected by a short act, securing the due administration of the Poor-laws under the control of the existing magisterial and other local authorities.

"KENYON.
"ROMNEY.
"WYNFORD.
"MOUNTCASHEL.
"TEYNHAM.

"For the 1st and 6th reasons;
"PENSHURST.

"For the 4th and 6th reasons:
"H. EXETER.
"ROLLE."

Oh! what would I have given to have seen the name of your lordship, instead .... no, not *instead*, but just above, or just below, that of my Lord KENYON! It is too late to wish, however, except, indeed, it be to wish, and most earnestly to pray, that your lordship may yet show the world that this has been a mere temporary error; that you have been deceived; that you have taken things upon trust; that you do not wish to see that done to the labourers of England, against the doing of which these noble lords have, to their great honour, so decidedly protested.

I remain
Your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

TRIFOLIUM INCARNATUM.—My readers will recollect, that, very late last autumn, I offered for sale some of this article. I sowed some of the seed, and some of the same sort (as I thought it) that I got from Mr. Smith, of Landguard, in the Isle of Wight; and both seemed to stand the winter well.

I never heard of the plant, till written to on the subject by a merchant of Liverpool, who had received a quantity of the seed from *Italy*, and who said that he *knew nothing about it*, except what he had read in a Plymouth newspaper. As an *unknown* plant I sold it, not knowing, and saying that I did not know, any thing about it.

Towards January, I found, that it was *not the same* as that of Mr. SMITH; and I informed my readers, that it was not; and that I supposed that it was a "*variety*" (as the botanical slang has it) of the TRIFOLIUM, which I called "ITALIAN CLOVER."

I was obliged to plough up the field, in March; and I thereby lost the opportunity of seeing the spring result of the experiment.

The merit of this plant was said to be this; that it might be *sowed after wheat*; and that it would bring an abundant crop of *horse food* to cut up *in May*.

In *April* also it might be sowed, to cut up in *July*.

Circumstances, not important enough to put upon paper, prevented me from sowing till the 19. *of May* (mind the date); and I then sowed, in clean, good,

but not manured ground, as follows, allotting to each plant a square yard of ground:

1. Lucern.
2. The real Trifolium, red blossom.
3. My Italian Clover.
4. Trefoil, yellow blossom.
5. Common broad clover.

On the 17. *July*, I cut the *Lucern*, and it weighed 1lb. 5¼oz., or about 3 tons to the acre.—I cut my *Italian Clover*, which weighed 12 ounces.—It was in bloom, but the bloom was *white*, and in shape like that of the *broad clover*. The *real Trifolium* was not even showing for bloom. And the two others were not yet in bloom.

On the 17. *of August* (yesterday) I cut them all, and the weights were as follows. The *Lucern* was just beginning to show bloom; the *real Trifolium* in *half bloom* for about the *half of it*; the *Italian Clover* in full bloom again; the *Trefoil* in *full bloom*, and some of the bloom shed; the *red clover* in full bloom, and some of the heads *brown*. These are the weights:

	lb.	oz.
1. Lucern	2	15
2. The real Trifolium	3	8
3. My Italian Clover	0	10
4. Trefoil, yellow blossom	7	5
5. Common red clover	8	1

Here the differences are surprising; and it appears that, for *one year*, the broad clover beats all; for though the Lucern will yield, at two more cuttings, 7 lb. perhaps, and though it has yielded 1lb. 5¼ oz. before, still it will be far exceeded in weight by the broad clover, which will have another cutting of 6 or 7 lb. and good feed after that. But then the Lucern stands in the ground for a lifetime, if kept clean, and it comes 15 days earlier in the spring. Pretty nearly the same may be said of the Trefoil as of the broad clover. As to the *Italian* gentlemen, my opinion is, that they are not worth a pin. Very pretty red blossoms on the *incarnatum*, but *not earlier* and not so large a crop as the broad clover or as the Trefoil.

It will be said, that I sowed *in spring*, instead of *fall*, and that I sowed *very late in spring*. I sowed all at *the same time*, and on the *same spot*. I will, however, put this matter beyond all doubt; for I have just cleared, and made perfectly clean, a field of two acres; and in it I will sow next week *a row*, or more, all along the field, at four feet apart, of all these plants, and of every other sort of grass known by name in our agriculture. Then, on the 1. of May, we shall see how they all stand, and which of them will give the *greatest quantity of food for horses*, for that is the test of excellence.

The truth is this, our clover is *late* in spring, and frequently poor in crop, because we do not treat it as people have treated the *Trifolium*. Sow the broad clover "*after wheat*," and see what *that* will do! We sow it with barley and oats, where it is shaded above and starved below; and there it stands in the hard ground, to carry on a war with the weeds, until the next spring. Treat the *Trifolium* in this cruel manner, and see what it will be in the spring! "*After wheat*" indeed! Why you can have *Turnips* after wheat; *Swedes*, if you will transplant them; or mangel wurzel. However, there is nothing like the proof by experience, and that I will now have. It is *stuff to cut up for horses early in May*: this is what we want, and the *annual* that will yield it *earliest*, and in largest quantity and best quality, is the *best*; and in my opinion we shall find that to be the *broad clover*; and that the *Trifolium*, after having been the talk of the country for about three years, will gradually disappear. Lucern is, beyond all comparison, the best; but as it *insists* upon being *kept clear from grass and weeds*, as this is a positive condition on its part, and as the *other party* very reluctantly comes in its terms; and when he does, is as *sure* to commit a "breach of faith" as he is sure to blame the other contracting party for his want of success: as this is the case with regard to Lucern, that plant is out of the question, and the contest is between the *Trifolium* and the *broad clover*, or the *Trefoil*; and now I am resolved that they shall have fair play.

I am by no means certain that the *white clover*, or the *red suckling*, or the *perennial clover* (cow grass), would not beat *Trifolium* in *poorish land*; and these things are all *perennial*, while the Trifolium is an *annual*. The truth is, we do not use those things well. We do not sow them "*after wheat*," or after a summer-fallow, and at a time when the summer-weeds are either gone, or are speedily killed when they appear. These plants will *live* any-where or any-how, and so we treat them roughly. The *Trifolium* being an *Italian*, we treat it as the rich people in London treat the fiddlers and opera-dancers. Let us treat them *al ashe* for once in our lives, and then we shall know the relative worth of them. This is what I will now do at any rate.

GET GOLD! GET GOLD!

READER. But, *where*?

COBBETT. Why, at *the Bank*, you fool; and so I told you last week; and now, as you will see, others are talking of it too, as, for instance, the *Age* newspaper of last Sunday, which has the following article: "CURRENCY.—Poor "COBBETT will escape broiling, and his "readers and admirers may get ready "their holiday-clothes, and prepare for "the grand jubilee of the gridiron. We "know from undoubted authority, that "there is to be an issue of one-pound "notes, although the day for the OR-"DER IN COUNCIL is not *positively* "fixed. The notes our informant has "seen printing more than a fortnight "since. So much for General JACKSON "and the Whigs. Here is gold at a "premium! Bank-notes a legal ten-"der! Oh, ye most thinking people! "Ye make us mad, ye will surely be "the death of us! Would to God ye "alone could suffer in the forthcoming "convulsion, which is nearer at hand "than any of ye dream of! What! "buy United States' moonshine with "sovereigns! make Bank-notes a legal "tender! encourage the 'swell mob' "to forge them by millions, and then "build workhouses for paupers! 'Tis "all of a piece." BROUGHAM used to talk "about men's rising like a balloon; but "now Great Britain is falling like one."

READER. What is an "ORDER IN COUNCIL," Cobbett?

COBBETT. Why, the King has a number of persons to assist him in consulting and settling on things to be done for the good of his people; and these, in a body, are called the PRIVY COUNCIL, which, as Sir Edward Coke says, is "an *honourable*, *noble*, *venerable*, and *reverend* assembly" consisting, at present, for instance, of THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BARON BEXLEY (late *Nicholas Vansittart*); THE RIGHT HONOURABLE BARON FARNBOROUGH (late *Charles Long*); THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE ROSE, and such like "*noble* and *reverend* persons."

READER. And what do they do?

COBBETT. *Do!* Why, they sit in council with the King, and deliberate on the measures to be taken in his name.

READER. But, what can they do about *Bank-notes*, Cobbett?

COBBETT. I will tell you what PITT and his council did. In 1797, the fellows at the Bank, finding that people went very fast for gold in exchange for the notes, went to PITT, expressed "their fears for the *safety of the House*," and asked him how long he thought it would be prudent to let them go on paying in gold and silver! Pitt got his *venerable council* together, and they and the King (the good old King) agreed upon an ORDER to be sent to the Bank to "*restrain*" it from paying in gold!

READER. But, was this *lawful*, Cobbett?

COBBETT. Oh, no!

READER. But, how *could* they do it, then?

COBBETT. It is not *lawful* to refuse relief to the poor; but it is *done*.

READER. But, what did *the Parliament do*?

COBBETT. Why, *praised* Pitt for what he had done, and passed an act to *screen* him and his *venerable* brethren, and the Bank directors, and all the violators of

the law, from all punishment whatsoever.

Reader. And, that is an "*Order in Council*," is it, Cobbett?

Cobbett. Yes; and, you see that the thing must be done in this way, if done at all; for, if by act of Parliament, the people in London would get all the gold, before those in the country would hear of what was going to be done! The Bank would be empty before a bill could be read a second time. It would be, "*the devil take the hindmost*"!

Reader. Very true; so that we are come to a comfortable state after all our "*glorious victories*," won by "the greatest captain of the age," who has been rewarded by a million of our money, a comfortable state, to be *saved* by *the law being openly violated* by a noble, venerable, and reverend assembly!

Cobbett. Precisely so.

Reader. What will be the END of all this, Cobbett?

Cobbett. I think I know; but, I do not choose to say.

Reader. But, will it be *good* or *bad*, Cobbett?

Cobbett. *Good*: for it will break up the most base and infamous THING that this world ever saw.

Reader. THING? What THING, Cobbett?

Cobbett. Oh! there; let me alone; for it would take a week to describe to you the audacious, hypocritical, false, silly, fraudulent, empty-skulled, brazen-faced, greedy, squandering, cruel, cowardly damnable THING; which has no name, is like nothing else in the world, is more ferocious than the tiger, more timid than the hare, the heart-ache, the blister-plaster, the scab, the itch, and every thing cursed of man; and, which is worse than all the rest, it ....

Reader. Oh! for God's sake, Cobbett, why do not people ......

Cobbett. *People*, indeed! What can people do with such a hellish thing.

Reader. But what can the *one-pound notes* do with it?

Cobbett. I won't tell you.

Reader. But, what will Lord Althorp do?

Cobbett. Do? 'Faith, it will be a famous time for him! He may go and enjoy himself in his farm-yard amongst much more reasonable creatures than he has now to satisfy.

Reader. But, where will he get the money to pay those devouring monsters, the *two she-services*, the pensions, sinecure folks, and the troops of tax-eaters, who now, put even the *public creditor* in peril?

Cobbett. *Money*! Why he will have more money than he will know what to do with.

Reader. What, will "break *faith* with the *public creditor*"?

Cobbett. Not he, indeed. He will pay in *full tale*, I'll warrant him.

Reader. And I shall get my *dividends* as *regularly* as I do now?

Cobbett. Yes.

Reader. Well, then, so long as I get my dividends, what need I care about "Orders in Council"!

Cobbett. Or about your poorer neighbours, or your country, eh?

Reader. Aye; I have to look to my dividends, as old Miss Snapdragon says: my dividends is all that I need look to.

Cobbett. Go and look to them then, you beast, and bother me no more.

THE KING'S SPEECH ON PROROGUING THE PARLIAMENT.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"The numerous and important questions which have in the present and in the two preceding years been submitted to your consideration, have imposed upon you the necessity of extraordinary exertions, and it is with a deep sense of the exertion and labour which you have bestowed on the public business, that I at length close this protracted session, and release you from your attendance.

"I continue to receive from all foreign powers assurances of their friendly disposition.

"The negotiations on account of which the conferences in London upon the affairs of the Low Countries were suspended, have not yet been brought to a close, and I have still to lament the continued postponement of a final settlement between Holland and Belgium.

"On the other hand, I have derived the most sincere and lively satisfaction from the termination of the civil war which has so long distracted the kingdom of Portugal, and I rejoice to think that the treaty which the state of affairs in Spain and in Portugal induced me to conclude with the King of the French, the Queen Regent of Spain, and the Regent of Portugal, and which has already been laid before you, contributed materially to produce this happy result.

"Events have since occurred in Spain to disappoint for a time the hopes of tranquillity in that country, which the pacification of Portugal had inspired.

"To these events, so important to Great Britain, I shall give my most serious attention, in concert with France and with the other powers, who are parties to the treaty of the 22. of April; and the good understanding which prevails between me and my allies encourages me to expect that our united endeavours will be attended with success.

"The peace of Turkey remains undisturbed, and I trust that no event will happen in that quarter to interrupt the tranquillity of Europe.

"I have not failed to observe with approbation that you have directed your attention to those domestic questions which more immediately affect the general welfare of the community; and I have had much satisfaction in [illegible]tioning your wise and benevole[illegible] intentions by giving my assent to [illegible] for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales. It will be my duty to provide that the authority necessarily vested in commissioners nominated by the crown be exercised with temperance and caution, and I entertain a confident expectation that its prudent and judicious application, as well as the discreet enforcement of the other provisions of the act, will by degrees remedy the evils which at present prevail, and whilst they elevate the character, will increase the comforts and improve the condition of my people.

"The amendment of the law is one of your first and most important duties, and I rejoice to perceive that it has occupied so much of your attention. The establishment of a central court for the trial of offences in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, will, I trust, improve the administration of justice within the populous sphere of its jurisdiction, and afford a useful example to every other part of the kingdom.

"To the important subject of our jurisprudence and our municipal corporations your attention will naturally be directed early in the next session.—You may always rest assured of my disposition to co-operate in such useful reformations.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies. The estimates which were laid before you were somewhat lower than those of former years, although they included several extraordinary charges which will not again occur. The same course of economy will still be steadily pursued. The continual increase of the revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of so many taxes, affords the surest proof that the resources of the country are unimpaired, and justifies the expectation that a perseverance in judicious and well-considered measures will still further promote the industry and augment the wealth of my people.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It gives me great satisfaction to believe, that in returning to your several counties you will find a prevalence of general tranquillity and of active industry among all classes of society. I humbly hope that Providence will vouchsafe a continuance and increase of these blessings, and in any circumstances which may arise I shall rely with confidence on your zeal and fide-

lity, and I rest satisfied that you will inculcate and encourage that obedience to the laws, and that observance of the duties of religion and morality, which are the only secure foundations of the honour and happiness of empires.

NEW POOR-LAW BILL.

Protest against retaining the 55th clause of the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill.

"Dissentient,—

"1. Because the parts of the bill which it was proposed to reject impose the charge of maintaining every bastard child on the mother alone; thus laying on one of the parents the whole of a burden which by the most obvious dictate of natural justice, and the plainest deduction from the law of God, ought to be borne equally, or in proportion to their several ability by both.

"2. Because the burden thus laid on the mother, in a degree far beyond her power to bear, will ordinarily place and keep her in permanent and absolute dependence on parish relief; and coupled with another provision which makes any man who shall marry such mother liable to the maintenance of her child, can hardly fail to encourage the most unbounded licentiousness: for, as the woman is thus shut out from all prospect of marriage, as both she and her spurious progeny, present and future, be they as numerous as they may, will be all maintained by the parish, without further shame, suffering, or inconvenience to herself—as, in short, she will be deprived of all the aids to virtue which Providence has mercifully given in temporal objects of fear and hope, it can hardly be doubted that her own incontinence and the absolute impunity held out to every man who after she has once borne a child may choose to offend with her, will make almost every such woman to become a common prostitute, and every workhouse of which such women are inmates to be a common receptacle of prostitutes, from which they will carry on their vicious courses with little or no effectual restraint, unless the workhouse itself be converted into a jail, and every woman who bears a bastard child, and is too poor to maintain it without assistance, be consigned to lasting imprisonment.

"3. Because another and more appalling consequence may be expected to ensue, in the case of those unhappy women who, after their fall from chastity, still retain some perverted feelings of honour, which the provisions of this bill are too likely to place in conflict with the best instinct of their nature, tempting them to the destruction or the abandonment of the wretched infants, whose lives cannot be sustained without subjecting their mothers to so much of lengthened misery and degradation.

"4. Because, while such is the injustice, and such the frightful tendency, of the provisions of this bill, as they affect women, its probable effects on men are scarcely less to be deprecated. From men in humble life the bill removes one of the most powerful checks on their licentious appetites which Providence has imposed in the cost and burden consequent on the indulgence of them, thus opposing itself to God's holy institution for the continuance of the species by lawful wedlock. It does more: it directly tends to harden the hearts of men, to aggravate their natural selfishness, to pervert and corrupt their moral sensibility, to make them deem themselves released by act of Parliament from one of the first and most obvious duties which the laws of nature, in other words the laws of God, impose; a duty which must endure so long as the relation of parent and child shall subsist; a duty which no man who deserves the name of man has ever yet dared to set at nought.

"5. And lastly, Because a law which professes on the very face of it to bear so unequally on two parties whose moral guilt must be deemed equal, imposing its burden with exclusive and extreme severity on the more helpless, leaving the stronger and the abler absolutely untouched [even by the provisions subsequently introduced], so long as the weaker party is capable of bearing

anything, and then interfering, not on the principle of equal justice, but solely to indemnify the parish for any excess of charge which the exhaustion of the mother may make it impossible to wring from her, because such law cannot carry with it that which is indispensable in all wholesome legislation, the sanction of public opinion; but proceeding on the unchristian principle of doing evil that good may come, must like every other such attempt fail of the end proposed, with this unhappy aggravation of the failure, that it tends to shake the confidence of the people in the justice and righteousness of the laws in general, and to impair their respect for that legislature which shall have ventured to enact it.

"H. EXETER.
"PENSHURST.
"FALMOUTH.
"ROLLE.
"MOUNTCASHEL."

"*August* 6."

LORD BROUGHAM'S PROTEST.

(*From the Times*, 19. *Aug*, 1834)

IT may be remembered that, on the motion of Mr. Langdale, a clause (numbered xviii.) was inserted in the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, providing that no rules be adopted obliging inmates of workhouses to attend religious service contrary to their own principles; it was in the following terms:

"That no rules, orders, or regulations of the said commissioners, nor any by-laws at present in force or to be hereafter made, shall oblige any inmate of any workhouse to attend any religious service which may be celebrated in a mode contrary to the religious principles of such inmate, nor shall authorize the education of any child in such workhouse in any religious creed other than that professed by the parents or [illegible]ing parent of such child, and to which such parents or parent shall object, or, in the case of an orphan, to which the godfather or godmother of such orphan shall so object; provid[illegible] that it shall and may be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse, at all times in the day, on the request of such inmate, to visit such workhouse for the purpose of affording religious assistance to such inmate, and also for the purpose of instructing his child or children in the principles of their religion."

This clause, with other alterations, was struck out by the House of Lords. Mr. Langdale, on the return of the bill to the Commons, insisted on its restoration, and notwithstanding the remarks made by Lord Althorp, it was restored accordingly. The Lords still resisted; a conference ensued, the Commons persisted, and eventually the Lords desisted, agreeing not to insist upon their amendment for the rejection of the clause. It was of course retained; but thereupon the Lord Chancellor placed on the journals the following

"PROTEST

"Against not insisting on the amendment to the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill to which the Commons have disagreed.

"Dissentient,—

"1. Because there can be no necessity for a provision against such extreme folly and such unjustifiable oppression as the compelling paupers to attend the service of a church which they dissent from, and preventing the resort to them of their own pastors; and at all events there seems just the same reason for prohibiting other kinds of oppression, such as denying access to the pauper's relatives or lay spiritual advisers on his death-bed; and yet no provision of this sort has been judged necessary.

"The whole clause is founded upon distrust of the commissioners, whom it supposes capable, if not prohibited, of framing rules in a spirit of persecution unknown at the present time, and whom it presumes unwilling to secure by fit regulations the access of spiritual instructors to members of the established church as well as Dissenters.

"This distrust of the commissioners upon such a matter is wholly at variance with all those provi[illegible]e bill which clothe them with the largest discretionary powers, and if they are to be

the objects of suspicion in this respec it is impossible safely to grant them any authority in any matter whatever requiring the exercise of sound discretion

"But it is further to be observed tha the clause, far from accomplishing its own manifest purpose, is so contrived as to defeat it; for the access of licensed ministers alone is directed, and it is not known that there are any persons, either of the established church or among the Dissenters, excepting one class, namely, licensed curates and lecturers, who answer this description. The rectors and vicars, and perpetual curates of the established church, the Catholic priests, and all the ministers of the various sects of Protestant Dissenters, as well as all the teachers of the Methodists, are thus left out of the right of access given by the clause. But if their omission should be considered as intimating the intention of the legislature to exclude them, then it would follow that neither Roman Catholics nor Protestant Dissenters of any class, nor Methodists of any description, could receive any spiritual aid from their own pastors, while even members of the established church could only receive the spiritual assistance of licensed curates or lecturers. It is indeed to be hoped that such a construction will be avoided if possible; but it can only be escaped by the assistance of the commissioners, who, were they in the least degree actuated by the spirit against which the clause was intended to provide, would inevitably act upon the plain and literal meaning of its words, and shelter themselves behind these words against all blame, for excluding almost all religious consolation from workhouses. So that the only defence which is afforded to the parties for wh[illegible] against [illegible] clause itself, m[illegible] be [illegible] ness and discretion [illegible] ers being exerted to [illegible] by construction, th[illegible] clause would defeat itself, and op[illegible] the objects of its favour, but for [illegible] commissioners, the distrust of whom was the only motive for introducing it.

"It is further to be remarked, that if the clause has any effect at all from such a literal construction being adopted, it impowers the inmates of workhouses, at their own request, to have whatever persons may be deemed licensed ministers of their own persuasion admitted to them at all hours of every day in the week—a degree of liberty extremely liable to abuse, and wholly subversive of all the discipline necessary to such establishments.

"Lastly,—It appears eminently indiscreet to mix up with the present measure any questions leading to the excitement of religious controversy, and almost obliging the commissioners to take a part in such contentions.

"BROUGHAM, C."

"*August* 13.

It was agreed at the sitting of the House on Wednesday, that leave be given to Lords to enter protests, and to sign the same, before the rising of the House on the succeeding Friday. This protest was directed to be entered accordingly; but though leave was given to Lords till Friday, also to sign the said protest, no other Lord besides the Lord Chancellor has signed it. That it was known that there was the opportunity of signing it is clear from the fact being recorded in Wednesday's minutes, and which minutes were on their Lordships' table and in every Lord's possession during Thursday and Friday. Still no other Peer has signed the protest!

POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*From the Times*).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The Poor Law Amendment Bill has passed, the bastardy clauses are retained, and Lord Brougham may sit down with the proud and heart-gladdening reflection that he has succeeded in his mighty triumph over the weak and the helpless—that he has vanquished all the sympathies of a man, a father, and a Christian, has exerted the full force of his mighty talent for what? To crush the feeble and the oppressed, they who turned to him for the maintenance and protection of those rights

which their own moral and physical inability prevent them from defending. Truly, Lord Brougham, this is a glorious epoch in your existence. To you, sir, the earnest and grateful thanks of the female population of England are especially and eternally due. Would that the efforts you have made to serve them had been successful! That the barrier you strove to interpose to injustice and wrong had not been swept down by the strong and availing arm of "spiritual pride in high places!"

This is the hour of triumph for your opponents, but the hour of remorse and retribution is not far distant. Can one of the men who advocated the bastardy clauses look on their own daughters and not tremble? They may be removed in station to a pinnacle far above the level of those who are immediately operated upon by their legislation. But life has strange vicissitudes, and reverses of fortune have reduced many as high perhaps in rank as Lord Brougham's own daughter to distress and ignominy. Retribution rarely fails, even on earth, to fall on the heads of the unjust and the oppressor, though it may be to "the third and fourth generation" that its visitations come. Let not the supporters of the bill fancy that their enactments, severe as they are, will serve the cause of virtue, or arrest one woman in the hour of guilty passion. They can know little of human nature, in all its strength and all its weakness, if they think so. But this it will do:—When, in solitude and desertion, the wretched woman meditates on the consequences of her frailty—when, superadded to the shame and the agony of her situation, the full responsibility of it also glares upon her mind, and she remembers that with a character blasted, with a soul and body alike enfeebled, still it is from her scanty resources that the law wrings support for the child, whose father, it may be, revels the while in pomp and affluence, can it surprise, and may it not be feared that reason, at such a picture, will turn to madness, and infanticide be the climax to seduction? If such should be the case, if one infant's life be immolated at the altar of Malthusian expediency, its cry shall go up to Heaven, and be heard far above the din of faction or party; "and the sound thereof shall bring "down justice on those that rule, and "the earth shall tremble thereat."

I apologize for this intrusion on your space. I had hoped some one of my own sex, more able than myself, would have stood forth as an advocate for themselves and others. The cause is one of gigantic importance to every mother in England. May its effects be averted before it is too late!

I remain, &c., your constant reader,

AN ENGLISHWOMAN.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S KNOWLEDGE.

(*From the Times*).

I AM surprised that no newspaper has taken notice of the gross mistatements and preposterous logic which are to be found in the Lord Chancellor's speech on the bastardy clause in the new Poor-Law Bill. He states that foundling hospitals increase infanticide; that such hospitals were instituted by Napoleon to augment the population; that the French Government has since his time abolished them; and that, in consequence of their abolition, infanticide has diminished. Now, in the whole of these assertions there is not one word of truth. In the first place, it is a notorious truth, that in those countries where foundling hospitals exist, child-murder is absolutely unknown. Such is the case of France; and it cannot possibly be otherwise—for what motive can a woman have to destroy her child, when she has it in her power to get rid of it by sending it to a foundling hospital, where it is received without a single question being asked, and treated with the utmost kindness? The fact is perfectly established, that in France infanticide is a crime never heard of. In the second place, foundling hospitals were not instituted by Napoleon, but have existed for more than a century. The foundation-stone of the present hospital

in Paris was laid on the 26. of September, 1747, the previous hospital fo foundlings having been found too smal for the increasing wants of the capital In the third place, these institutions have in no respect been interfered with by the Government, which have ruled France since the dethronement of the Emperor. They are on precisely the same footing on which they stood be fore and during his reign. It is absurd therefore, to say that they no longer exist. Within the last two months, I had occasion to be very frequently in the foundling hospital at Paris, and not a single day elapsed in which children were not sent there. Nor is Paris the only city where these hospitals exist. They are scattered over France. Lille has a fine establishment of the same kind, and so have most of the great towns and cities in the kingdom. I say nothing of the policy of such hospitals; that is a point on which there is, and always will be, a difference of opinion; but the motives which led to their establishment are certainly beyond all praise, and reflect honour on the humanity of the state. If they lead, as some maintain, to profligacy of manners, it is some consolation to think that the criminal calendars of France are unstained by child murder; a crime, it is to be feared, much more common in Great Britain than is generally supposed, one to which there are peculiar inducements, and for the perpetration of which there are more than common facilities. It is astonishing how a man of Lord Brougham's perspicacity could come to the conclusion of which he has so strangely arrived. If foundling hospitals have any effect at all, it must be to check infanticide; to suppose that they can have an opposite result is an outrage upon common sense. But the whole of his speech abounds in mis-statements and inconsequentialities so utterly absurd that I can hardly think he ever delivered it. If he did, what are the public to think of the knowledge and deductive powers of the Lord Chancellor, of the acuteness of the noble audience which failed to perceive such glaring blunders and false logic, and of the public press, which permits nonsense of this description to pass without exposure.—*Correspondent of the Glasgow Free Press.*

GOOD NEWS FROM AMERICA!

BANKING IN THE UNITED STATES.

New York, July 15.

The act of direct corruption and other base measures, of which the bank of the United States and its supporters have been guilty at the late elections, are scarcely to be believed on your side the Atlantic; and I regret to say that among the traders, and all those who wish to make the rest of the world believe that two and two make seven, they have succeeded in some small degree, particularly in the large towns; but I am happy to be able to add, that in the country the *farmers* are stanch in favour of Jackson and hard cash, and you may rest assured that, after the elections in autumn, there will be a more decided majority in the House of Representatives than there was during the last session in support of the President in his just and reasonable hostility to the paper system.

The late act of Congress for regulating the relative value of gold and silver as coin, although in some degree erroneous, will nevertheless have the effect of introducing gold into very general circulation, and will certainly give the people a taste for it. It jingles in the pocket, and is never at a discount, as all banking promises to pay are in America, when you happen to be at the distance of 50 miles or more from the place of issue. All this must end in good, and it will drive the state banks to pay in eagles of full weight, or to become bankrupt.

This elastic country is fast recovering from the banking panic, and very few persons will suffer any loss but those who deserve it; namely, all those who have been tempted to enter into imprudent speculations on the faith of a continuance of banking credits.

The bank of the United States and its infamous agents have done their worst, and have discovered that they

cannot control the vast resources of the people I now look forward with confidence to a more healthy and honest state of things, although much remains to be done before we shall be safe. There will be a deadly struggle between the friends of honesty and hard cash and the friends of fraud and paper promises at the elections in autumn, but the Republicans are at their posts, and I have no fear of the result. The agent here of a well known Conservative house in your city (London) was very busy at the late elections. Let him take care what he is doing.

Should any of your friends be coming to America, recommend them to bring sovereigns in preference to leaving their funds in England and afterwards drawing for them. The late act of Congress will insure to them the full value of their gold, when coined here; but bills of exchange on England may fluctuate, from circumstances of which they can have no knowledge and over which they have no control.

(*From the Halifax Recorder*)

TO MR. HOLLAND.

SIR,—A writer in your last *Recorder* would endeavour, under the signature of Mercator, to make himself appear a champion for the banks, but like all others who have appeared on that side of the question, he admits that those establishments have been partly the cause of the present failures and distresses. His admissions are quite sufficient to destroy his arguments in their favour, as it is evident from these that he considers their operations as the first cause; and goes on with the endeavour to screen their conduct by laying the blame in the second place upon a class of inexperienced speculators. These have failed, and the judicious part as he terms them, of the community, are not surprised at the results. Now, sir, I consider this kind of covering argument all moonshine. Will Mercator pretend to say, that none but the injudicious have felt the pernicious influence of the banking system that has been operating in this province? It would be supposed from his assertions, that none else have become bankrupts, that these deserved their fate; and in reality that the country in general is in as healthy a state as it was before these institutions were established amongst us. If this be true, we must consider all the cry of hard times as proceeding from that class of unfortunate dupes who have been led into trouble and ruin, owing to the facilities held out by the banks for obtaining money Mercator is ignorant of the true state of the province otherwise he would not venture to make such assertions as these He has only viewed the surface without examining the interior. He supposes the evils to be at an end, with the failure of a certain class of individuals, who deserve their doom as a punishment for their misconduct. Let Mercator travel from one end of the province to the other, and he will find both farmer and tradesman in trouble and distress, no circulating money, no sale for produce of any description, an alarming and general depreciation of property both real and personal, in fact, a general stagnation to all those vital springs which gave health and strength to both farmer and tradesman. May I inquire, where are the judicious portion of the community, that do not feel the effects of such an accumulation of evils. If there are such, the number must be small indeed I know of none with the exception of the bankers themselves, and those who are in the receipt of large and permanent salaries. The bankers are judicious, none deny the fact, they are most judicious. Previous to the commencement of their system, a near calculation one would think was made as to what amount the province could spare without inevitable ruin That amount has been, by the working of the system, withdrawn from circulation. First place, they have received a large proportion in actual profit; secondly, from the facilities thrown open to every man who chose to enter into speculation, ten times the amount of goods was imported and consumed within the province than could possibly have been,

had those establishments not existed. The remaining part of the amount has been applied to pay for these articles which have been obligingly brought to us so cheap as to totally destroy every thing like internal manufacture. It is hard to tell how the credit of the province stands with reference to other countries, from whence these superfluities have been obtained. If the account has been decently kept up, it has been through the means of those facilities spoken of by Mercator. Bankers advanced, running the province headlong in debt, until they began to fear that both personal and real estate would be required to repay them back. Self-preservation alone caused them to pause. Had the resources of the country been of greater value we should still have had the good times of 1828 and 1831. But the bankers, those judicious few, saw, if the people could not, at what point to stop. They continued their discounting system with two names, until one of these became a little doubtful, another was then required, and as none but themselves had access within the veil to see the standing of every man in the community, of course the third name was easily obtained, and in like manner the fourth, &c. By this means the bad and good became entangled, and when one fell the other must go with him, unless his property was sufficient to make good the amount. I believe it to be the rule in banking establishments in England and else-

[illegible] ot and [illegible] t again to receive it under any circumstances. But what have our bankers been in the habit of doing? deliberately asking or soliciting for another name. Had they held to the other method, every man must of necessity have done no more business than his own individual credit would have upheld. This wholesome proceeding did not suit the judicious few who were the managers of the system; such a procedure would curtail the amount of importations, trade could not increase and extend so far beyond the resources of the country as to throw within their grasp its destinies; by such a course the people would be in a measure independent of them, their dealings not exceeding their abilities to pay; and real estate, the main object, would have been saved. It has ever been the practice in this province to give the rich and great of the land whatever they chose to ask for; and it cannot be surprising, when the obliging bankers, who a few years back had the credit of causing our sudden prosperity, made the simple request, another name required, that it was without hesitation granted. Their proceedings were all secret; a veil of mystery hung round about them, and men were drawn as by a charm to do whatever was required of them, fully convinced that every ordinance proceeding from such an assembly of wealth and experience must be good. Under these visions, time rolled on, trade continued brisk, sales could be effected, other names could be obtained if required, and the Bank supplied the means. Will any man pretend to say, that those bankers were ignorant of the results that were sure to follow such proceedings? Can it be thought they were so ignorant of business as not to be aware that Nova Scotia, importing five times the amount of her exports must run into ruin and bankruptcy? Were they ignorant of the part they were acting in this melodrama, supplying the means of lending money for the express purpose of encouraging every adventurer who could obtain other names to entangle himself and friends, and to assist in [illegible] he enormous balance already against the country? It would be treason against their acknowledged talents to think it for a moment. They were then, however, shrewd and intent upon gaining a certain object, and who will say they have not most fully attained the very summit of their wishes. Their system has run almost every individual into debt, they have amassed, from the labours of the people immense profits, they have depreciated the value of real estate, and when the period arrives that the latter is low enough for speculation, we shall see what use will be made of the power which these men

hold over the people. Houses and lands will centre into the possession of Mercator's judicious few, and the once independent inhabitants of Nova Scotia must either quit their native soil, or sink degraded into slavery; and be leased out according to the capricious wills of a few purse-proud aristocratical masters and landlords. Who will say that this community is not at the present moment completely in the power of twenty-one individuals, who if they so, pleased, could shut the doors of three quarters of the men in business in a single day, could bring their goods and estates to the hammer, and at last purchase it all at one-tenth perhaps of its real value? Can a system which brings things to such a pass as this be one which any well-wisher of his country can support or defend without blushing? It is useless for us to deny the truth, Halifax is exactly in this situation, and so nearly are its interests connected with the interior, that when the blow falls here it will be felt to the remotest sections of the province. Is it right that any body of men should be in possession of such a power to be exercised at will? If this can be proved to be beneficial to society, then let us cry, Long live the Banks! long live the paper system—which withdraws from the poor man his substance, conveys it to the coffers of the rich, giving them additional powers wherewith to oppress and grind to the dust all who dare oppose or show the least sort of honest independence. Some endeavours have been made to screen the Banks, by stating that other countries are in a depressed and languishing state, particularly in a commercial point of view, as an instance the United States of America. This is all true—but can it be brought as an argument to shift the *cause* from their shoulders, or rather are not Banks the sole cause of the general distress and stagnation that has lately taken place in that great country? The President is fully aware of this, he plainly sees the total ruin of his country if they are allowed to proceed as they have done, he sees that their enormous powers are converted into engines for party and political purposes, thwarting the aims of impartial justice, and contaminating the true principles of a free government. These things, together with their being the cause of the overtrading of the nation, has stimulated that patriotic individual to put himself in the gap, and by one bold act to stem the pernicious torrent which in a few short years would have swept independence and prosperity from the land. He deserves to be immortalized for the step he has taken, and should he succeed in extirpating the paper currency altogether, his name will be handed down to posterity, will be held in grateful remembrance, and be coupled with the great Washington himself in the estimation of future generations.

Those who have undertaken the defence of bankers and banking, are not ignorant of their pernicious influence. They cannot look to the right hand and to the left, and be blind to the effects visible on every side; but they would mislead the public, and endeavour to throw a part at least of the blame upon the people. Those endeavours are not made to screen the system which is universally acknowledged to be bad, but the individuals from whom it originated. They would endeavour to persuade us to take voluntarily upon ourselves a part of the obloquy, for the purpose of protecting in some measure a class of men, who, when their riches are taken into consideration, and the important situations that many of them hold, should be the last to betray the interests and confidence of the people. I cannot find a reason why the community should do this. Truth should lay bare to the world the acts of the powerful and rich, as well as the weak and poor, and if persons, who from their situations in life and the hold they have had upon the good opinion of the public, have betrayed them by means of this confidence into distress and ruin, I see not why the authors, in whatever station they may be, should not meet with a rigorous examination. The gold, their power, their high stations and standing in society should be left out of sight, and, divested of these, let them

pass the ordeal of public investigation and opinion. I am, sir,

NOVA SCOTIAN.

EFFECTS OF PAPER-MONEY IN THE COLONIES

(*From the Halifax Reporter, 24. July*)

Prospects.—The state of business is still deplorable, failures continue to occur, stagnation yet exists, and men look with fear to the future. We mentioned some time ago our sense of the delicacy and difficulty of this subject, and we see no reason yet to alter our view of it. Some of the most respectable and intelligent men in the community are suffering from the evils with which we are surrounded; they are thus powerfully influenced to seek after remedies, yet has any scheme been proposed of extensive promise, calculated to satisfy the most sanguine? We believe not, and further believe that no such thing can be proposed. Hot-bed discounts, funding the province paper or supporting its credit, what are these under present circumstances, more than removing a turned feather from beneath a patient in a deep seated dangerous illness. The removal may give ease, and should be attended to, but will it give health? We are still forced to believe, that as the public distress has been the growth of years of seeming prosperity and reckless adventure, so will its cure be comparatively slow; and that months of suffering and degression and fear will at length give place to a healthy calm, which calm we earnestly trust will be made doubly valuable by the experience now obtaining. In the mean time, would not the best course seem to be, without omitting any opportunity of hastening better times and ameliorating bad, not to be too anxious in pursuit of nostrums, nor too confident respecting those proposed; not to assist the depression by unnecessary alarm, by neglecting small openings because great are wanted; to cultivate, more than ever, industry and rational economy, and to trust for a return of prosperity to Him who blesses honest exertion, a[nd] who makes the fruit preparing spri[ng] to succeed the barren winter. This may seem rather slender consolation, but is it not better to indulge rational expectations, and put shoulders to the wheel in the mean time, than to irritate the mind and damp exertion by empty cheating dreams? If this be still objected to, we would really like to know what rapidly working patent medicine, can effect a sudden cure in a chronic disease. Where is the political economist, the man learned in currency, who will—not tell the people of the United States and Canada how they may escape difficulties, for it is easy to effect miracles at a distance, but who will tell the people of Halifax, simply, how they are to pay debts contracted in a day of debt-mania, how property is to be sold at a fair price when there are no buyers, how trade is to be forced while the whole western hemisphere is in commercial distress, and how many other difficulties too easily enumerated are to be subdued by schemes and enactments, or in any other way than by the slow careful return to health, which time will infallibly unfold to those who are patiently wise.

One prospect we have, worth a thousand of the political economist's nostrums, and as different from the cobweb subtleties of his school as heaven is to hell, this is the cheering prospect of an abundant harvest. We all have seen the frequent earth-feeding showers of the season, and have felt the influence of a deep blue cloudless sky in July; travellers tell us that the fields along the road sides give beautiful promise; correspondents in the interior inform us that agricultural prospects are delightful, and that the fishery is so productive sufficient salt can scarcely be procured to cure those caught; one from the western section of the province writes,—Wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and fruit, will be abundant, grass is excellent, our pastures are well filled with fine cattle and lambs, our rivers are teeming with fish, and all presents such an appearance of plenty that the inhabitants are in the highest spirits. This is excellent, and is a remedy and an antidote to depression, which speaks the Hand from which

it comes. The author of the Corn Law Rhymes in some of his verses, thanks heaven that man cannot prevent the rain from falling, the thunder from pealing, the forest from vegetating, or the lark from singing; in a similar mood we are inclined to ejaculate, thank Heaven that the worldly feelosophers cannot to any extent, try their fine theories on the meadow and the corn-field and the potatoe garden, on the river and on the sea, and on the fowls of heaven. If they could, we would have paper representatives of all those things no doubt; would find a bank of promissory notes when we wanted a school of fish; loaves like Macbeth's dagger, all air; cattle less substantial than Pharaoh's lean kine, and every thing as scientific, unsatisfactory, and unnatural as possible. In bills of mortality we see no mention made of moral disease, but if such were attended to, what a respectable number would be opposite the following:—Died from distress of mind, occasioned by the artificial state of society. Let us trust that the reduction of things to their first principles, which in a great measure we now see going forward, will ere long produce a more rational happy and sound state of things here. In the mean time we again urge thankfulness, that the news from the country comes so delightfully to mitigate the evils of the town; it is a period of health also; how dreadful if even a commonly sickly season, and an ordinary dearth were experienced, with our other evils. In all that Nova Scotia has borne, she has yet much cause of gratitude, and also, we are confident, of well grounded hopeful anticipation.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

PUBLIC MEETING AT NEWCASTLE TO PRESENT ADDRESSES TO EARL GREY.

(From the Tyne Mercury.)

A public meeting took place on Tuesday, 19, August, in the Guildhall, which was densely crowded in every part, for the purpose of presenting addresses to

Earl Grey on his return to his native county, and on his recent retirement from office. After several speeches were delivered, Earl Grey rose, and delivered the following speech:

Gentlemen,—The deputation from the borough of Tynemouth, from the incorporated companies of the burgesses, and from the borough of South Shields, and the gentlemen signing themselves as my friends, from whom the last address has been presented, I beg you all jointly and severally to accept my heartfelt thanks for the honour you have done me. It is quite impossible for any words that I can employ to express the deep and heartfelt sensations of satisfaction and gratitude with which I have met you on this occasion. The approbation of his fellow-countrymen is, in my estimation, the best reward which any public servant can receive, and it is so to me more especially on this occasion, when, on my retirement from public life, or at least from official life (hear, hear), my whole conduct lies before you. A favourable judgment has been pronounced on the principles and motives by which I have been regulated. Gentlemen, it certainly has been my lot in the long course of political warfare in which I have been engaged, to have my motives misunderstood, and at times misrepresented. They have not unfrequently been made the subject of attacks of great personal and bitter malignity. (Hear, hear.) I do not complain of this: it is the lot of all public men who take a leading part in questions of great political interest, which in the contentions that must necessarily ensue excite the conflicting interests, prejudices, and passions of mankind. But, gentlemen, whether I may have suffered in this respect little or much, I have always felt the support of conscious integrity. I have felt confident that at last justice would be done me when the whole course of my conduct was fairly before the country. (Applause.) All this—more than this—infinitely more than any thing I can merit ("No, no"), I have received on the present occasion (great applause); and it will be a consolation to me during my remaining years, and a subject of just pride, to reflect on the honour I have received this day. To myself it will form the greatest boast, as well as to those who are connected with me. (Applause.) Gentlemen, in all the addresses which I have had the honour to receive this day, allusion has been made to the great question of Parliamentary reform. To this question my early attention and early efforts in Parliament were directed. (Great applause.) Those efforts were afterwards suspended under circumstances which made me almost despair of success, but the cause was never abandoned by me. My efforts were resumed under happier auspices, and they have at length been brought to a happy and triumphant result. (Immense cheering). But when I say this, do not think I am so vain and presumptuous as to assume to myself any exclusive merit for what I have done. I was assisted by many men abler than myself, one of whom I am proud to see present on this occasion (immense cheering), men, without whose assistance my humble efforts would have been fruitless. I was supported by the confidence of my Sovereign; but all these advantages would have been insufficient, had I not been carried triumphantly through the midst of opposition and difficulty by the energies and spirit of a brave and enlightened people. (Tremendous cheering). Gentlemen, this great work has been accomplished, and the people of this country have now to boast that they possess, in the ancient language of the constitution, a full, fair, and free representation. Gentlemen, having obtained this, you have obtained that which insures to you all rational and useful reform; but give me leave to add, that the full advantage of this measure will never be experienced until it is universally found and acknowledged that in the security of the liberties of the people is to be found the best preservative of the order of society, the administration of regular government, and the authority of the laws. (Applause). Gentlemen, I have stated to you that this measure secures to you the means of all rational and salutary reforms; it

is a means to an end, and that end will be secured if pursued with moderation and wisdom. (Great applause). I trust you will not think it too great a liberty if I add, that having obtained a full and fair representation—(a few cries of "No, no)." I am sorry to hear any interruption. I trust nothing will pass on this occasion that will give additional advantage to the enemies of reform, to say that their predictions have been fulfilled, that if a large measure were given to the people, it would not cause satisfaction, but would lead to still further encroachments. (Hear, hear.) Those predictions will not, I trust, be verified through the imprudence of any by whose exertions this reform was obtained. (Applause). I have said that further reforms are required, but that they must be pursued with moderation. Having obtained, I repeat, a fair and full representation, it will not do to be proceeding in a continual course of agitation. Reform is necessary, but in the pursuit of this necessary work you must act, in the spirit of moderation and peace and consistently with the authority of a regular and settled government. (Applause). Reform I say is necessary. This is the conviction on which the present administration, of which I was lately a member, has always acted. This is the foundation on which that administration rests. It is interwoven with its existence, and it cannot exist without it. (Great applause). But if, by departing from this principle of moderation which I have mentioned, you are led by restlessness and impatience into hasty and inconsiderate measures, give me leave to tell you that the cause of reform itself will be endangered, and like the machinery which the ingenuity of the present age has brought to such perfection, if the regulating and controlling power be withdrawn, the increased velocity will cause the wheels to take fire, and reform itself will be prevented by combustion and destruction. (Great applause). These are the principles, to use a much perverted word, of true conservation, which I trust the people of England, enjoying so many blessings under their own constitution, will maintain in the spirit of peace, and with a desire to preserve and to uphold, and not to destroy. Perhaps I have already said more than the occasion required. (Cries of Go on, go on). I don't think it necessary to say more on this point; but I will advert to one which is referred to in the address from North Shields—viz., the extinction of slavery; and it adds a double interest to the address, that it was voted on that very day when the manacles of slavery fell from the limbs of our oppressed fellow-countrymen. (Great applause). I took a humble but a sincere and zealous part in endeavouring to accomplish and carry into effect this measure. It is true the expense which was incurred imposes a severe burden on the country; but I ask you, and I confidently anticipate your unanimous concurrence, whether it was not worth all the money which has been given to produce so great a good, and remove so foul a stain from the character of the nation. (Great applause). Many other great and important measures have been accomplished many more are in promise. Yet notwithstanding, I know it is a common complaint that the Government has not fulfilled the just expectations of the people. In answer to this complaint I desire that you will look into the difficulties with which we had to contend, not only in the way of direct opposition, but from the zeal of imprudent friends. It is said little has been done; but during the two last sessions of Parliament, and those two the longest sessions of which there is any example in history, more hours have been consumed every week in the House of Commons than has been known at any previous session. Many questions were introduced of great importance, and time was not found for their discussion. They were shut out by questions of which notice had been given. I do not find fault with this, it was a natural effect of the zeal of the persons who were returned to the first reformed Parliament. It showed their anxiety for the public good, and was therefore so far laudable; but I beg you to consider, that if every person, however good his intentions, kept the House of

Commons in the discussion of particular questions, some of them of an objectionable nature, casting ridicule on legislation, it was natural that discussion on those measures introduced by Government should be prevented. Under these circumstances, I ask you whether it is the fault of Government that more has no been done? (Cries of "No, no.") Here then, with this short notice, I take leave of these subjects, only begging you, as a second answer to this complaint, to look back, to these two sessions, and bear in mind the measures which have been brought to perfection; and I ask you, if three or four years ago any one had told you that at this season not only the measure of Parliamentary reform, but also those other measures which were its necessary consequences, would be accomplished, whether anybody in the British realm would have believed it? (Cries of "No, no.") Gentlemen, I take leave of you once more, by expressing my heartfelt thanks for your kindness. Many men have served you with more ability than I have done ("No, no"), none with purer or more disinterested motives. (Applause.) In answer to all the calumnies which have been heaped upon me, I desire my countrymen to view me in the situation in which I stood before I entered office, and compare it with my present situation; they will then see that my motive was not to obtain any thing for myself. I retire from office with the only reward, but certainly the best I could possibly receive—the confidence and goodwill of those before whose attention my conduct has passed. I have had many expressions of this goodwill, but I can assure you with the utmost truth and sincerity, they have come from none from whom they could have carried greater honour, or have been received with greater pride by me, than from the present numerous and respectable assembly, who have not only been acquainted with my public conduct, but also with my private life. It has been said that I have served the public half-a-century: it was in the year 1786, when I was first returned the representative of the county of Northumberland. A period of forty-eight years has since elapsed, of which period something less than five years have been spent in office. I retire with the best reward, the approbation of my countrymen. I do not enjoy any other of which any living man has a right to complain. (Applause). Here I might expatiate at great length, but I really feel so much overpowered by your kindness, so grateful for the honour you have done me, that I am unable to proceed. (His lordship appeared here to be much affected). Take, gentlemen, as an excuse for all my deficiencies my sincere and lasting thanks to you, which I offer to those gentlemen who presented these addresses, and to you, gentlemen, by whom they have been so favourably received. (Immense cheering followed the conclusion of his lordship's address, and continued for some time).

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

ARCHER, P. and G., Botolph-lane, merchants.
STRATTON, A. and J. H. Secretan, Cheapside, factors.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

GRIFFITHS, H., Liverpool, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

MALIANI, J., Charlotte-street, Portland-place, lodging-house-keeper.
SMITH, J., Old Broad-street, stock-broker.
THORNE, E., Bideford, Devonshire, draper.
TIMSON, W., Bush-lane, Cannon-street, wine-merchant.
WILSON, G., Atherstone, Warwickshire, victualler.
WOOD, P., Spittal-bridge, Yorkshire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

PAGE, J. and Co., Edinburgh, shawl-manufacturers.
SMART, D., Dundee, merchant.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19.

INSOLVENT.

STONE, R., Buckingham-street, Strand, tallow-chandler.

BANKRUPTS.

DIACK, G., Regent-street, Piccadilly, furniture-warehouseman.
HART, A., Exeter, clothes-salesman.
MACKINNON, D., Fitzroy-street, Fitzroy-square, wine-merchant.
MARKLEW, E., Talbot-court, Gracechurch-street, victualler.
THOMPSON, T., Westerham, Kent, grocer.
WHITEHOUSE, J. jun., Leamington, coal-dealer.
WRIGHT, E., Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, money-scrivener.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 18.—Though the arrivals of Wheat fresh up to this day's day's market from the home counties have been moderate, yet, added to the quantity left over from the extensive supplies of last week, caused the stands to be well filled with samples. Most of the new Wheats were discoloured, having the appearance of old Corn, and many were cold, but the quality for the most part fine and heavy. The millers having imported largely the previous week on their own account, evinced little disposition to purchase, and the trade in consequence ruled dull, even at a decline of 2s. to 3s. per quarter on the better descriptions of old Wheat, and 3s. to 4s. on new qualities, while inferior samples met with little or no attention, fine old red Wheat being noted at 50s., and runs at 48s; white at 56s. Nothing doing in bonded Corn.

The supplies of Barley continue very limited, but a demand existing for grinding qualities, last week's improved rates were fully maintained. We had three samples of new Barley exhibited from Kent, the quality was thin but kindly, no price, however, was fixed.

The Malt trade was heavy and prices nominal as last week.

The receipt of Oats from England as well as Scotland and Ireland has been again limited, but dealers anticipating better supplies, refrained from purchasing, and slow sale was experienced at the currency of Monday. For bonded Oats no inquiry, and prices extremely dull

There were few Beans at market, and the samples offering, maintained the currency of last week. Some *new* Tick qualities appeared and proved in excellent condition, realizing 35s.

Peas were in very limited request, and white qualities 1s. per quarter lower, but hog samples sustained no alteration.

The Flour trade was extremely languid, and prices receded to their former currency; best Town-made being noted at 45s.; ship Flour was also 1s. to 2s. per sack cheaper than this day week; best firsts not being worth more than 37s. to 38s.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s.	to 48s.
—— White	48s.	to 54s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	44s.	to 48s.
—— White, ditto	46s.	to 54s.
—— West Country red	44s.	to 48s.
—— White, ditto	50s.	to 52s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	42s.	to 46s.
—— White, ditto	42s.	to 48s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	40s.	to 44s.
—— White, ditto	44s.	to 52s.
—— Irish red	38s.	to 42s.
—— White, ditto	43s.	to 44s.
Barley, Malting	—s.	to —s.
—— Chevalier	—s.	to —s.
—— Distilling	30s.	to 32s.
—— Grinding	28s.	to 31s.
Malt, new	—s.	to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	52s.	to 60s.
—— Ware	58s.	to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	36s.	to 40s.
—— Maple	40s.	to 42s.
—— White Boilers	44s.	to 48s.
Beans, Small	34s.	to 38s.
—— Harrow	33s.	to 37s.
—— Tick	32s.	to 36s.
Oats, English Feed	21s.	to 23s.
Short, small	23s.	to 25s.
Poland	23s.	to 25s.
Scotch, common	22s.	to 25s.
Potato	25s	to 27s.
Berwick	24s.	to 26s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	23s.	to 24s.
—— —— Potato	23s.	to 25s.
—— —— Black	22s.	to 24s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s.	to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s.	to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, August 18.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was good; its supply of Porkers but limited. Trade was throughout dull, say with Beef and Lamb, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Mutton, Veal, and Pork, at barely Friday's quotations.

Full four fifths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of Short-horns, Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts and Irish beasts; the remainder of Scots, with about 50 Townsend cows, a few homebreds, Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep appeared to be new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-

faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fourth South Downs; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Fully three-fifths of the Lambs, the total number of which was supposed to be about 6,500, were new Leicesters of different crosses; the remainder South Downs, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish Half-breds, &c.

About 1,900 of the beasts, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Short-horns, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts: about 150, chiefly Scots, with a few Short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire: about 170, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts: above 40, chiefly Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Sussex and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Towns-end Cows, from the marshes, &c. near London.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90⅞	90¾	90¾	90⅝	90¾	90⅞

91, FLEET-STREET,
Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	2	10	0	to 3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5	0	3	15	0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	13	0	& upwards		
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3	10	0	to 4	0	0
Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0	1	10	0
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0	1	1	0
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0	0	14	0
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0	0	10	6
Valencia and Toilenet	0	10	6	0	14	0
Silk Ditto	0	10	0	1	0	0
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0	4	10	0

Naval, and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Hamburgh, July, 1834.

HEINE BROTHERS, in Hamburgh, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburgh, beg to inform, that the 64th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1. October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8l. 10s. sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8l 10s sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburgh, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8l. 0s. sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.

BRITISH COLLEGE of HEALTH, New Road, King's Cross, London.—Mr MORISON, the President, and Mr. MOAT, the Vice-President, in conjunction with all the Honorary Members and Country Agents of the British College of Health, being now fully borne out with the conviction, approbation, and indubitable proofs of upwards of 200,000 individuals (who had been thrown away by the Faculty, and out of the Hospitals as incurable), having been restored to sound health by the "Universal Medicines,"—with all this incontrovertible mass of evidence in support of the Hygeian Theory and Practice, which challenges the controversy of the whole body of Medicists, under the old system, to subvert—they, the heads of the College, hesitate not to declare, in the face of the Faculty, that this new light must completely change the whole course of the Materia Medica, and introduce a new era in the science of physic; that, in fact, mankind will be taught in future a new and certain mode of investigating the nature and cause of diseases in general, and of possessing a certain and harmless mode of cure, making every individual his own efficient doctor. In confirmation of what is here asserted, the heads of the College meant to insert in this paper a continued series of new cases from individuals giving their names, residences, and dates of time of cure, all of which have been voluntarily given, and ascertainable as to the facts by inquiry.

A CURE OF SCARLET FEVER.

TO MR. HUDSON, P. H. S.

DEAR SIR,—I think it a duty I owe to the public, as well as to yourself, to make an acknowledgment of the sudden benefit my daughter has received, by the use of Morison's Pills, a short time ago. I was very much distressed to see her suffer so much from fever, when a female of my acquaintance called in, and I said to her, You had better go and get a doctor; but she said, I had better get Morison's Pills, and send for you; and I am happy I was so fortunate. I think you gave her six of No. 1, and the spots came out in great abundance next day, indeed, all her body was in one complete scarlet; for the three following days you gave six Pills of No. 2, morning and evening, and for a few days longer Nos 1 and 2, alternately; but in less than a week the child was restored to perfect health. I had almost forgot to say that she drank plentifully of the Aperient Powders.

I am, in great respect, yours,
JOHN LOSH, Grocer,
Blackfriars-street, Carlisle.

N.B. It is not surprising to me that the above child was so soon cured, as it is almost an every-day occurrence.

9, *April*, 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 85.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30TH, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



"With respect to his (Mr. ADDINGTON'S) "*tax upon the funds*, I disagree with Mr. "PITT, who does not seem to think this tax "necessary, and who expresses his hopes that "Parliament will not overturn that *edifice* "which it has *erected with so much pains*. "Alas! Mr. PITT well knows, that this edifice "must be his sepulchral monument, or that "there will not be a stone to tell where he "lies. He, therefore, does not look on the "tax upon the funds as necessary to the *sal-* "*vation of the state*; whereas, I regard the "*destruction of the monarchy* as certain, unless the funded Debt be annihilated; and "this cannot, as far as I am able to perceive, "be conveniently and effectually done, except "by a tax, a direct and unequivocal tax upon "the funds; or, in other words, a deduction "from the interest due to individuals from "the capital stock. I hear a terrible outcry "excited by this opinion; but I despise this "sort of clamour and abuse. I am fully persuaded that my opinion is correct. It is the "result of long thinking upon the subject, "and has now been communicated to my "readers, not from any factious or party mo- "tive; but from a desire gradually to prepare "them for an event, which, if it came upon "the country all at once, and totally unex- "pected, might be productive of infinite mis- "chief."—*Register, Vol. IV. page 9, date* 16, *July*, 1803.

"Be the miseries, however, arising from "this source (a reduction of interest) what "they may, they *certainly are inevitable*; for, "if the Debt be not, somehow or other, anni- "hilated, the people must be ruined and en- "slaved, and then the annihilation of the "Debt comes of course. Horrid, therefore, "as the sound of national bankruptcy is to "the ears of the selfish and the foolish, it "must be borne; and their only alternative "is, bankruptcy and freedom, or bankruptcy "and slavery."—*Register, Vol. III., page* 924, *date* 18. *June*, 1803.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court.]

LORD ALTHORP.

Normandy Farm, 27. *Aug.*, 1834.

MY LORD,

I AM afraid that your lordship, like "*the doctor*," who was Minister at the time when the above motto was first published in this same everlasting *Register*, will exclaim, "I wish to God, "that that COBBETT had the gout in his "fingers." If I had had the gout in my fingers, or any where else, I would have taken care of one thing, at any rate, and that is, that that stupid and blundering fellow should not have been my doctor. To you, my lord, I address myself as to a person of great understanding, and as being in all respects the reverse of that HENRY ADDINGTON; and the subject on which I am now about to address you, connects the present day with the day more than thirty-one years ago, since the above motto was written and published; which subject is that of your present financial prospects, particularly as connected with the currency of the kingdom.

My lord, people call me, "*vindictive*"; that is to say, just, inflicting, to the utmost of my power, due punishment on those who do wrong to me, or who manifestly intend me wrong; or who act in the same way towards other persons whom I deem it my duty to endeavour to defend, or to avenge. Dr. JOHNSON very often gave a wrong interpretation to the meaning of words. He traces "*vindictive*" to "*vindicate*," which means to justify, to uphold, or to avenge, in an amiable sense of that word, therefore, a vindictive man, means man who justifies, who upholds, who avenges; and what was so common as to hear Lord GREY, above all men, talk of "vindicating the law", and yet nobody thought proper to call him a vindictive man, in a bad sense of the word; notwithstanding his *vigorous* works in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. I am vindictive, in the true sense of the

word; and it is necessary that men should be so; for if there were none such tyrants would always live in perfect safety. For my part I hate a tame wretch, who seeks safety in passive obedience and non-resistance; and, if I could, I would have every such wretch flogged, till I flogged some spirit into him, or all the blood out of him.

This preface I thought necessary previous to what I am now going to say. Your lordship will hardly have forgotten the scene in the House of Commons, on the 16. of May, 1833, when I proposed a resolution relative to Sir ROBERT PEEL: and, if you forget the part that you acted in the scene, I do not. In pursuance of the principle which I have laid down relative to vindictiveness; that is to say, a disposition to perform acts of justice on those who do wrong to one's self, or one's neighbour, I will here publish, for the second time, the whole of that resolution; and then I will call the attention of your lordship to certain parts of it; and this is the way, and the only way, in which I shall perform the act of justice demanded in this case.

RESOLVED: 1. That, according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, the King our Sovereign Lord can do no wrong to the whole, to any part, or to any one, of his subjects; that, however, effectually to guard against wrong being, in his Majesty's name and under his authority, done to his subjects with impunity, the same laws and customs, which have, as our birth-right, descended to us from our just and wise forefathers, make all and every one, acting in that name and under that authority, fully and really responsible to the good people of this kingdom, for every wrong done unto them by any and every p rson invested with such authority, and that in virtue of such responsibility, the wrong-doing party is subject to such censures, pains, and penalties, as in virtue of the said laws and customs, the several tribunals of the kingdom have, in all ages, been wont to inflict; that, if this responsibility were not real and practical, we should be living under not only a despotism, but an avowed despotism, for the King being incapable of wrong-doing, and his servants being responsible merely in name and form, and not in practice, they also could do no wrong, and then the people of this renowned kingdom, the cradle of true liberty, would be the most wretched slaves ever yet heard of under the sun; that, in cases where the wrong-doing is committed by inferior functionaries, or is, in its effects, confined to individuals, or to small numbers of sufferers, the ordinary courts of justice have usually been deemed competent to afford redress to the injured; but, that, when the wrong is the act of a Minister of State, sworn to advise the King for the good of his people, when that Minister of State receives as a reward for his fidelity and skill large sums of the people's money, and when the wrong by him done is, in its effects, so deeply and so generally mischievous, as to send ruin and misery to sweep over the kingdom like the pestilence, then there is, for the purpose of yielding justice to the suffering millions, no power competent but that which is possessed by their faithful representatives assembled in this House.

2. That in the year 1819, there had long been and then was, in virtue of divers acts of Parliament theretofore passed, a paper-money, in circulation throughout this kingdom, which paper-money was, in effect, a legal tender in payment of all private debts, as well as in the payment of taxes; that this paper-money, descending so low as to notes of one-pound, had been the almost only circulating money of the country, from the month of February, 1797, that is to say, for the space of twenty-one years; that this paper-money soon became depreciated to so great an extent, that the prices of commodities had, during the said twenty-one

years, risen, on an average of years and of commodities, to about double the amount of the prices at which the same commodities were usually sold before the issue of the said legal-tender paper-money; that the depreciation of the money was so notorious and so amply avowed in Parliament, that divers acts were passed, during the said twenty-one years, to raise the allowances to the royal family, the salaries of the judges, of the police-magistrates, of the army, of the navy, and of almost every one in public employ, for the purpose of counteracting the effect of this very great depreciation; that, during the said twenty-one years next preceding 1819, all mortgages, rent-charges, leases, settlements, annuities, bonds, and other contracts for time, together with all wills and testaments, had been agreed on, settled, and made, on the basis of this depreciated money. and that, during the said twenty-one years, about *five hundred millions of the public debt* had been contracted in the said depreciated paper-money; that, therefore, to pass an act compelling the debtor parties to make good these contracts for time, to the very letter, in sterling gold, must be, in fact, an act of confiscation against, and a sentence of ruin pronounced upon, these parties; while, with regard to the people at large, such act must, in reality, nearly double the amount of the public debt, nearly double the amount of all the above-mentioned augmented salaries and public pay, and of course nearly double the real amount of the taxes.

3. That, notwithstanding these premises and conclusions, so indubitably true, and so clear to the understanding of every man of common sense, the Right Honourable Robert Peel, then one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, did, in the said year 1819, bring into the then House of Commons, and procure to be passed by that House, a Bill to put an end to the legal-tender paper-money, which Bill, unaccompanied as it was with any measure for the revision and rectifying of private contracts, and for the adjustment of public engagements, was a bill inevitably tending to produce that injustice, that confiscation, and that ruin, hereinbefore described.

4. That this Act, which received the royal assent on the 2. July, 1819, though it provided for what was called the gradual resumption of gold payments, began at once to plunge the whole community into pecuniary confusion; that the prices of all commodities, and of all property, moveable or immoveable, began instantly to fall prodigiously in price; that mortgaged estates were, in thousands upon thousands of instances, taken from the owners and sold, in many cases, for less than the amount of the mortgages; that, in other cases, fixed charges upon estates swallowed up the whole of the rental; while, with regard to leases, bonds, annuities, and other contracts for time, and, above all things, with regard to property dropping in to be disposed of by will, the demon of injustice seemed to have been, by this destructive act, let loose upon the kingdom, setting landlords and tenants, creditors and debtors, brothers and sisters, parents and children, to tear each other to pieces, bringing down hundreds of thousands of families from a state of competence and ease, and many from a state of opulence, to a state of utter ruin and beggary, while all those who were living on the taxes, and who were, in fact, receiving double pay, were rolling in wealth, and lording it over the rest of the community; and that of all these dreadful effects of such a measure the said Right Honourable Robert Peel had been duly warned even before he brought in the said fatal bill.

5. That by the said act gold payments were to be completely resumed, and the one-pound notes were to be wholly abolished, in the month of May, 1823; but, that so terrible were the effects of the aforesaid act, such were the ruin and misery that it had produced, that on the 22. July, 1822, another bill was, by the then advisers of his Majesty (of whom the said Right Honourable Robert Peel was one) brought into the then House of Commons, and was afterwards passed into a law, postponing the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years longer; that an important part of the act of 1819 was thus repealed; that an acknowledgment was thus virtually made by an act of the House itself; that it had, principally by the said Right Honourable Robert Peel, been induced to act unwisely, and to do great wrong to the people by the said act of 1819.
6. That, if the act of 1822 had been wise, if it had put a stop to the wrong done and still doing by the act of 1819, it came very tardily, it waited till prodigious ruin had been effected; but that this act of 1822, while it postponed the abolition of the one-pound notes for eleven years, left the gold payment part of the act of 1819 in full force: so that, while the issuers of paper-money were thus invited and encouraged to inundate the country with one-pound notes, they and the holders of their notes were left exposed to constant, and, first or last, certain ruin; that this ruin (of which the said Right Honourable Robert Peel and his colleagues were duly warned) was not slow in making its appearance; that, towards the close of the year 1825, the bubble, thus created by the law itself, began to burst, and that, before the end of January, 1826, a hundred banks had stopped, not having gold wherewith to pay their notes, the whole kingdom being thereby plunged into alarm and confusion, thousands upon thousands of families (descending to the very artizans and labourers) being brought down to beggary; and, such being the state into which the country had been brought, that the Ministers themselves declared, in Parliament, that at one time the country had actually been within forty-eight hours of barter; that is to say, destitute of all measure of value, and in a state of utter confusion and anarchy.
7. That, with all this sad experience of the effects of his measures, the said Right Honourable Robert Peel (still one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and then become one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State) gave his sanction to a bill (which became an act on the 22. March, 1826) for again abolishing the one-pound notes at the end of three years, notwithstanding the postponement of such abolition, provided for in the act of 1822; that, by this act of 1826, the nation was again plunged back into the low prices, and in effect double taxes, produced by the unjust act of 1819; that the ruin and misery of all the industrious classes, and the wealth and luxury of those who live on the taxes have gone on increasing from that day to this; and that at this moment there appears to be no human being able to discover any quiet way of extricating the kingdom from its present state of unparalleled difficulty and danger.

Now, I beg your lordship to look at the seventh paragraph of this resolution; then to recollect, that you made a motion, which you carried with uproarious acclamation, to prevent this resolution from being entered upon the minutes of the proceedings; and that the Speaker, after observing that the resolution was already on the minutes, *amended your motion himself*, and made it propose to expunge the resolution from the minutes! Thus was a motion made, *without notice*, and thus was it amended by the Speaker,

without any vote, or any assent of the House. This was what I call *rough work*; home-spun; and this is the manner in which I avenge it; that is to say, do justice with regard to it.

The resolution was expunged from the minutes of the proceedings of the House; but it was put upon record in *Register*, volume 80, page 387, where I verily believe it will live, and be read; live longer, and be read oftener, than it would have been, if it had been left on the journals of this famously reformed House of Commons.

Now, then, this act of justice being performed, I will throw it aside, as a hop picker does his tally, when the hopping is over. I will refer to the resolution as to a document containing an expression of opinions which I had always held, and which I still hold: and can your lordship look at paragraph seven, and particularly at the close of it, without seeing how it applies to the situation in which we are all placed, and particularly to the situation in which you yourself are placed? I know nothing of the truth or the falsehood of the rumours which are afloat relative to the approach of an issue of one-pound notes, and a proclamation of legal tender. I do not think that it is necessary for me to offer any opinion as to what course you will pursue; but this I know to a certainty, that you cannot proceed much further in your present course. You cannot much longer sacrifice all the industrious classes to the swarms of usurers, pensioners, sinecure-people, dead-weight people, bayonet-men, and the rest of those who live upon the labour of others. I know to a certainty, that you cannot do this much longer; and the probability is, that you will have one more try at the paper-money; and I should not at all wonder if you were to adopt, *at full length*, the proposition of the honourable Member for Birmingham, who has been almost hooted out of the House for making that proposition. Shame, on the part of Ministers of state, has long since ceased to exist; but one would think that this was rather too much for faces actually cased over with brass.

I do not know that I ever experienced pleasure quite so great, as a *politicianer*, as I did when I read the first declaration of Mr. President JACKSON relative to the paper-money. I then saw, and I told your lordship then, that I did see, that the United States would in all likelihood come to real money; and that, if they did, we must draw in our paper to an immense extent; or become open and most impudent bankrupts, and see our hectoring, lordly, insolent, and brutal bank-directors kicked and cuffed about the streets like the rest of the scum of mankind, to which they of right belong. I told your lordship then, that America must, and would, have her share of the gold of the world; that her share was a *very large one*; that she would draw a due proportion from all the nations of Europe; that she would draw from us, in proportion to our share, which was also a very large one; that the other nations of Europe must come nearer to gold, too, or be totally ruined; and that we must come back to the base and fraudulent one-pound notes; or must bring down the price of wheat to five or four shillings a bushel, or, perhaps, to three-and-sixpence, which must bring you to my equitable adjustment; or to a blowing-up of this whole system of government.

And, my lord, how does the thing stand now? Is there a man in his senses in this whole kingdom, who believes that you can collect fifty-two millions of sovereigns in taxes, every year, with wheat at four shillings a bushel, *imperial* measure, as the jack-asses call it; and as pigs or geese would have too much sense to call it, too much sense of shame. Is there a man in his senses who believes that you can collect fifty-two millions of taxes, *in gold*, with wheat at four shillings a bushel? You may have your and BROUGHAM'S big workhouses; you may have three hundred thousand, instead of one hundred thousand, bayonets; you may have your Bourbon-police spying into every village of the kingdom; but you cannot make the people pay fifty-two millions of sovereigns in a year, with wheat at four shillings a bushel.

There is not one farmer out of ten, at this time, who is in a state of solvency. I hear this from all quarters. My own observation and knowledge relative to the facts, that which I hear from persons who must know; that which I gather from the reason of the case itself; all concur in convincing me of the truth of that which I state relative to the wretched state of the farmers; and it is to them, after all, that we are to look when we are seeking for a criterion whereby to judge of the state of the country. It is a country plunged into difficulty, distress, ruin, and misery, by bands of usurers, fostered by a system of usury more extended and more complete than any that ever before existed in the world. To these bands of usurers are added swarms of insolent devourers who live in idleness on the fruit of the labour of the industrious. The hand of industry is slackened and discouraged at every motion; and nothing thrives, nothing is prosperous, but fraud and idleness.

But it is impossible to carry this system further. You cannot take more than you now take from the labouring man, and give it to the whiskered, insolent, and lazy fellow. Your lordship was complimented on your "*moral courage*," when you were persisting in the bastardy clauses of your Poor-law Bill; and it did require a good deal of *moral* courage; but you have not the moral courage to face the bands of usurers and idlers; nor have you the moral courage to face the *canters* of any description; and I should not wonder to hear you singing out "NATIONAL FAITH FOR EVER," while your lancers were escorting whole parishes of farmers to your and BROUGHAM'S poor-houses. To this pass, however, you cannot bring it. It is beyond your power, and all the power that can be mustered together, to uphold this form of government with things brought to this pass.

This is your situation. How are you to get out of it? for, go down to wheat at four shillings a bushel you cannot, even with a gallows at every corner of a street, and in every hamlet, and with a brace of Brougham's and your work-houses in every county, guarded by a redoubt. I know how you could get out of it, and how you ought to get out of it. You ought to repeal STURGES BOURNE'S Bills; you ought to repeal your FRANKLAND LEWIS Poor-law Bill; you ought to repeal old ELLENBOROUGH'S Act, *improved* by LANSDOWNE; you ought to repeal the Six Acts, which you yourself opposed; you ought to repeal PEEL'S new felony laws, and new trespass laws; you ought to repeal the law for enabling justices of the peace to transport men for poaching; and you ought to make an equitable adjustment as to all debts, and particularly the debt called the public debt. All this you ought to do; and none of this you will do; though it will *all be done*, and good luck it will be to you and your order, if nothing else be done along with it; great good luck, my lord, if delaying to extirpate the weeds does not end with an extirpation of both weeds and corn!

But something you must do; and I can see nothing that you can do, except giving us *one-pounders* and *legal tender*; and that I think it is very likely that you will do; and, in that case, I think I may have a chance of proposing a resolution that will be suffered to remain on the minutes. With regard to this measure there is but one difficulty in the way, and that I will mention by-and-by. The farmers are for it; the landlords are for it; the tradesmen are for it. The rascally usurers and the insolent idlers have, by this time, sense enough to perceive that it would be injurious to them; sense enough to perceive, that it is better for them to get a quartern loaf for sixpence, than to be obliged to give half-a-crown for it, their income being always of the same nominal amount: but, greedy and insolent as they are, they perceive that it is possible for them, at last, *to get nothing at all*, if you adhere to the hard-money; if you, taking the station of JACKSON, and having his nick-name given to you, be resolved to become the toast of the Cobbettites, in the words, "HICKORY, HOMESPUN, AND HARD-MONEY." The lazy-bone crew; that insolent crew, and the down-look-

ing and base usurers have not lived all this time without knowing, that, if you still cling to hard-money, it is just possible that they may get none of it; and I can assure them that it is just as certain as it is that they ought to be compelled to work for their bread, or starve, men and women, too.

Therefore, even these wretches; these drones of the Change; these wasps of *Trafalgar-place*, and *Pall Mall East*, who have waiters in silk-stockings, and panes of glass to look through, costing five pounds a piece; even these hordes of devourers would, considering all things, like the one-pounders and legal-tender. It would go hard with your platoons of commissioners. *Pis-aller* Parkes and Roaring Rushton, and the bands of mares'-tail poor-law-runners, would not stomach it, to come from the sirloin of the ox down to the sticking-piece of the cheek; and they would so come down; and I should see them eating in those houses where the knives and forks are chained to the table, and where a great rough dog is kept for them to wipe their hands in, and their mouths, too. It would be devilish work, to be sure, to see your commissioners for poor-law reform, and corporate-reform, and charity-reform, and common law-reform, and church reform, Irish and English: it would be a sorrowful thing, my lord, in the eyes of some persons to see these, and Senior, and all the rest of the Scotch *feelosofizing* tribe, who, though they recommend a "coarser food" for the working people of England, have, like Jeremy in the play, "a *taste*" for better things destined to go down their own throats at the expense of those who do the work; to some eyes it would be a sorrowful sight to behold all these stuffing away upon a sticking-piece, and rattling the chains afore-mentioned: to *me* it would be the most agreeable sight in the world, and this sight, or something approaching towards it, *must take place*, in one way or another, or there must be a general and dreadful convulsion in this country.

Now, my lord, these men see this clearly enough; and though they know very well, that the one-pounders must bring them to *this*, they also know that hard-money may bring them to a *want even of this*, and which it certainly would bring them to. There is not a man of them, who, if set at employment for which his capacity fits him, is able to earn as much as would supply him with a meal, even at an *auberge*; or, rather, a *place à manger*. This they know; for there is no so cunning a creature; none so sharp-sighted, as he that is living upon what he knows he ought not to have. No eyes, no ears, are so sharp as those of animals engaged in furtive pursuits. Look at a hog, or a cow, or a sheep, that has broken into some place, and is eating what it ought not to be eating. You will see them swallowing away, but every now and then lifting up their heads and looking about and listening. Let them but hear your approach, or think they hear the sound of any voice, and back they scamper to the gap where they got in; and, if you have a stick in your hand, the cunning devil of a pig begins to squeak, by way of anticipation, the moment he sees you. It would be hard, indeed, my lord, if your poor-law commissioners, and corporate reform commissioners, and church reform commissione s, had not instinct equal to these four-legged commissioners, I might call them. Hard, indeed; but they have: they perceive the dilemma; aye, and while they are sitting, drinking your and Brougham's health, over their champagne and pine-apples, and collecting each other's ideas, relative to the sort of "coarser food," to which the working people of England ought to be reduced; if a chopstick were to bounce in amongst them with a hedge-stake in his hand, they would scamper off, and, like the pig in the corn-field, squeak as they ran.

Therefore, my lord (and this is the very consummation), even these men would approve of the one-pound notes and legal tender; because they would naturally say, it is bad, very bad, to come to the imprisoned knifes and forks: very bad to wash down the bullock's liver with *dippings up*, quite as good as any to be found in the richest horse-pond in

England, and of as deep a colour; very bad, to come from the wash-hand basin and the rose-water, and the damask towel, to the hair of the rough newfoundland dog: all this is very bad; but to have *no bullock's liver*; to have no *dippings up*, without being compelled to work, is a great deal worse; and therefore, let us have the one-pound notes and legal tender. We may have these by selling matches, by some prowling, canting life, without being compelled to sweat That sweat is the devil: therefore, let us have the one-pound notes and legal tender.

So that, my lord, you will have all the world with you, except the gentlemen who carry bayonets, who never reason upon any proposition, the tendency of which is, to deduct from their daily quantity of meat, bread, beer, and gin. They will be told that a *pound is a pound*. But when the landlord told them that the paper pounds were not worth so much as the golden pounds, they would begin to say that there was something wrong. So that here would be a difficulty I confess, and I dare say you see it. However, this might be got over. But there would be another difficulty which you could not overcome; and that is, to disguise from this long-abused nation; to shut the eyes of this long hood-winked people; so to cajole them, so to bebother them, and bewilder them, as for them not to see, and not to say, and not to roar it out from one end of the kingdom to the other, that here was now the fulfilment of all Cobbett's prophecies, that here was at last the full and complete proof of his having been always right for thirty-four years; that he who never took in any shape whatsoever one farthing of the public money, either by himself or by any one belonging to him, had been right all this time, while all the successive ministries during that time pocketed millions and millions of the public money as payment for their services; here will be this fact; and here shall I be with tongue to proclaim it throughout this kingdom, and with pen to send it to the ends of the earth.

Shameful as is the thought; scandalous as it is, I do verily believe, that this will be deemed the greatest of all the difficulties. I have often said, and I say it now again, that this long train of ruinous measures with regard to the money, has had for its principal cause, a dread of hearing the nation say, that I had been proved to have been right. It has been a war between me and this Government. Better have made peace with me twenty years ago, better have *let me alone*, at any rate. But the pride and insolence of brutal ignorance would not permit this. Better have made an apology to me, and given me back my thousand pounds after 1812. Very curious; but I have heard within these fifteen years, and from *undoubted authority*, that Lord Moira proposed to the Big Sovereign to let me out of prison, when he came to his full power as Regent, and to remit the thousand pounds and the bail. He would not do it. Better even for him, if he had. But power is never wise, when it enters on a contest with those whom it deems to be weak. It always proceeds upon the presumption that the victim can never take vengeance, can never do justice on the unjust. I hope it will be said of me, that no powerful man ever did me wrong, without my inflicting vengeance on him to the utmost of my power.

Your lordship sees, that so early as June, 1803, I began to predict that this nation must be brought to ruin, and convulsion, and revolution, if this system of "*national faith*" and of squandering were persevered in. Every word written at that day applies at the present moment. I was, as I there say, actuated by no party or factious motive: I never was; and I am not now, any more than I was then. I never in my life did that which ought to offend any nobleman or person in authority, civil or clerical, unless I had been ill-treated by that person. I never showed any mark of disrespect to any person of rank or station. I never was amongst those who ridiculed titles of nobility, and laughed at the idea of hereditary wisdom and hereditary virtue; not because I thought persons in that station wiser or better

than myself, or than men in general; but because long experience had shown to this nation, that the greatest degree of freedom and of happiness, of which communities are capable, had been enjoyed, and for centuries, too, under a government, in which hereditary honours and hereditary rights formed so large a part. My bearing; that is to say, my personal deportment, towards men of rank and station, has invariably been marked by that deference which is their due, and which we must regard as their due, if we mean to support this form of government. I have never, in the whole course of my life, given in to any gross familiarity, even in speaking of persons of high rank, except, indeed, with the *pen*, and when they have committed an offence against me, or against those, whom it is my duty to defend. In short, I have truly and sincerely been content to be in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call me. I was born and bred a farmer, or a sort of labourer; and I have never desired to have any rank, station, or name, or calling, more or other than that of a farmer. Lord Grey made it a merit to profess a resolution to stand by his order. As far as was just, it was a merit; but then, nobody can blame me for standing by my order.

Now all this being undeniably true, one would wonder why it is that the antipathy of this aristocracy to me should be so great as to induce them to do that which must inflict ruin on themselves, because, and only because, the doing that which would have been wise would have proclaimed to the nation that I was a person of great knowledge and great good sense. Ah! they knew that I wanted nothing for myself, but they knew that I wanted to take from them the power of oppressing and pillaging the order to which I belonged; admire my industry, my perseverance, my wonderful exertions, my clear sightedness; but there was at the bottom, to balance against all these, my strong and implacable hatred of oppression of all sorts; and particularly the partiality of taxation; the stripping of the working people of their earnings, and the heaping of those earnings upon idlers. This has been the constant ground of their hostility to me; and I must say, that I trust in God that I shall so conduct myself as to cause the hostility to continue until the last hour of my life.

The question is, whether my advice be now to be followed, or whether this whole concern is to go to atoms; for I hope that your lordship is too wise to imagine, that the one-pounders and legal tender will prevent a convulsion. They will form a measure the most *popular* that Minister ever adopted; but, for all that, it will keep off the convulsion for a very short time. It will not retard the END more than a year or two at the most; those will be years approaching very nearly to something worthy of the name of confusion. However, no man can tell exactly when or how this thing is to end. End how it will, or when it will, it will reflect honour on me, and shame on those who have so often endeavoured to destroy me.

I shall conclude this letter with reminding your lordship of the conduct of this Government and Parliament, in the case of Peel's Bill, which, coming unaccompanied with measures of adjustment, has been the cause of all these miseries to the people, and of all the difficulties in which your lordship is now involved.

In 1818, Tierney made a speech in the House of Commons, in the month of May, urging the then Ministers to cause the Bank to return to payments in gold. To do this "*by degrees*," indeed; but to do it, without proposing at the same time to reduce the interest of the debt, and of contracts between man and man. In the month of July, of that year, I, being in exile in Long Island, to avoid the dungeons of Sidmouth and Castlereagh, wrote and published a letter to this pensioner, Tierney, which letter was published in London, in September, of that year, and about twenty or thirty thousand copies of it were sold. In that letter I proved, in the most clear and familiar manner, that the return to gold payments must be dreadfully ruinous to the nation. I showed, so clearly, that a

child of ten years old might have understood it, that such a measure must inflict injustice and cruelty enormous. In short, I stated the consequences of such a measure as truly, and as plainly, as those consequences could now be stated with all the facts before us. With this letter in your hands (for you must have read it), you proceeded to pass that fatal bill, just as it had been recommended by TIERNEY, who, indeed, at the passing of it, claimed the honour of being its father; and that old hack was your opposition "*leader*" at the time. Better for you, if you had had me for a *leader*, much as your high stomachs may revolt at the thought.

Now, can any thing be said in defence of a Government, or of the system of a Government, that inflicts such enormous ruin on a whole people, and in the teeth of such a warning. Ah! but *why* were you to believe, that I knew better than any of you what would be the consequences? *Why!* because you ought to have known that I had more knowledge and more sense than you, all of you put together. *Why*, indeed! Because I was right and you were wrong. What ground will there ever be for charging persons with wilful obstinacy and perverseness, if they are to plead want of belief in those who give them advice, and who warn them of their danger! What! as I have often put the case, suppose my carter going across the down in the night, and not being sure of his way, and there being no track of wheels to guide him, is told by some man, no matter who: "Stop, don't go down there; there's a "chalk-pit down there"; and suppose the obstinate brute to answer: "How the devil should you know"; and then go on, giving his horses a cut to show his contempt of the adviser, and happening to have a blind horse before, though of lively motion, to send headlong down the pit, horses, wagon, and all, taking care to *keep behind himself*. Suppose all this, would your lordship say, that this vagabond was to escape punishment, if I discovered that he had been warned of the danger? Certainly, as a magistrate, you would not say so. A lawyer would tell me to bring an action against the ruffian; but having nothing wherewith to satisfy the action, I should take him to the magistrate, who would commit him to jail for three months, and make him serve me another three months for the loss of his time in jail, if he were a servant in husbandry. This is *reason* and *justice*. And is neither reason nor justice to prevail, in the case of those who have inflicted this mighty wrong on the English nation?

This brutally obstinate carter might say: "It was very dark: I saw nothing "of the chalk-pit; and I did not know "any thing of the fellow that told me "there was a chalk-pit: how was I to "*know* that he was telling me the "truth"; to which you, as a magistrate, would answer: "Ah! you rascal; but "the darkness of the night; the untrodden down; the uncertainty in "which you were; these ought to have "made you doubly cautious, especially when you knew that there was at stake "a wagon and a whole team of fine "horses: and, though you did not know "any thing of the fellow that told you "about the chalk-pit, you might have "*stopped* the team, you rascal, and have "gone forward, looked about you, or you "might have stayed till daylight; instead of all which, you drove forward "the team to be destroyed, while you "stay behind yourself and save your "own worthless carcase."

My lord, if there be no responsibility for this mighty wrong; if there be no *punishment*, of any sort, inflicted on any one for doing this most enormous wrong to the nation, the word responsibility is a mockery, and we live under a government that gives us no redress for wrong. I have talked of the warning; I have talked of this letter to TIERNEY; many boys have become young men since I re-published it the last time; and, therefore, I now re-publish it again. And, if your lordship were to *read it again*, if it did you no good, I am sure it would do you no harm. The passing of PEEL'S Bill ought never to be spoken of without speaking of this *warning* at the same time. When we have the one-pound

notes and the legal tender, we will rip all the whole story up again, till we get it through into the thickest skull in the country.

I am,
Your lordship's
most obedient,
and most humble servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

TO THE COBBETTITES.

Many have called at Bolt-Court to obtain information relative to the putting up of the Gridiron. It is at a friend's at Kensington. If Lord Althorp leaves us enough gold in the country, it shall be gilt, decorated with laurel, fixed firmly in a stout wagon with four horses, and thus carried, slow march to Bolt-Court, and there fixed up on the front of the house; and there it shall remain till a sovereign in gold will sell for twenty one-pound notes; and then as soon as we have hoisted the *gridiron* we will have a dinner, at which we will laugh to scorn all the stupid and malignant beasts that have been abusing me for so many years. I had a right to put up the gridiron long and long ago, my prophecy having been fulfilled; but I thought I would stop till the finishing stroke came; and now we shall pretty soon have it in one way or another.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

The Nineteenth Number will be published on the First of September, and that is the last but one. In this history will be seen all the more immediate causes of our present situation. I am very much pleased that I have done it. I know that I have done it truly, and I think that I have done it well. All young men that can read should read it; and then they will never be led along in blindness as their fathers have been.

For the information of friends in Ireland, I think it necessary to say, that it is my intention, if not delayed by the road, to be in Dublin in the first, or early in the second week of September. I am very anxious to see with my own eyes, how it happens that a people, whose land and whose labour feed so large a part of several other nations, should have nothing to eat themselves, other than those things which four-legged creatures live upon; and see this, I now will. I do not like to be talking about a country that I have not seen. I should have gone to Ireland in the September of last year; but it pleased Providence to give me "other fish to fry"; and the cookery lasted too long for me to get away until the nasty weather began to set in.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. GEO. TIERNEY.

On his opposition to the Bank Protecting Act.

North Hampstead, Long Island,
1. *July*, 1818.

Sir,

I address you upon the subject of the debate on the thing called the *Bank Restriction* Act, passed in May last, and in which debate you took a part. I make use of your name upon this occasion for two reasons; *first*, that the Letter, which I am writing may, without much of circumlocution, have an appellation to distinguish it from other of my letters on the same subject; and, second, that I may directly, and, as it were, foot-to-foot, place myself, as to some of your opinions, in opposition to you, whom I regard as being by far the most able man now in what is called the House of Commons. The question, upon which we are at issue, involves considerations of most tremendous importance; and the decision of it must take place at no very distant day. Therefore, though my opinions respecting it stand already, over and over again, recorded in terms the most positive as to meaning and the most distinct as to

expression, I am anxious, from a sense of duty towards my country as well as from a love of honest fame, to put them once more into print. If events should prove that I am in error, as to this weighty matter, justice towards those whom I may have misled, demands that I put into their hands the power of detection: and, if events should prove that I am correct, justice towards myself demands that I put beyond all dispute my claim to that public confidence, which may serve as some compensation for all the persecution which I have suffered, chiefly for having promulgated these very opinions, which I am now about to re-assert.

During the far greater part of my political life, I have entertained, and have, with very little intermission, been endeavouring to produce in the minds of others, a hatred and a horror of the funding and paper-money system. In referring to its origin, I found it bottomed in a settled design to sap the foundations of the constitution of England; and, in tracing its progress, I found this detestable design had, by the intended means, and in the intended manner, been but too fully accomplished. But, it is not of the silent, the sapping, the corrupting effects of this bishop-begotten and hell-born system that I am now about to speak: nor is it of the misery, the starvation, the stripes, and the deadly wounds, which, with the aid of a standing army, it is, at this time, inflicting on the nation. It is of the effects which it has yet in reserve; and with regard to which effects, I perceive, that you hold opinions opposite to mine.

I will not waste my time, as you thought proper to waste yours, in an exposure of the flimsy, the shuffling, the false, the ridiculous pretexts, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward as the grounds of his proposition for continuing the protecting act in force for another year. It can never be worth the ink that one writes with to be listened to by those, who could, for one single moment, listen to those pretexts as something worthy of attention. Your observations on the *future effects* of the system, and your opinions as to the *practicability* and the *means* of preventing those effects: these constitute the only parts of the debate that merit the notice of any rational being.

It has always been an opinion, openly avowed by me, that the funding-system would be marked in its last stage, by a great national change; and, more recently, since it has been upheld as copartner of the borough-system, and since such and so many acts of tyranny have been committed in the upholding of these systems, I have been of opinion, as I yet am, that the end of the funding will be the end of its atrocious associate; that they will die in each others arms amidst the shouting of the people; and this we may, I take it, call a great *convulsion*.

You are, I see, sir, also of opinion, that the thing will end in a great *convulsion*. "He, therefore, exhorted the "House to show its *earnestness* upon this occasion. If it did not do so, he feared that the consequences would be *dreadful*; that a terrible *convulsion* would take place. This was, probably, the last struggle to guard against that *melancholy event*, and let each man, who felt for *the country*, have the satisfaction of thinking, "that, whatever be the result, he had done his *duty*." These are the words of the close of your reply. Sufficiently impressive: sufficiently awful the warning. But of what *use* was the warning? What was it intended to produce? Much able statement in your speech; a great deal of well pointed reasoning. But, for *what*? To what *end*?

To put the matter into plain propositions, it stood thus: that the House ought to be in *earnest*; that, if they were not, the paper-money would produce dreadful consequences and a great convulsion; and that, in order to show their *earnestness*, they ought to appoint a committee to *inquire*, before they passed the bill.

Thus far I see my way clearly. It is plain, and I cannot err. A great mischief, a dreadful consequence, a convulsion, may, in some cases be prevented by stopping to *inquire* before we

proceed to action. But, was this one of these cases? Could any inquiry have tended to prevent that blowing-up, of which you expressed your dread? Was it *possible*; I will not say, *probable*; was it *possible*; was it within the compass of human skill or force, to make provision against that "*melancholy event*," which you anticipated with so much apparent sincerity and sorrow? You seem to have been of opinion, that *it was*; I am of opinion that *it was not*.

In order to enter fairly upon the discussion of this question, to wit, whether it was, or was not, *possible* to obtain by inquiry, any means of preventing a final blowing-up of the paper-system, I must look back at what you say, in your own speech, as to the topics and objects of inquiry. These I find stated in the following words: "There remained little "for him to say, except on the subject "of the *mischiefs which some persons* "*apprehend* from the resumption of "cash-payments by the Bank of Eng- "land. To a *certain extent* he was "willing to admit, that these appre- "hensions might, perhaps, be well- "founded. He did not believe, how- "ever, that any *violent shock* could "occur. He by no means supposed "that the Bank would try to secure "the continuance of the restriction by "making the resumption of cash-pay- "ments as difficult and as dangerous as "possible, and he was convinced, that "*if the Bank sincerely applied them-* "*selves gradually*, and *gently to prepare* "for that resumption, although, *undoubt-* "*edly a great diminution must take* "*place in the existing circulation*, yet, that "it *would not be productive of any of* "*those fatal consequences which it was* "*the fashion to apprehend from it.* "If there were no other grounds for "going into an inquiry, the expediency "of *trying* if a committee of that House "*could not chalk out some course by* "*which the Bank of England might* "*resume their payments in cash without* "*endangering the tranquillity and wel-* "*fare of the community, would be one* "*amply sufficient.* (Hear, hear, hear)! "Indeed, were we asked how such a "committee as that for the appointment "of which he was about to move, could "best employ themselves, he would say, "*in endeavouring to devise the means* "*by which the cash payments by the* "*Bank might be gradually brought* "*about, and a limit put to the issue of* "*paper, so as to facilitate those objects* "*without risking any serious shock.* "This, he believed, might be done; but "he also believed that it could be done "only by a committee composed of "intelligent individuals, who would "calmly and dispassionately enter into "the investigation of the subject, and "collect all possible information upon "it from those who were the most "competent to the task of affording "such information."

This then was to be the object of inquiry; the committee were to "endea- "vour to devise the means by which "the cash-payments by the Bank might "be gradually brought about, and a "limit put to the issue of paper, so as "to facilitate those objects without "risking any serious shock." Your *opinion* as to the probability of the committee's *effecting* this object are in the affirmative. You admit that, to a certain extent, there may be *mischiefs* attending the resuming of cash-payments; but you do not believe that any *violent shock* would occur. You believe, that if the Bank were to apply themselves sincerely to prepare, *gradually*, and *gently*, for the resumption, although a great diminution in the circulation would take place, yet that no *fatal consequences* would ensue.

This was your opinion, sir; and no wonder that it was *cheered* by the boroughmen, by whom you were surrounded. This opinion came too, so pat just after my dismal predictions and doctrines contained in that petition, which Lord Folkestone (for what reasons his lordship best knows) had refused to present, but which had not, for that refusal, been the less read. This opinion had an effect upon the boroughmen like that of ether or laudanum upon a losing gamester; or like that of Loader's dram upon old Mother Cole. And so you "went out of the House *amidst the loudest cheers!*" Thank you kindly.

Mr. Loader! Bless you, dear Mr. Loader!

I must be insincere myself, or I must treat you with sincerity; and yet if I do I am afraid I must offend you; for, it is quite impossible for me to consider you as having been sincere upon this occasion without considering you as extremely shallow with regard to a matter which you ought to have well understood, before you attempted to speak upon it in a public assembly; and particularly before you took upon you to be a leader in the discussion. As being the least offensive of the two, however, I will suppose you to have been sincere; and upon that supposition will proceed to give my reasons in opposition to this your consoling and comforting opinion; which opinion is, that means can be devised for enabling the Bank to pay in coin *without* producing any serious *mischief*, any *fatal consequences*, any *violent shock*.

As to *mischief* or *fatal consequences*, I may think so too. But then, what you may think *mischief* and *fatal consequences*, I may regard as *most happy events*. To get rid of all misunderstanding here I shall, as I fairly may, suppose you to mean, that the payment may take place *without a blowing-up of the paper, and the seat-selling systems*, and that paper-money and the debt and the dividends and army and all can go on as they now go on.

If sir, as a quieter to those persons who, you say, *apprehend mischief* from the resumption of cash-payments; and if, in answer to the *fashionable* opinions about *fatal consequences* to be apprehended from the same cause; if you, as might have been expected, had, in answer to these apprehensions, offered some *reasons*, instead of a naked opinion in the negative, you would have saved me a great deal of trouble. However, your opinion being wholly unsupported by any reasons does not prevent me from stating reasons in support of my opinion; and if my reasons be good your opinion must be erroneous.

Doubtless a Committee of the House of Commons, as it is called, would consist of some surprisingly ingenious gentlemen, but though they would have been able to draw up, in a short time, a green-bag Report, there are certain things which they could not have done unless the House could have communicated to them a *real* instance of an hyperbolical *omnipotence*. And amongst the things which a committee could not have done one would have been, the preventing of the holders of notes from going to get cash for them, as soon as the Bank should begin to pay: yet, unless they could have done this it is pretty clear to me, that the payment would not have gone on for two days.

That the Bank cannot venture to pay *now* is certain. That fact must be taken as *admitted*; because, if it could venture to pay now, the bill would not have been passed; no, nor asked for. And why cannot it pay now? For the same reason that many other people cannot pay their bills; namely, because it has not money enough to pay with. There are two ways of enabling the Bank to pay: one, by *putting gold into its coffers*, and the other, by *reducing the quantity of paper now afloat*. As to the first, *how* is the Bank to get more gold into its coffers than it now has in those coffers, which I believe contain very little? I ask *how*, sir? What scheme could your committee have devised to effect this purpose? Suppose I have a parcel of notes out, payable on demand. I wish to take them up; I wish to be able to pay them. I have not money enough to take them up, what am I to do? Borrow some money. But I must give *more notes* for the money I borrow, or must sell my goods, or pawn them. The Bank has nothing to sell or to pawn; and therefore it must *buy gold with new issue of notes*. Now sir, if a man who had a hundred pounds out in notes were to buy a hundred pounds in gold with another hundred pounds in notes, and then pay off the first hundred with the gold, and if all his notes were payable on demand to bearer, would he not be sent to a mad-house without any further proof of his confirmed insanity?

A member of Parliament whom I once

(in the Bullion Committee time) endeavoured to prevail upon to go to the House, and blow all the absurdities into air, asked me, why goods might not be *sent abroad* and sold for gold, and the gold brought home to the Bank! My answer was, that there was no other objection to this scheme, than, that the owners of the goods would, in all probability, want to keep for their own use the gold that the goods would be sold for. His next question was, why the Government could not get gold *from South America*. To be sure, the *mines* were the places to look towards. But, then, it unluckily happened that the owners of the gold in South America would demand *payment* for the gol and, what was more, so little bowels would they have for Samuel Thornton and Company, that they would take care and have the *goods* before they would let the gold go; and, then, if the Bank sent the goods, they must issue paper to pay for the goods. By the help of a fleet and an army, the Bank might, indeed, *rob* the South American mine owners, to a trifling extent; or the Bank-men might *rob* the houses and travellers at home, though, perhaps, they would find little except their own paper. This probably, the Bank-men would have some scruple to do, unless assured of an *indemnity* bill before hand; though they have done indeed, a great deal worse things.

Their case, then, as far as relates to augmenting the relative proportion of their gold, is desperate; for this last is the only *possible* way, in which they can effect that object. How should there be any other, except, to the asses ears of Midas, the boroughmongers and Bank-men could add his gold-creating touch? They have a parcel of paper, snips of paper, of *no value*, which they want to convert into pieces of precious metal. A few years ago there was a Norfolk farmer, who sold five hundred golden guineas to the guard of the Norwich coach, for twenty-seven shillings each. The dealer brought down the money the next trip, and asked for the guineas. The farmer had them in London, and up he went with the guard in order to deliver them. He had them *quite safe* in London, for they were in *the Bank*, where he had lodged them three years before, for the sake of *secure keeping!* He went to the Bank, but it was *restrained* from letting him have them out! What a swindle! And is it possible for it to be believed, that these people are never to be called to account! Are these the men, who sit in consultation to determine, *who shall be hanged, and who shall not be hanged!*

There are very few now-a-days, who are so foolish as this farmer was. When that prime tool of the boroughmongers, Gibbs, was calling for his fellow-labourers to make me a "*blighted* example," he did not, I dare say, imagine that he was doing that which would produce a *new era*, a totally new era, in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" was amongst the fruits of that act of tyranny; and, sir, whatever the stupid herd, to whom you addressed yourself, may think, the *people* of England, the oppressed people of England, know all about the paper-money system, and about which, before the *Hall-Set* thought they had murdered me, the people in general knew no more than they knew of the feats of witches and wizzards. They did not know what a fundholder, a loan-jobber, or a director was. They knew nothing of the manner of making funds and debts; and, they, if possible, knew less than nothing about the manner in which *they themselves* were affected by this mystery of iniquity. Little did they, before this period, imagine that this system, of funding took from them four-pence, at least, in the price of every pot of beer: and, that it was in fact, this system, first proposed by Bishop Burnet, which had, by degrees, stripped the artizan and the labourer of all those conveniences and those means of good living, which were enjoyed by their grand-fathers. The mass of the people knew, in short, nothing about the matter. But Gibbs and his set had tied me to the stake; and their malice and cruelty, and insolence were destined to be the means of producing a new era in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" will,

long and long after the bubble shall have bursted, and overwhelmed all those who now by various means, oppress the nation, live to bear testimony to my fortitude and perseverance, and to the infamy of my persecutors.

But, the good of the thing is, that, while *the people* read this little book, the borough-usurpers and their tools do not read it. So that these latter, to their nature and habit-engendered stupidity, add, in this case, a refusal to use the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge. The *Blanketteers*, who cannot have less than about twenty thousand copies of this little book amongst them, and who have seen all its principles established, and its predictions verified, to the very letter, by events; the Blanketteers, sir, if they happened to read the debate, on which I am commenting, would smile with scorn at those *cheers*, with which the ignorant crew honoured your comforting opinion. The Blanketteers would laugh at the idea of the Bank, *adding to its stock of gold*; they would laugh at the idea of the Bank, "*sending out gold and repurchasing it again*," as mentioned in another part of your speech; for, their little book has, long and long ago, taught them how futile, how childish, how contemptible, all such notions are.

I have said, that it is *impossible*, absolutely impossible, for the Bank to *add to its relative stock of gold*, except by direct *robbery*; that is to say, by a robbery committed in South America (not easy), or a robbery committed on the highway and in the houses at home; a dash at the gold baubles and silver spoons. I can see, I think, what is running in your head upon this subject. You seem to imagine, that, if the Bank were to issue a parcel of notes and to purchase gold with them, though they would thereby *add* to the *positive* quantity of notes, they would *diminish* the *relative* quantity; for that, the new notes would lodge gold equal to themselves in amount, which the old notes have not done. You will say, that if a man has a hundred one-pound notes out, and has only one guinea in his coffers, and then put out another hundred notes and buy guineas with them, and put the guineas in his coffers, he will by this operation, have *added to his relative quantity of gold*.

This is all very true, only you are supposing what it is impossible to effect. But, let us see how an attempt in this way would work in practice. Supposing the Bank, or the borough-tyrants (for the paper is theirs) to have thirty millions of notes in circulation, and to have half a million of gold in their coffers. Well; they want to add to their gold; *why*? Because they want *to be able to pay in gold*. They, therefore, buy ten millions of gold; but, they do it with *with an additional issue of notes*; and, mind, this issue must exceed ten millions; because, the paper must be *below par*, else the Bank could not pay in gold, without any purchase of gold. Very well, then; the Bank has now ten and a half millions of gold in its coffers, and much more than forty millions of paper afloat.

You are aware, I suppose, that this new issue of paper would instantly send up prices to an enormous height; you are, I suppose, aware, that it would sink the value of the paper in the same proportion; if you are not aware of these things, the *Blanketteers* are. But, having this gold in its coffers, the Bank *will then begin to pay*. Indeed! If it does, I can assure it, that, I who hold twenty-one of its depreciated pound notes, will instantly go and get twenty of its guineas for them. Thus will every other note-holder act, to be sure; so that, in about two days all the gold will be drained out, and the quantity of paper left in circulation will be much greater than before the remedy was applied.

A worthy friend of mine, and one of the most pleasant, hearty, and able men I ever knew; the late Mr. BAVERSTOCK of Alton, used to say of the *Unitarians*, "I want to know what they *would be* "*at*; they will believe, and will not "believe; they will have a creed, and "yet they will be infidels." Your financial faith, sir, appears to me to be of this description. You think this

paper-money a very *dangerous* thing; you think big with fatal consequences, shocks, and convulsions; and you think it *very easy*, perfectly easy, for the Bank to *pay out its gold*, and then *buy it back again*, only by experiencing *some loss*. If this be true, sir, what ground is there for alarm? If this be true, the borough-men may snore away the whole twenty-four, instead of twenty, hours of their time.

That the Bank is quite able to *pay its gold out*, and that it might effect the thing in a very short space of time, nobody, I believe will dispute; but, as to getting it *back again*, that would be a very different matter; for, as we have clearly seen, it must be effected by the means of new issues of paper; and, therefore, supposing the paying out not to cause a total blow-up at once, the Bank would, when the operation was over, only be just where it was before the operation began.

The "*some loss*," it is, however, that puzzles me the most. I must quote your words here; for, as I can hardly believe my own eyes, my friends, the Blanketteers, may well doubt of their correctness upon this occasion. "Let 'the Bank of England send out large 'quantities of gold from their coffers. 'That would alter the rate of exchange. 'The Bank would have *no difficulty in 'purchasing gold to replenish their 'coffers*, though certainly at *some loss*. 'But the question was which was best '—that Great Britain should lose the 'character for good faith which she had 'hitherto maintained, or that the Bank '*should be obliged to disgorge* a part of 'the enormous profits which it had 'made from the country at large. '(Hear, hear). Was it more desirable 'that the public credit should be pre-'served, or that the Bank, having ac-'cumulated millions upon millions, 'without contributing in the smallest 'degree to the national expenditure, 'should be enabled to persevere in that 'system." (Hear, hear).

Yes, yes! the borough-men may cry, "*hear, hear, hear*!" But, sir, the Blanketteers know very well that all this affected reproach on the *Bank* is mere words, and that the Bank is only one of the tools of the borough-men! Be you assured, that all, of the Blanketteer order, are quite proof against every attempt to impose on them by affected reproaches against "*the Bank*."

Aye, sir, "*Let* the Bank send out *large quantities* of gold from their "coffers." They must get these quantities *in* first, to be sure; but, never mind that; let us, for argument's sake, suppose the large quantities to be there. Well; now the gold is sent out. *How* is the Old Lady to get it back? She is, it seems, to *purchase* it *back*. With what? With *what*? With *what*, I say! Answer me, or I die! With *what* is she to *purchase* it back? Why, with a *new batch of notes* to be sure; unless she go and plunder the gold and silversmiths' shops and rifle the butlers' pantries. In what other way is the Old Hag to *purchase* it back? A witch, indeed, she is, as far as tormenting and murdering goes; but, as to the turning of paper into gold, she is as harmless as the innocent in the cradle. It is all nonsense; it is all absurdity indescribable; for, what would be done *at home*, while the gold was travelling to and from the continent. But, never mind this; let us swallow this; she would, by the operation, supposing it to be as you say, gain nothing in the way of ability to pay.

But the "*loss*," the "*some loss*," that she would experience, what can that mean, I wonder! Pray, sir, what has the Old Lady *to lose*! Do you happen to know the precise, or probable place of deposit of any of her *valuables*? If you do, it would be but friendly dealing to apprise the Blanketteers of it; for they will, one of these days, be glad to possess information upon the subject. Do you allude to *her shop* or to the *houses and lands and chattels* of the directors and others of her company? These she might, indeed, lose, and, in the end, she probably will; but they would amount to little. Do you allude to the several millions of what is called *stocks*, or *funds*, or *per cents.*, of which she is the *owner*? Come, here we have, then, the Great Book before us, and here we find

her written down for, suppose, twenty millions. Now, then, what is your notion? That she can get people to come and purchase part of this stock *with gold* at *a loss* to her; that is to say, *below the current paper-price*? Why, sir, the very thought of such an operation would send down her paper fifty to the hundred; and, an attempt to put it in practice, would blow-up the whole thing.

No: you mean none of these. Your meaning is, that she must give *more* for the gold in paper than the nominal value of the gold, if in coin; and a *higher price* than the real money-price, if in bullion: and this would be neither more nor less than making, upon the whole of the operation, an addition, relative as well as positive, to the quantity of her paper.

There remains, then, as I said before, no way, but that of direct robbery and plunder, to add to the relative quantity of her gold by the *bringing in of gold*. I have, indeed, overlooked one way of effecting this grand purpose, and which way I must notice before I proceed to the second part of my subject. It is this: the boroughmongers might give up their estates, equipages, and other moveables. These, which have chiefly been derived from public plunder, would bring *gold* quickly. This gold might go to the Bank, and it would, as Mr. CATLEY truly said, enable the Old Hag to face her creditors, pay off her notes, and to pass once more for an honest dame. Whether these conscientious borough-men, who cheered you, and who are so anxious to see guineas return, would voluntarily acquiesce in this measure, I leave for wiser men to decide; but that this, (with the exception of the robbery and burglary plan) is the only means by which gold can be brought into the Bank in such a way as to augment the relative proportion of gold now in the coffers of that prime instrument of the borough-tyranny, must, I think, now be clear as day-light to every one, who is not wilfully and obstinately blind.

We now come, sir, to the *other* mode of augmenting the relative quantity of the cash of the Bank-men; namely, *the reducing of the quantity of their paper.* It is your opinion that this *can* be done in such a degree as to enable the Bank to resume cash payments, and that, too, without producing any shock; and that, by this means, the present system of sway in England may be carried on for ages yet to come.

In combatting this opinion I shall hardly be a cool, because I shall be a deeply interested, reasoner; for, if I could believe your opinion to be sound, I should be the most mortified and most miserable of human beings. It is a directly opposite opinion, firmly settled in my mind, that forms the sole foundation of my hope. Were it not for this hope, I should droop down into a state of despondency, and, without another effort, give up my unhappy country to the base, black-hearted, and bloody tyrants, by whom she is now robbed, scourged, and insulted

But, whatever my wishes may be, they cannot impair my reasoning. I know well that, according to the creed of your hearers, truth is not truth, if it drop from my pen: nor is this of any importance in my eyes: with the rest of mankind the case is different. They will reject, or adopt, my opinions, as these are unsupported, or supported, by undoubted fact and conclusive argument. I do not, like you, sir, hold forth naked opinions to be adopted and acted upon by others: I tender not any thing of *mine* as the grounds of their belief; I tender reasoning, which is the common property of all mankind.

You say, sir, that you think, that "means may be found, by which cash-"payments may be *gradually* and *gent-"ly* brought about, and a limit put to "the issue of paper, *without risking any "serious shock.*" I say, that such means *cannot* be found.

You speak, indeed, with some *diffidence*; and, in a former sentence, you "are willing to admit, that *mischief*, to "a *certain extent* might arise." This is an altered tone. The Bullion Committee did not talk in this way. They, and especially your wise patron, Lord GRENVILLE, boldly said, that the Bank

ought to be compelled to pay, on a day to be fixed, as the *only means* of restoring the currency of the country to a *healthy* state. A man must be a Lord to utter a phrase like this without being hooted.

But, to get rid of all loop-holes, I admit your qualifications to mean, that the greatest of all possible precautions must be taken, and that, even with all these precautions, some *mischiefs*, as you call them, *something of a shock*, must and will take place. Even this view, which is the most favourable that you, an orator of the borough-men, can take of the matter, would be quite sufficient to alarm every one but a besotted English fundholder.

I, however, set at nought all your qualifications; and, I say, that the thing must go on as it now is, that the Bank *never* can pay, or, that the whole system, borough-men and all, must be blown up. This is my opinion; and I now proceed to state the reasons upon which that opinion is founded.

The use of the words "*gradually*" and "*gently*" make a great drawl in the expression of your opinion. They discover great diffidence, great unfixedness, and, indeed, great *confusion*, in your mind. You advance like one of us Englishmen here, when, in the burning hot weather, we attempt to imitate the natives in going without shoes. You had been set up by your party to put to shame the poor stick that had been appointed to bring forward the bill. You were compelled to oppose him, and yet you have had too much regard for your own reputation to say point-blank, that the Bank could be enabled to pay. Hence all your qualifications and reservations. But you do not seem to have perceived, that these, in certain cases, lead to, instead of keeping clear of, embarrassment; and that, instead of saving a general position, they destroy it altogether.

Precisely thus has it happened here, and, if I have a mind to make short work of your opinion, I might stop at showing the complete absurdity of this notion of a *gradual* and *gentle* resumption of cash-payments; but, from this temptation to laziness I abstain, and will, therefore, reserve the folly of this notion for exposure in a subsequent part of my letter.

To enable the Bank to pay in gold on demand, *the Old Lady must reduce the quantity of the floating paper.* Indeed you say, that *a great diminution* must take place in the currency of the country. Now, it is incontestibly true, that such diminution must create a great *lowering of prices*; and, it is not less true, that this lowering of prices must be *far greater in proportion* than the diminution in the quantity of paper-money. Because, the first effect of the lessening of the quantity of money afloat, is, to straighten and throw into discredit many persons who got along pretty well amidst the abundance of money. The operations of this class, therefore, do not remain in *degree*, but are *put an end to altogether.* When money is plenty, it moves *quicker* than when it is scarce. A horse will be sold and resold *ten times* amidst abundance of money, and, perhaps, not *twice* when money is scarce; and a shilling which passes twenty-one times a day from hand to hand, is just as efficient in its effect upon prices, on a national scale, as a guinea that changes possessor but once a day.

What, then, are the *unavoidable* consequences of a great diminution in the quantity of currency afloat, and of this lowering of prices? The ruin and misery of a great part of the people, and the actual starvation of many. These are the inevitable consequences of a lowering of prices by the means of *a change in the value of money*; and it is clearly seen, that such change must be effected by a diminution of its quantity.

Suppose me to be a haberdasher. I have my shop full of goods, as many as I shall sell in a year; I lay in my stock to-day, it amounts to three thousand pounds, two of which I have credit for; I deal in gloves only, and they are laid in by me at four shillings a pair; I begin selling, and six shillings a pair give me a good profit; but, at the end of a month, the Bank, the boroughmongers' Bank, goes to work to prepare for cash-

payments; it draws in a great deal of its paper; money becomes scarce, prices fall; I can sell my gloves at only two shillings a pair, and I am done for at a blow. Thus it must be with the farmer, the manufacturer, and with every person engaged in trade, no matter of what sort.

A man borrows a thousand pounds to-day upon a house worth two thousand; next month the Bank draws in its paper, and the house is not worth one thousand: he loses his house for ever.

Another dies to-day, leaves an estate to his son worth three thousand pounds, with legacies to be paid out of it to the amount of fifteen hundred. Before a sale of the estate takes place, the drawings in of the Bank have lowered the worth of the estate to one thousand. The legacies can be paid only in part, and the son is a beggar.

Wheat is fifteen shillings a bushel, and a man, calculating upon that price, rents a farm at a hundred a year. The drawings in of the Bank brings wheat down to five shillings a bushel. The man cannot pay his rent; his stock is seized and sold. He goes to jail and his family to the poor-house.

In the meanwhile, there is no money to pay the journeymen and labourers; employment cannot be had, and starvation follows. However, men do not, in very great numbers, starve to death without an effort to save life. Hence robberies and thefts, and, to prevent detection, come murders. This is the natural, this is the inevitable progress.

These would be the consequences if there were no taxes at all. What, then, must the consequences be in a country where the taxes amount to double the sum that the rent of all the houses, lands, mines, and canals amount to? And how is the army, and how is the interest of the borough debt to be paid if the wheat fall to five shillings a bushel? You know very well, sir, that they are now paid partly by *loans* in one shape or another. You know, that there is not so much raised as is wanted *by fifteen millions a year*. You know, that loans to this extent are annually made. You know, that these loans go to augment the borough-debt, and the dividends, and that this requires an augmentation of the paper-money. How, then, are the dividends and the army to be paid, if prices be lowered to the standard of wheat at five shillings a bushel? If money enough cannot be raised now; if the borough-debt keeps on increasing *now*, what is it to do when this lowering of prices shall take place? And you complain of the amount of the debt; blame the poor stick for not making an effort to reduce it; and yet you would add to it by an attempt to make the Bank pay in coin! You would reduce it by *doubling its real amount!* Yes, by giving the fund-holder three bushels of wheat, where you now give him but one! The borough-tyrants are sadly pestered! Sadly bemired!

As I am not for arguing upon any *disputed* fact, I do not think it necessary to bind myself down to wheat at *five* shillings a bushel. I am decidedly of opinion, that the resumption of cash-payments would bring it down to three shillings a bushel, and then we should come to one of the sides of the favourite alternative of Mr. Hunt, who has, for ten years past, been giving as a toast, "Wheat at *three* shillings or at *thirty* shillings the bushel." This is much in little. It is not yet *treason*; but it is saying all in few words. It is a pithy prayer for the destruction of the borough-tyranny. Either side of the alternative would do the job; but I am always for the *three* shilling side, for then the howl begins with the yeomanry cavalry crew. The Bank, by its mere *attempt to prepare* for cash-payments, brought down the wheat to *seven* or *eight* shillings a bushel. It brought it down to this price from 15 shillings a bushel; and why are we to believe, that it would not have come down to three if cash-payments had really been begun?

The miseries of 1816 and 1817 are hardly forgotten yet; and the acts of the borough-tyrants *never* will be. The thing saved itself then partly by violence; but it could not have done that long, and therefore *out it tumbled its paper again*. Without *this*, dungeons and gags and gallowses and bayonets

would have been, in a very short time, of no avail. It is not the return of *prosperity* that you now behold, but the return of *paper*.

When the misery was at its height the borough-men put out their new gold and silver coin. The fools thought they were getting back to *the chink* of coin. But, compelled to slaughter a starving people, or to bring back the paper, they yielded, and brought the paper back; and instantly flew away all their gold and silver; and CASTLEREAGH, during the debate, says, *that the new sovereigns were all melted down and sent out of the country*! The borough-tyrants have, in order to obtain a *respite*, put forth the paper again, and *you*, their orator, would have them, in order to *avoid a convulsion*, draw it in again!

In "*Paper against Gold*," Letter XXV., I had said that if the Bank attempted to draw in its paper universal ruin would ensue. Pray sir, read that Letter. Never mind its *cheapness*. The Blanketteers have all read it. Why should not you be as wise as they? If you had read it before you had made your speech, you would, I think, not have said what you did. I there *proved* that universal ruin *must* be the effect of such an attempt. The attempt was made and the ruin came!

But you wish the Bank to proceed *gradually* and *gently*. When a man has *means* that are dropping in *gradually*, he may pay gradually; but this is quite another case. The Bank has *now* all the means that it ever will have, or can have. If the paper be drawn in gradually, the approach of the misery and ruin and uproar will be gradual, that is all. The want of employment will come on *gradually* and *gently*, but it will *come*. The convulsion will be the *end* of the scene, but there will be *a convulsion*. The notion of the man who attempted, by slow, and very slow, very gentle, degrees, to teach his horse to live without food, was much about upon a level with this notion of your's. The man succeeded at last, but just at the moment the *horse died*. To draw in the paper-money without reducing the interest of the borough-debt and all public pay and salaries, is to ruin all persons in trade and to starve the labouring classes; and what signifies it whether this ruin and starvation come all at once or by degrees?

But besides this argument founded on the nature of the case itself, we have before us one of experience. The Bank did proceed *gradually*, it did proceed *gently*. It began drawing in, in 1814; it kept on until 1816, about October. This was gently enough. The *nonsense* of those years will stand for ever recorded as the tip-toe nonsense of the world. The tradespeople called for cheap corn, the farmers and their greedy landlords for dear corn. The landlords would "*tell the House of it*, that they would!" And away they went to the "*omnipotent* House" to *secure* them a fair price for their corn. The House passed a Corn Bill "to *protect* the farmer, that useful member of society." And corn grew *cheaper* and *cheaper!* I kept telling Mr. COKE and Mr. WESTERN, that they were upon a very wrong scent. I told them that *the Old Lady was at work*, and that no Corn Bills would protect them against *her* craft. The distresses kept on increasing; and in 1816 on came the wise landlords again with long strings of resolutions for *the relief of agriculture*. Nothing could open their eyes. Mr. HUNT told a set of these dolts at Bath, that there only wanted new packages of paper-money to make them all happy. They affected to laugh, talked a little of their nonsense, and parted as wise as they met. These were some of Sir Francis Burdett's "*gentlemen of the country*."

The true history of all the miseries of 1815, 1816, and 1817, is this: When *peace* came, the shame, the disgrace, the infamy, and more than all these, the *danger* of not paying in gold, or at least not appearing to pay in gold, stared the administering tools of the borough-tyrants full in the face. An attempt to *appear* to pay could not be made without drawing in a great deal of the paper. These tools were too weak to perceive the full extent of the consequences of even such an attempt. They appear,

however, to have been afraid to ma it. But there was I, baiting them weekly with charges of insolvency. Foretelling that they never would pay; foretelling that they would finally be the scorn of all the world; and in short, galling them in all sorts of ways; not forgetting to remind them that when their paper-money blew up we should have *our parliamentary reform.* To work they went therefore, drawing in their paper, and on came the ruin and misery; slowly, gradually, gently enough; but still it *came on.* I kept even-on, as the Yorkshiremen say, telling them that their scheme would not succeed, that they would never be able to pay, *that they must put out the paper again.* They, like fools as they were, *persevered.* We, as we had a right to do, pressed them *for reform.* We beset them with arguments and prayers. They threw off their mask, and drew their dagger!

But, while we gained the clear advantage of seeing them in their naked, odious, and detestable form, they gained nothing at all. They were, though well set out with dungeons and gibbets, compelled to *bring back the paper again*; and, to stand before the whole world, as they now do, irretrievable insolvents. The ruin and misery they produced by this vain attempt opened the people's ears to the various causes of their sufferings; they made men listen, who before turned a deaf ear; they were the cause of the spread of knowledge more extensive than any people ever before possessed. In the course of the struggle of the boroughmen to save themselves, their various under-hand dealings, their spies, their mode of prosecution, the conduct of juries and judges, all become topics of minute discussion; and, in short, this struggle, has done a great deal in preparing the minds of the people for the grand struggle which is yet to come, and which, I trust, will terminate in a restoration of the rights of the King and the people.

If, sir, you want *more* proof, than has now been offered, to convince you, that the Bank *never* can pay, without producing a convulsion in the country, I confess my inability to furnish it; and, therefore, I here close my arguments upon the subject.

But, then, there remains the question, *what is to become of the thing at last?* This is quite another matter; and I am as fully convinced as you appear to be, that the consequences will finally be "*fatal*;" in which conviction I am as happy as you seem to be miserable. You say, in one part of your speech, that you are "perfectly aware, that "there are persons in the country, who "are *alarmed* at the prospects of cash-"payments. These persons applied *all "sorts of horrors*, that *nobody will get "his rents*, that the *funds will be at "zero*, and that there will be *a general "bankruptcy.* Oh, oh! They begin to see this, then, do they! Ah, ah! I am glad to find, that they are coming to my opinions at last! Very well, then, the thing is, I suppose, to *remain as it is*? Is that what they mean? If it be, they are deceived It will not remain as it is long. The blowing-up will come, whether the Bank draw in its paper, or not. There are means, as I have already shown, of *putting the thing down*, of *abating the nuisance*; secure means too, neither troublesome nor expensive I firmly believe, that these means will be adopted, *in less than a year*, though I have no sort of knowledge of any one who entertains, that I know of the intention. But, whether such means be, or be not adopted, the blow-up will come. The borough-men must go on *borrowing*, unless they instantly issue such quantities of paper as to make the guinea sell for thirty shillings. This borrowing must regularly add to the quantity of paper. This paper will, in spite of their teeth, come, at last, to an *open* contest with gold; *two prices* will show their faces, and then good-by Bankmen and boroughmongers! The taxes will be paid in the paper; the lawmen and spies and fundholders and bayonetmen, will be paid in taxes; and the butcher, baker, and brewer, will insist on having real money!

This will be the end, if the thing go

on in its present way. Your scheme would, probably, bring the thing to a close sooner; but, be the end when it will, or how it will, the prediction of PAINE will be verified: the borough-system will last as long as the paper-money system, and not one moment longer.

Precisely *how* the thing will terminate, whether it will die gradually down into the bottom of the socket, or go out at once by a puff, is a question that I do not pretend to be able to determine: it is sufficient for me to know, that the total extinguishment will come; and that it will bring with it the destruction of the borough-tyranny, of which it was the twin monster, and of which it has, from its birth to the present hour, been the principal support.

These monsters are now of a hundred and twenty-four years standing. The aristocracy having driven out James the Second, immediately set themselves to work to engross all the lawful powers of king and people. They instantly began the work of plunder, and, having tasted its sweets, they resolved never to give it up. They soon took from the people in one year, more of their property than King James had taken from them during his whole reign; and, in order to perpetuate their sway, they created, at the suggestion of Bishop Burnet, a debt, which should, for ever, have the effect of binding to them, be their deeds what they might, all the people who had money. In order to fortify themselves still more securely, they first made Parliaments *triennial*, which, by the constitution, were *annual*; and, not satisfied with this, they, under favour of a false alarm, made those triennial Parliaments *septennial*; while at the same time, they set about a system of corruption even in the remnant of suffrage that was left, and which system has, at last, become so notorious, that when proof of seat-selling is tendered to them, they refuse to receive it, on the ground that it is too common to be criminal, and even that it is *necessary*, and *makes a part of the constitution in church and state*!

The *effects* of this system have well corresponded with its character and motives. The nation has been plundered without sparing: king and people have alike been stripped of their rights, degraded and insulted without any measure. This tyranny, of which there is no parallel either in being or upon record, by its attempts to subject the people amongst whom I now am, to its plundering grasp, severed this fine country from the British dominions, and thereby created a formidable rival to England in naval power as well as in commerce. Fearing the effects of the rays of freedom, beginning to dart forth from France twenty-six years ago, it arrayed itself against the people of that country; and, by twenty-three years of violence and fraud, it, at last, succeeded in re-establishing despotism in that country and in every part of Europe where freedom had made her appearance. The twin monster, unable to repose in quiet, while there was a free man left upon the face of the earth, next bent all its force to destroy the government, the freedom and the happiness of America. The agents it employed in this enterprize were well worthy of their employer: fire and sword against the defenceless; treachery and plunder, but above all things, *plunder*; and, it was now for the first time, that officers of the English navy were seen writing to each other congratulatory letters upon having captured *tables* and *chests of drawers*. The brave yeomanry of America, however, so different from a base and servile boroughmonger tenantry, drove the spoilers from their shores in disgrace; and thus preserved an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and especially for those escaping from the fangs of the English minister, amongst whom is to be numbered him, who, in this address to you, is able, in safety, to describe the character and acts of that monster, and who has unspeakable delight in foreseeing and foretelling his doom.

There is, they say, a viper, the poison of which is of so malignant a nature, that the reptile will die, if it bite its own tail. It is a property of evil to destroy, in time, its own cause. The main lever of the borough-tyrants

has been their paper-money. By a series of frauds of unbounded magnitude, these tyrants have been able to bribe, and to set to butcher each other, a very considerable part of mankind. Under the pretext of warring for humanity, and freedom, and religion, where is the bayonet, where the dagger, where the stiletto, where the prostituted pen, that they have not employed in the cause of bloodshed, slavery, and real blasphemy? The grand instrument of mischief, however, is now turning its powers against themselves. The viper has, during its work of malice and of death, bitten its own tail; and the poison is hastening on to its heart.

War! The monster can make war no more. Its teeth are drawn completely out. The arming for war would send the paper down to five shillings in the pound; and a war of a year would send the debt up to two thousand millions! Not the people of England alone, but, the people of the whole world, are deeply interested in the fall of these tyrants, who employ the resources of matchless industry, skill, perseverance, and valour, favoured by the most happy local circumstances that Providence itself could combine; who employ all these, not to better the lot of mankind, not to assist feeble innocence against powerful guilt, not to enlighten the ignorant or to free the enslaved, not to promote peace and friendship amongst nations; but, to erect obstacles to harmonious intercourse, to create suspicions and feuds, to shut out light from the human mind, to back tyranny wherever to be found, and, in all parts of the world, to make human affairs uncertain, and human life a burden. Towards friends, allies, colonies, they have been firm or false, kind or cruel, alternately, at the calls of their own safety, or interest. Towards enemies they have, from the same motives, been creeping or insolent, but always perfidious. This has been the great, unvarying characteristic of their policy and their actions. Those who spoke of us, formerly, might say that we were rude, proud, and arrogant; but, they could not say, that we were hypocritical, treacherous, or unfeeling. The English nation, famed for its open, manly dealing, for its plain, blunt sincerity, and for its kindness and humanity, these tyrants have placed at the tip-top of the list of the crafty, the perfidious and the cruel, where it stands written in the blood of NEY and of thousands upon thousands of the victims of their relentless rapacity.

And, is this character *always* to belong to our nation! Is the name of England to have *for ever* this infamous pre-eminence! Sir, I am, at this moment sitting beneath the deep shade of a walnut-tree, the thermometer at ninety-eight degrees, nearly naked, and sweat pouring down my breast; yet, the thought of heat ten million times as great as this, to be endured for ages, would not be to my mind half so horrible, as the thought of impunity to these base and savage tyrants. No: a day of *justice* is to come; a day of justice will come; and, the very act which you oppose, and with regard to which I have troubled you with my remarks, ought to satisfy the minds of the people, that that day is near at hand.

From your task, sir, you retired amidst the *cheers* of the boroughmongers; I shall be sufficiently gratified, if the Blanketteers will attentively read what I have written; and if they will constantly bear in mind, that EMPSON and DUDLEY were *legally and justly hanged*, though they truly pleaded *Acts of Indemnity*.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LORD GREY.

THE fallen Minister is going on to his home to enjoy the sight of the "boothies," the bare legs and feet, and the "burgoo;" that is to say, oatmeal not dressed, and stirred up in water with a stick; leaving behind him, good old patriot, his bill, kindly intended to make us poor wretches of the "sooth" live in the same manner. He has made

shift to muster up addresses at NEWCASTLE and MORPETH; and the radicals of NEWCASTLE refrained from coming forward to send him off with a flea in his ear; because, forsooth, he was a "*fallen man.*" *Fallen* is he! His bishops, and his brace of naval officers are not fallen; nor does his being turned out of place at all change the nature of those who were put to death or transported under his special commissions. What! because he is turned out of place, we are to forget, are we, all about the Dorsetshire labourers, and every other sufferer? Far different shall be the farewell that I will stick on upon him, if I live till the next week, or the week after. I begged of him when he came into power, so to act, that he might not make the eleventh Prime Minister, whose turning out of place I should rejoice at. He does make that eleventh; and I shall pretty soon see the end of the round dozen.

(*From the Newcastle Chronicle*).

A little before one o'clock on Wednesday, Earl Grey arrived at Morpeth, where a great number of people were assembled to receive his lordship; and on his entering the room at the Queen's Head, in which the deputation were waiting, he was warmly greeted. Mr. Woodman, in an appropriate address, in which he referred to the period when his lordship made his celebrated speech in the Market-place, and complimented him upon his talents, consistency, and disinterestedness, presented the address, of which the following is a copy:—

"To the Right Hon. Charles, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Knight of the Garter.

"My Lord—We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the town of Morpeth and its vicinity, beg leave most respectfully to offer to your lordship our heartfelt thanks for the very eminent services which you rendered this country in the high station which you recently filled, with the confidence of our Sovereign, to the satisfaction of the people, and for the benefit of the kingdom. During your administration, my lord, the liberties of the people have been strengthened, economy has been carried into every department of the state, and peace has been preserved at home and abroad. These we attribute to your experience as a senator and your talents as a statesman, but above all, to your undeviating integrity, consistency, and disinterestedness. It affords us the deepest regret that any circumstances should have occurred to call upon you to resign office, and to deprive us of the valued services of one in whom we placed entire confidence. We trust, however, that you may be blessed with health, and still be able as a Peer of this realm to give your advice and assistance in the Senate. Our most earnest and sincere wish now is, my lord, that you may long enjoy in the bosom of your family that retirement which, at an advanced period of an active and laborious life, must be so desirable."

[300 signatures were appended to the address].

The address having been read,

Earl GREY said—It has been my good fortune to receive similar proofs of the confidence of the people in many towns which I have passed through, but I can truly say from none have I received such sincere and heartfelt satisfaction as from that which has just been presented to me, in terms too flattering for my deserts. Mr. Woodman has feelingly referred to the period when I addressed you on my entrance into public life, from the market-place in this town; that is now 48 years ago. Soon after that period, in 1792, occurred those great events which have since divided public opinion, and although at that period I was the object of much odium and calumny, the support which I met with from this town I can never forget; and now, at the close of my public, at least of my official life, it is in no small degree gratifying to receive the approbation of the same persons. Although it is not necessary for me now to state them, the circumstances which occurred were such as to leave me no choice but to resign; yet even if they had not occurred, that period could not have been long delayed, for I have now reached

my 70th year. But, although my official life is closed, when any great question calls for it, I shall still be found in the place which has been assigned to me in the House of Peers, to assist in the public service in the best way which my humble abilities and decreasing strength will allow. I shall conclude by assuring you, that as I commenced my public life so I shall conclude it, by devoting myself to the interests of this town and county. Allow me, gentlemen, again to thank you for this address, and Mr. Woodman for the kind and flattering manner which he has used in presenting it.

Earl Grey, having taken wine with the gentlemen, left the town amidst loud cheers.

Earl Grey arrived at Alnwick on Wednesday afternoon. His lordship alighted at the White Swan Inn, where the address of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood was presented to him by John Carr, Esq., and a number of his political friends assembled on the occasion. The address was graciously received by his lordship, and was deeply gratifying to him, as expressive of the approbation of his friends and neighbours. His lordship appeared at the window, and was received with cheers. There was an anxious expectation that his lordship would address the people assembled, and his not doing so produced general disappointment. It is stated that his lordship was unable, from indisposition, to address the concourse assembled outside.

BROUGHAM.

From the time that this man first landed in London from the Berwick smack, to this very hour, I have been endeavouring, with very short intervals, to warn the nation and individuals against placing reliance upon him as a public man; and, at last, I have seen the whole body of public writers, and particularly those in that newspaper which has been most, and longest, opposed to me, join me in my dislike to this man. Whether the facts stated in the following article from the *Times* newspaper be strictly correct, I do not know. Some of them almost surpass belief. My readers, however, will form their own judgment in the case.

(*From the Times*, 23. *August*, 1834).

A correspondent assures us that the following tribute of unconscious veneration for this journal, of that fulness of involuntary terror, whose natural expression is the language of immeasurable hatred, has been sent by Lord Chancellor Brougham to the *Caledonian Mercury*. There is fustian in it, and vulgar fustian; such as befits a Bashaw with more tails than O'Connell, when he deigns to communicate with one, and that the most mangy tail, among them, This tail, which, like the oyster in *Mother Goose*, is made to vociferate for the one-shilling gallery, accuses us of being "extremely arrogant" for "wanting to be no less than Prime Minister of Britain." Is that, then, the highest point of human arrogance, "to want to be Prime Minister of Britain?" If so, Lord Brougham and Vaux is no doubt extremely *modest*. But if we have wanted to be Prime Minister, at least we have not been guilty of any fraudulent or base manœuvres in the pursuit of that brilliant but elusive prize. We have not intrigued for it, nor lied for it, nor fawned, nor slandered, nor betrayed, nor undermined, nor sacrificed any man, neither the colleague who trusted, nor him who knowing us thoroughly despised us. If we have "sought to direct the royal councils" in the formation of a cabinet, we have not played contemptible and mountebank tricks to persuade people that we *did* direct those councils, and that we were actually (when we were not) authorized to share with Lord Melbourne in the trust of submitting the choice of a cabinet to his Majesty. We did not *pretend* to be honoured with the King's commands, nor with the royal confidence, while we knew that the King would sooner behold a mad dog enter his Council Cham-

ber than see us approach within five miles of Windsor We never gave out to servants and hangers-on that we were going to Windsor, when we ordered a post-chaise to take us no further than Putney-bridge. If we were conscious of being called by the whole world the cracked and crazy weathercock of the House of Lords, we should not dare to whisper about "weathercock evolutions," or "eccentric career," or "capricious and erratic exhibitions," or "reckless and inconsiderate pilots." But enough. The *Times* for fifteen years praised, supported, or, if you will, patronized his lordship. So long as we supposed Lord Brougham to be actuated by honourable and elevated motives, guided by fixed and enlightened principles, aspiring to power through none but direct and manly means, disposed to use it virtuously, and capable of using it wisely, we did by every possible exertion, through evil report and good, zealously, boldly, indefatigably, nay, if we had said affectionately, it would be no more than the fact, strive to maintain and extend the influence of Lord Brougham throughout all classes of society; we supported the man whom we believed to be true, upright, whatever we might sometimes have thought of his discretion. But what would good men think of us if, discovering the same person to be no better than a miserable trickster, whom none could rely upon without paying dear for their simplicity, we changed our course, and sought, by exposing his (to speak mildly) errors, to save others from being misled, as we had been, and the country from any further risk of suffering confidence misplaced? We receive letters upon this subject, and thus reply to them, though scorning the meanness of their anonymous impudence. We said yesterday, and we now repeat it, that Lord Brougham's correspondence with Lord Wellesley, behind Lord Grey's back, and without his knowledge, was the actual cause of the noble Earl's fall as a Minister. What was it that produced the alteration in the Lord Lieutenant's language? What induced him to give up his demand of the anti-seditious clauses in the Coercion Bill? What but the representations, the furtive and unwarranted representations, of the Chancellor? And we refer to Lord Grey's valedictory speech for confirmation, were it necessary, of what we have here restated, viz. that Lord Brougham politically slew his chief.

There is, however, no occasion to proceed further with these topics. The cause of our changed language must be looked for in Lord Brougham's own unworthiness, not in ours—in Lord Brougham's inconsistency, not in ours. He turned out a different person from that which we had imagined him, and our duty forbade us to indulge a personal predilection in defiance of the clearest sense of right. We withdrew our friendship on finding it bestowed unworthily. But that of Lord Brougham is, we suspect, less liable to be diverted by such considerations from some of its present objects.

(*From the Caledonian Mercury*).

"The *Times* is not quite so mighty as it supposes. Whatever weathercock-evolutions it may choose to perform; however it may oscillate and vary its phases; now refuting to-day what it indoctrinated yesterday, we may take leave to apprize our contemporary, leading journal of Europe as it is, that its eccentric career will not be followed or admired by the thinking and intelligent British public, who dislike and repudiate such vacillation has it has displayed. The *Times* is extremely arrogant, it wants to be no less than Prime Minister of Britain. If the Ministry does not approve and adopt every crude suggestion which it pleases to throw out for their guidance, then it takes the pet, and from being a stanch adherent, immediately unfurls the standard of hostility. The conductors of the *Times* have laid it down as a first principle of state, 'that no Ministry can exist under the blighting influence of their opposition;' nay, they would usurp the royal prerogative itself, and arrogate the selection of the members of the Administration. We shrewdly suspect, however, that the *Times* miscalculates its strength, and mightily overrates its influence. It is powerful

only when it echoes the voice of the na tion; when it thunders forth its own isolated and unfounded dogmas, as Lord Brougham said of the 'Oxford festivi ties,' we may predicate of the *Times* that it is infinitely harmless. Let suc capricious and erratic exhibitions con tinue, and ere long the leading journal will discover that it has been steering a wrong course, and that the public wil refuse to be guided by, or to patroniz such a reckless and inconsiderate pilot * * * It has, no doubt, lately chopped about, and set itself to give its uncertain support to the Melbourne Ministry. But the teeth of this destroyer of things and Ministers is dulled by age; its an cient influence has already crumbled into ruin, and the *good old Times* wil be found, like its *forefathers*, to have passed, ere now, irrevocably away."

A FORTNIGHT ago, LETTER 1, to Lord RADNOR, on the new POOR-LAWS was published, from the *great* sale o which, it may be fairly inferred, that the people have made the subject their own.

LETTER 2, to the *same* nobleman on the *same* subject, may now be had at 11, BOLT-COURT, and of all Booksellers. Already, here is abundant proof, from the *great* demand, that there is a determination on the part of those interested to understand this matter *well*; and, understand it they *will*, if they *only* read.—A THIRD LETTER will be published next Week. —Price 2d. each.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3*s*.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMSTRONG, J. T., St. Martin's-lane, Leicester-square, oilman.

BELL, J., Norton-falgate, Shoreditch, linendraper.

EWING, W. R., and H. Brettargh, Liverpool, ship-chandlers.

FANSHAWE, H. R., sen., Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, silk-throwster.
FRANKLAND, C., sen., Scotton, Lincolnshire, maltster.
KESTERTON, J., Camberwell, coach-builder.
PARKER, W., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, money-scrivener.
PHELPS, J., and R. Appleton, Crosby-row Walworth, linen-drapers.
POSTLE, W., Worstead, Norfolk, corn-merchant.
STRATTON, A., and J. H. Secretan, Cheapside, factors.
WALTHEW, J., Liverpool, linen-draper.

Tuesday, August 26.

INSOLVENTS.

BARRETT, T., Stamford, Lincolnshire grocer.
BONNAFFEE, F., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, merchant.
POWELL, W. E. and J. Powell, Oxford-st. linen-drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLPORT, J., Birmingham, provision-dealer.
BRINDLEY, W., Alstonfield, Staffordshire, cheese-factor.
GREW, S., Birmingham, brush-maker.
HAYWOOD, G., Birmingham, wine-merchant.
SMITH, T., Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, hatter.
SOULSBY, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LANGLANDS, M., Glasgow, merchant.
M'MILLAN, A., Parklee, Lanark, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

Mark-Lane, Corn-Exchange, Aug. 25.—We have been since Friday liberally supplied with Wheat, particularly from Essex and Suffolk, and also from Kent. The same disparity appears in the quality of the new samples which we have before remarked. At the opening of the trade, prime selected parcels of old white Wheat realized Monday's quotations, but as the day advanced, and millers evincing little disposition to purchase, the market became depressed, old Wheats being noted 1s. to 2s., and new 2s. to 3s. cheaper than this day week, and only a limited clearance effected at this decline. A partial inquiry existed for bonded Wheat, chiefly Kubanka, at low prices for export, but no speculative interest appeared in favour of the article.

The supply of old Barley continued extremely limited, and previous rates fully maintained. The few new samples of malting quality which appeared were thin and discoloured, and obtained 32s. to 34s. One or two parcels of Chevalier were shown, for which 40s. was demanded. Bonded qualities remain nominally at 14s. to 16s.

Malt was dull and prices unaltered.

The show of Oats was small, but dealers and consumers still holding off from purchasing, in anticipation of better supplies, caused the trade to rule dull at last Monday's currency. Some new samples of Oats were offering from Essex, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, &c., which exhibited much variety of quality, some being heavy, but out of condition, others light and weathered, and though the quantity was too small to form any general opinion, yet the appearance did not indicate very favourably for the new crop from these districts. Bonded qualities met with little attention, and prices remained nominally the same.

Beans were saleable at last week's prices, and the new qualities come to hand in excellent condition, and approached very nearly the currency of old samples. Ticks obtained 36s.

New White Peas arriving more freely, with the foreign qualities pressing on the market, renders the trade extremely heavy, and must be noted 1s. to 2s. lower. In feeding descriptions we did not remark any alteration.

The Flour trade was languid at last week's decline in price:—Best Town-made, 42s. to 45s.; First, 35s. to 37s.; extra, 38s.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
White	50s. to 54s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
West Country red	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
Moray,* Angus, and Rotnshire red	38s. to 12s.
White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
Irish red	36s. to 40s.
White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	40s. to 42s.
Distilling	30s. to 33s.
Grinding	28s. to 31s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
—— Ware	58s. to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 40s.
—— Maple	38s. to 42s.
—— White Boilers	36s. to 44s.
Beans, Small	36s. to 40s.
Harrow	34s. to 37s.
Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
Short, small	22s. to 25s.
Poland	22s. to 25s.
Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
—— Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 23s.

—— —— Potato	23s. to 24s.	
—— —— Black	22s. to 23s.	
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.	
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s	

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
——— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
——— York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
——— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
——— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
——— Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
—— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, August 25.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, was good; its supply of Porkers limited. Trade was, with prime small Beef, Mutton, and Lamb, somewhat brisk, with the middling and inferior kinds, as also Veal and Pork dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a fourth of the beasts were Short-horns, the remainder three-fourths, about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Towns-end Cows, Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were New Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About two-thirds of the Lambs—the whole supply of which was supposed to be about 5,200, were new Leicesters of various crosses; the remainder, South Downs, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full third of which were Short-horns, the remainder, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts: about 180, chiefly Scots and Devons, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 80, for the most part horned Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 120, chiefly runts and Devons, with a few Staffords and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Sussex and Irish beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and most of the remainder, including the Towns-end Cows, from the marshes &c., near London.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90⅞	90⅞	90⅝	90½	90¼	89¾

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is *4s. 6d.* The Price of the second volume *3s. 6d.*

13. SERMONS —There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects. 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer, 8 The Gamester; 9 Public Robbery, 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11 The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price *3s. 6d.* bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price *6d.*

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added, first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.



CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH,

AND THE

OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

CURE OF A MONSTROUS SWELLING OF THE HEAD, SAID TO BE THE EFFECT OF POISON.

TO MESSRS. MORISON AND MOAT.

GENTLEMEN,—At a period like the present, when the most calumnious abuses are circulating against yourselves and your invaluable medicines, I think it would be base ingratitude on my part as an individual (having received so much benefit from Morison's Pills) to be silent at this important crisis. My case was as follows —In 1831, about the month of August, I was taken with a most violent

swelling, with tightness at the chest. Being from home, I called at the first surgeon's within my reach; I was told I had been poisoned by eating cucumber. I received some medicine, and thought myself well. I had many similar attacks between this and 1832. It then became so alarming, I had the advice of an eminent physician; after much ado about regimen, &c. (which would be too tedious to mention), he prescribed for me. But alas for me, with thousands of my fellow-sufferers in a short time I became worse than before. I was brought to the verge of despair, as my case grew most desperate, my head and face swelling to a most awful size; my body all over as if stung with wasps or bees; the utmost difficulty in breathing; frightened with fears of suffocation. Any person not witnessing the process of swelling, would have thought me the frightfullest monster in the world. Sometimes this state would come on in ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. I used to send for a surgeon on these occasions, who bled me more than once, and left me with this consolation, that I could not have many more attacks, as they became so frequent and violent as shortly must terminate my existence. About this time I happened to be in company with your excellent agent, Mr. Haydon. Mentioning my case to him, as I then thought a hopeless one, he strongly recommended me to try Mr. Morison's Pills. In a few days I was taken as usual; I sent for Mr. Haydon; he came and found me in the state before described. Administering fifty or sixty No. 2 pills, in a bruised state, I had instant relief. I pursued a course of the medicines for thirteen weeks; during this time I had several attacks, but by powerful doses of No. 2, I always found relief. I must mention before I conclude, I used to be taken sometimes at a fortnight, sometimes a week, which, through bleeding, &c., reduced me to extreme weakness, and my sufferings I leave any one to judge of. I am now, through the blessing of God upon your pills, as strong as I ever was; I can eat any thing, and labour as hard as any man, and stand as much fatigue. I have heard it asserted Morison's Pills destroy the digestive organs; I can assure any one I have taken them in all quantities, from one to a hundred pills at a dose; my digestion is better than before I took any, and as strong as any person's. That you may long live to confer such blessings upon mankind, gentlemen, is the sincere prayer and wish of your humble servant, and debtor for health,

THOMAS SORRELL.

P.S. It is now five months since I had an attack, the longest time I have gone free this year and a half, from which I conclude my complaint is extirpated. T. S.

40, Brown's-lane, Spitalfields, London, Dec. 26, 1833.

Hamburgh, July, 1834.

HEINE BROTHERS, in Hamburgh, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburgh, beg to inform, that the 61th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1. October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars, and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburgh, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.

TO MALTSTERS, CORN-DEALERS, BREWERS, FARMERS, AND EMIGRANTS.

ZACHARIAH PARKES (formerly of 279, High Holborn, London), and his Brother RICHARD, who have succeeded their late father in his very old-established business, beg to assure those who may favour them with orders for Steel Hand-Mills, that they may rely on having them of excellent quality. Any of the Mills enumerated below may be had through respectable ironmongers any where in the United Kingdom.

ZACHARIAH and RICHARD PARKES,
Mill-makers,
18, Digbeth-street, Birmingham.

Malt Mills, Bean Mills, Kibbling Mills for breaking Oats, Barley, and Beans for Cattle, and for grinding Malt occasionally. Wheat Mills and Flour-dressing Machines, very useful things, more especially in a New Settlement, where, in fact, they are almost indispensable. Also Mills for grinding Coffee, Cocoa, Pepper, Spices and Drugs, Grocers' Sugar Mills, Indian Corn Mills for exportation, and Mills to grind Cobbett's Corn into fine Meal for home use.

N. B. All warranted.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 85.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



THE *Register after the next* will be the *third* to the EARL OF RADNOR, on the Malthusian Scotch feelosofy Poor-law project. That will be immediately followed by a *fourth*, that by a *fifth*; and then I shall think that I have done sufficient in this regular way. I shall here have put upon safe record my defence of the working people's rights, against the gang of Scotch and English hirelings who have attacked those rights. I shall have enabled the working people themselves to plead their own cause, and to demand, with effect, the restitution of other rights, as well as those that will have been taken away by this measure. I shall have shown them how the aristocracy have been dealing with them and their fathers for several ages. In short, I shall have fought this battle up to this time in a manner that will show the difference between me and GREY, who complains of the feebleness occasioned by his old age. I shall have shown that NATURE, at any rate, to whose law sensible and steady BROUGHAM refers us for relief, is not always on the side of what is called "*high blood.*" These three remaining *Registers*, addressed to the Earl of Radnor, are already written; but as GREY has been receiving addresses in the country approaching the "*boothies*" and the "*burgoo*," I think it proper to send him an address from the country of bacon, bread, and beer; and as this subject would suffer from keeping, that address I shall publish *next week*. The money-matters are still more pressing; and, therefore, I must devote this *Register* in great part to them.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court.]

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

ON THE

STATE OF THE PAPER-MONEY.

Normandy, 2. *Sept*. 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE not before made observations on the change which has taken place in Portugal with regard to paper-money. From the moment that I read the first declaration of the wise and brave President of the United States; from the moment I saw that he held the true principles upon the subject of paper-money, I clearly saw the almost certainty of a half blowing-up at least of our own crazy affair.

My friends, every statesman ought to know the nature and effects of changes in the value of the current money: he ought to know all about this matter; but our statesmen, as they call themselves, appear never to have known any thing at all about them. President JACKSON, however, understood, and understands, the matter well: he saw that the general and inevitable tendency of paper-money was "to make the rich more rich, and the poor more poor." The moment I heard that phrase from his lips, or saw it on the paper as coming from his pen, I, knowing the undaunted courage, and the inflexible integrity of the man, who had laid the invaders of his country sprawling at NEW ORLEANS, and who had quelled the savage tribes, hired and paid to shed the blood of his neighbours: when I heard this from him, there was but one doubt remaining in my mind; namely, whether the people of the United States had, like the general part of our farmers, become so far infatuated on the subject as to think paper-money a good thing. I knew that whatever they decided upon would be carried in the end; and, when I found that they were right; that they clearly understood the matter,

I was sure that the President would triumph, and that the paper-money crew would fall.

This matter is settled; for though there is a struggle still going on, on the part of the swindlers, the thing is, in fact, done. There is a currency of gold as well as silver in the country, which, two years ago, saw not an ounce either of silver or gold in circulation. But, then came the question, how these changes in America would *affect us*: how they; how those effects would be met by the wise men who had passed Peel's Bill. I heard of some of them who said, "What is it to us what the "Americans do about their currency? "their doings cannot affect us." I do not impute monstrous stupidity like this to any of these who compose what is called the cabinet; but I heard that it came from some whose opinions were of some consequence to the country, and who ought to have known a great deal better; who ought to have known that there is only so much of gold and silver in the world; that whenever the place of gold and silver is supplied by paper-money, it will go from that place to some other place where there is no paper-money, or where there is a less quantity of paper in proportion to the gold and silver. The reasons why this is so it is not necessary for me to state at this time; and the statement would occupy a space and time more than I have at present at my command. Were circumstances otherwise, I could prove to you that it must be so, and that any man ought to be horse-whipped within an inch of his life; ought to be broom-sticked and kicked, who has the impudence to take the public money in the capacity of a statesman, without well-knowing all the reasons on which this assertion of mine is founded.

There are two sorts, distinct sorts, of arguments. One proceeds upon the nature and circumstances of the case; the other upon experience; and in most cases, though not always, the argument of experience is the best. Fortunately for me and for you, our wise statesmen have furnished us, in this case, with a most complete argument of experience. These wise men have three distinct countries under their control; and they seem to make use of them to try their hands, as the young doctors play upon the pauper patients. Having a mind to see which was best, they abolished one-pound notes in England, while they left them in Scotland and Ireland; they could see the danger of panics here, but no such danger could they see there! Last year they passed a law, which I did my duty in opposing, to make Bank of England notes a legal tender, if for a greater sum than five pounds; but this act they confined to England, leaving the Scotch banks and Irish banks without this species of protection, still for the laudable purpose of seeing *which would be best!* By . . . . . but it's useless to swear, or to be serious upon the subject: it would make one crazy, if one thought about this as we think about the conduct of reasonable and rational men.

However, one thing their blundering, their stupid, their far worse than hog-like ignorance: and fit they have not been; I say *have not*, for, God forbid that I should so speak of the right honourable persons now in power; fit they have not been, even to be footmen to wait on hogs: one would think, to look at their acts, that they have not sense enough to know how to carry the fork, loaded with venison, up to their gluttonous mouths. However, I say, as in most other cases, good has here come out of evil; for they have furnished me with an argument of experience, which I should not have had if they had been sitting in the stocks instead of being sitting in council. In Scotland and Ireland they have so contrived it that there shall be nothing but paper-money; that is to say, they there took care that there should be one-pound notes, while in England they took care that there should be some gold. The consequence has been, that there is not a sovereign circulating in Ireland or Scotland, while the sovereigns are circulating in England! Here are three little countries, all covered with people and with valuable property; all lying close to one ano-

ther; you might cover them with a blanket; these clever fellows have so contrived it, that in one there shall be gold in circulation, and that in the other two there shall be none, though they still left the law in force, compelling the paying in gold, if demanded. Having left the paper-money makers in Ireland and Scotland the power to issue one-pound notes, they, of course, would issue the one-pound notes. And, as long as they were permitted to issue them, there would be sure to be people to borrow them.

However, it is not with their stupidity that we have now particularly to deal: we shall have occasion enough, God knows, to talk of the effects of that: what we have now to attend to is the fact that they have furnished us with an argument of experience; for we see, that there being one-pound notes in Scotland and Ireland, the sovereigns will not stay in those countries to circulate with that villainous paper. We see that the gold comes away to England, in consequence of the great quantity of paper issued in those countries.

For the same reason, if the paper-money in the United States became supplanted by gold and silver, the gold and silver must go from some other country into the United States. To explain to you fully HOW it goes would require an essay of a tolerable length; but this would be unnecessary in the present case, because you must see very clearly, that for the same reason that England draws away all the gold from Ireland and Scotland, America must necessarily draw away the gold and silver from other countries; and if you could see the newspapers of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, you would hear the piteous cries that they are putting up on account of the drainings of their gold and silver away by the United States. Those colonies, particularly the two latter, are supported at our expense. We send them out money, which we work to pay in taxes, and they send that money to the United States, to pay for the green peas, the cabbages, the cherries, and indeed for the flour, Indian corn, and the pork, which the United States send for the consumption of the hangers-on of our nobility, whom we pay in those colonies.

When the United States had nothing but paper-money, the colonies made paper-money to pay them in. Then they stuffed away upon green peas, and peaches, and cherries. But now, when they are compelled to pay for the green peas, &c. in gold and silver, the quantity of green peas, &c. is vastly reduced, and his Majesty's loyal subjects; always the most loyal in the world, in the colonies, because we keep them in idleness; his Majesy's loyal subjects in the colonies set up the most hideous cries of distress, and even of discontent. This, however, would be a trifle; it would be a benefit to us, if the devil would come and fly away with the colonies. Consequently there would be no harm if the United States were to leave them to starve: but those States do not deem the colonies sufficient to fill one of their hollow teeth. Their gold and silver passes down the throat of this great drowning republic like a single crumb of the bread which a guttling common-councilman swallows during one of the meals that he devours at the expense of the oppressed, double-burdened, treble-burdened, tradesmen and working people of London.

It is HERE; it is here, that the United States come for a solid meal; and they are now, and have for many months been, draining away, first our silver, and next our gold, at a fearful rate. You know well that the little trick of legal tender for Bank of England notes, under five pounds, and making their notes legal tender for the country bankers above that sum, was intended, in the phraseology of the advocates of the measure, "to *ease* the currency;" to "*relax* the currency." One would have thought that it was a pack of doctors, talking about a patient, through whose body none of their damnable drugs were sufficiently strong to make any thing pass. Lord ALTHORP does not *look* like a doctor; but, viewing him side-by-side with Mr. POULETT THOMSON, whose mild and mel-

lifluous accents, which are perfectly professional, I really imagined, one night, when I roused up from a sort of half sleep, that it was a couple of doctors consulting as to what was to be done with a body-bound patient. At other times they talked like mathematicians, and stated their object to be, " an *enlargement* of the currency "; " an *expansion* of the currency"; " an *extension* of the currency." In plain language, what they meant was, to *increase the quantity of paper-money, and thereby raise prices*; and, what is very curious, they solemnly vowed and declared, that as they were true men, they meant to do no such thing. What was still more curious, those that supported their measure, supported it only because it was intended to, and thought it would, increase the paper-money and raise prices.

If it had this effect it would certainly have produced a panic in a reasonable time. But, in the meanwhile, comes this unexpected drain from the United States, where our sensible gentlemen thought that they had got a bank that would *take care and keep that country in a harmless state*. " Hickory, Homespun, and Hard-money," came upon them like the alguazils in Gil Blas, tumbling into the cavern, and finding Don somebody, I forget whom, and his comrades, over a hot supper. This drain, so unexpected, has disconcerted all the schemes; has counteracted the *easing* and *relaxing* medicines; and has counteracted the measures for *enlarging*, *expanding*, and *extending*. It has, in fact, compelled the old mother Bank in London; that she-devil, begotten by Mammon, and midwifed by a bishop; it has brought her to the necessity of adopting *restringent* medicines, instead of the *easing* and *relaxing* medicines; instead of those *easing* and *relaxing* ones prescribed, and indeed administered, by Doctors Althorp and Thomson. In plain words, it has made her greatly lessen the quantity of her paper-money; and instead of there being a rise of prices, the prices of all things are diminishing: and wheat, which was expected to get up to eight or nine shillings a bushel, at the least, has come, upon an average, throughout the kingdom, down to less than five. Devil take such doctors, I say! However, all doctors make the success of their prescriptions depend upon circumstances; always to depend upon an IF, one *if*, at least; as for instance, if you don't get drunk; if the old Tabby (who has a quarter of a million in the funds) will abstain a little while from her regular evening quart of strong hot brandy-and-water; and so on, in other cases. Lawyers, too, always make the success of the case depend upon what the evidence will bring out. They always say to you, " There is no knowing what *they* will swear to." But we must not let our state doctors off in this way; they had a patient with whom they had the power to do just what they pleased, and no soul to contradict them or thwart them. They were both physicians and apothecaries; they prescribed the medicine and administered it. They had not, as the lawyers have, a *case* to make out; they were at once advocates, attorneys, and clients, on both sides. And, as to a court and a jury, they themselves were the court, and the jury gave the verdict in cheers, the moment they opened their mouths. Unfortunately, it was a jury that decides by the majority. If an unanimous verdict had been required, the silly decision never would have been come to. But, could they foresee that Mr. President Jackson would do what he has done; and that it would produce these effects? No, they could not foresee of themselves any thing about the matter; but I could; and I told them what he would do, and what would take place in consequence of his doings; and I republished the " *Curse of Paper-Money*," giving an account of the bank-swindlings in America, in order to show them the state of the paper affair in the United States.

Besides, tell me not of their *not being able to foresee*; tell this to those tame wretches, those crouching slaves, those " hereditary bondsmen," as Mr. O'Connell calls them, those base and servile vermin, who are ready at all times to

tell you that those who possess power are always in the right; those unprincipled and profligate blackguards, who, having wherewith to gorge their worthless carcasses out of the sweat of the people, or out of some vile monopoly, care nothing about the millions who labour; care nothing about the country's honour, or its happiness: go tell this to vermin of this description; tell them that the Ministers could not foresee that that would happen which has happened; but tell it not to me, who not only foresaw it, but who foretold it to them: they ought to have been prepared for that which has now happened; and they ought to have prepared the Parliament for it, instead of coming to it with boastings of the prosperity of the country, and telling us, that "*our financial efforts* "*had filled all Europe with admira-* "*tion*": telling us that "*the nations of Europe were lost in surprise*" at our having given twenty millions of money to free the blacks, while we had such an enormous debt of which we pay the interest, and which we pay so honestly. Lord ALTHORP did not tell us whether the nations of Europe were lost in surprise at our wisdom, or at our folly, or at our hypocrisy, or at our spite; but I can tell him that, in the United States of America, the surprise has been only at the folly and the impudence; the impudence to pretend that we give any money at all, when it is only bank-notes borrowed to that amount. Folly to think that we could, by any possibility, induce the United States to follow an example so devoid of all possible good effects, and so sure to produce ruin and confusion.

What the nations of Europe will think of us now, I do not know, nor do I care; but here we are, brought to the point when it is become a question throughout the whole country, whether we shall, or shall not, have *one-pound notes* and *legal tender*, the most prevalent opinion being in the affirmative. Wheat is now on an average throughout the kingdom at not much more than five shillings a bushel. I by no means see the impossibility of its coming down to three shillings, or three shillings and sixpence. Let that come, and let an attempt be made to collect the present amount of taxes, and let the Scotch Poor-Law Bill push on; and then we shall see the system tried to the back-bone: then we shall see that system which crammed some of the best men in the kingdom into dungeons, and which drove me to Long Island; that system which, even now, gives no vote to the industrious men, who live round the dwelling of the pensioner, the sinecure-man, or woman, or child, the dead-weight man, or woman, or child; which gives no vote to those whose earnings are taken away to keep these people in idleness, and which gives a vote to these idlers; that system, under which Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire are smarting to the very bone; that system which upholds an officer in applying the public stores to enable masters to keep down the wages of their journeymen; that system which does ten thousand things, any one of which would be quite enough: let wheat be at three-and-sixpence a bushel; let an attempt to collect the present amount of taxes be made; and let the Bishop of London's Poor-Law Bill be pushing forward, and the big workhouses beginning to rear their heads: let all these three come; and then this system will be fairly tried.

But, will they come? That's a great question: it is a question of far greater importance than all the others that have been agitated within the last hundred years. If they do come, then, as the saucy and empty and unfeeling and tax-eating CANNING said, the question will, indeed, be *set at rest*, and *FOR EVER*! For ever and ever; or as the Protestant poets, STERNHOLD and HOPKINS, said "*for ever and a day.*" And, though the Catholics laughed a good deal at this phrase, if ever it were fitting, it would be fitting in this case; for, to all eternity, never again would be found a being, either of this world, or t'other world, to propose the revival of such a system.

It appears to me that the only possible way of escaping this catastrophe, for a comparatively short period, is the

way of *legal tender* and *one-pound notes*. This would postpone the day of judgment for a year or two, perhaps. I say *perhaps*, because I am by no means sure that it would. But, though the culprit be sure to be hanged in the end, he still catches with eagerness at a reprieve, even for an hour. Besides, he does not *know*, whether the reprieve may not be renewed, and whether he may not finally escape. All is with him a complete state of uncertainty as to the future; but still nothing can be quite so bad as an immediate tucking up. Just so is it with the poor-law Ministry. They must see, that wheat at three-and-sixpence a bushel brings them into a state which I will not describe; but I may say, that it brings them either to my equitable adjustment, or to something much more terrible; and terrible as that other thing is, I verily believe, that they would encounter the risk of it, and even perish by the means of it, rather than come to me. Indeed, coming to me will be a horrible affair. The reducing of the interest of the debt they would not stick at. But, there are my other conditions; namely, the sweeping away of the pensions, the sinecures, the dead-weight, the unjust havings of the church; and all these *previously* to the touching of the interest of the debt! Bring the cart! Death is better than this! Very well, then, let the *one-pound notes* and *legal tender* come, and let me triumph in that way. It would be pretty difficult to look me in the face, after resorting to this bankrupt scheme. It will be a declaration of bankruptcy; it will be an announcement to the whole world, by a deed the most decisive, that the nation cannot pay its debts in gold, agreeably to the contract. It will be shame indescribable; humiliation enough to kill a man of spirit to think of. Death to the reputation of the leaders of both factions; it will be political perdition to all them; but, it will not be like the other; the dear pounds, shillings, and pence, which the aristocracy and their broods suck up from the taxes, will not *appear* to be taken away; nor will they be taken away, except in part. So that to the one-pound notes and legal tender, I think we shall come.

One of the newspapers, in relating what was doing in Portugal, where it seems paper-money has been pretty nearly, if not quite, abolished, expressed its surprise the other day, that all the world should seem to be all at once seized with a desire to possess gold as a currency; and, particularly, that *Portugal*, a Government of despots and priests, should be seized with the same taste as that of America. The writer in this newspaper did not remember what I said, when I first spoke of the measures of Mr. President Jackson; did not remember that I said that, if America came to specie payments, all other nations must come to specie payments, if they had great commercial transactions with her, or else they must be ruined; for that she would take away all their gold, and leave them to assignats and revolution. She has been stopped in Portugal by a *bona fide* return to hard money, which the Minister of that country has advised and executed.

The following article, which I take from the *Times* newspaper, explains the whole of this affair in Portugal. The reader will see, that the debtors complain of the want of an equitable adjustment; and, if the Government of Portugal had been stupid enough to imitate Peel's Bill, and had had a debt such as we have, to be doubled in reality by this operation, the Portuguese nation would have been totally ruined; though I do not think that that nation consists of such base and cowardly wretches as those who cheered Peel and Lord Althorp, and who hooted and bellowed, and belched and snorted, in the *taverns* and *club-houses* of London, when I brought forward my motion for excluding the former right honourable person from the Privy Council of our wise and gracious King, almost vomiting out of their throats the taxes with which they were gorged, in their eagerness to show their spaniel-like servility to every thing possessing power, or possible, in the chapter of villanous accidents, to possess it: though I do not think the Portuguese nation, or any portion of it, so

base as these vile utterers of foul breath against me, in their gambling-houses, and boozing-kens, and brothels, by way of sauce to give a relish to their general rogueries and impurities; by way of episode in the long drama of villainy, which they act on the boards of those resorts of abomination; though I do not think the Portuguese nation stinking cowards to this extent; yet that nation must have been plunged into utter ruin, if, when they adopted this measure, they had had taxes and a debt proportioned to ours. I will now insert the article, to be followed by some few remarks.

"CHANGE OF CURRENCY IN PORTUGAL.

"*Extract of a Commercial Letter, dated Oporto, August 16.*

"The news of the alteration which is "about to take place in the currency of "this country, in pursuance of the Go- "vernment decree of the 23. ult., will "doubtless ere this have reached Eng- "land, and be matter of much specula- "tion to those who are interested in the "subject. Such a measure perhaps "never proceeded from any Govern- "ment, and it is fit that the British pub- "lic should know its real nature, that "they may be on their guard, and esti- "mate what faith they ought to place "in the present Ministers of Her Most "Faithful Majesty.

"In the year 1798 the Government "commenced the issue of paper notes "of various amounts, from 1,200 reis to "20,000 reis each, which were made by 'their tenour redeemable within one 'year of their date with the competent 'interest, and the currency of the coun- try was established by law, half in 'these notes, and half in metallic coin. 'Within two or three years after they 'were first issued, the Government not 'only ceased to pay coin for their notes, 'but the interest also, and the conse- 'quence was they fell to a discount, the 'rate of which has fluctuated materially, 'being at one time upwards of 30 per 'cent., and at no period within the 'last 20 years lower than 15 per cent. "At the time of the last decree of which "we are speaking, the discount was 26 "per cent. Commercial accounts have "been kept in this currency, and it has "formed the basis for all transactions, "unless by special agreement. The "foreign exchanges have been effected "by it, as they necessarily depend on "the price of bullion. On a sudden, "without any previous warning, the "Government issued the decree of the "23. ult., abolishing the paper-money "in circulation as a legal tender after "the 31. inst., and offering to redeem "it, not at par, but with a discount of "20 per cent. for metal! In England "you would probably consider this as "unjust, but here all such sins are co- "vered by the answer, '*Necessitas su-* "*prema lex est*,' or '*utilitate publicæ*.' "It is not against this part of the mea- "sure, therefore, that people complain, "but that the law has made no excep- "tion in its operation in favour of con- "tracts made prior to its promulgation. "Thus, if a merchant have bought in "June 100 pipes of wine at 100,000 reis "per pipe currency at the time, at a "credit of three months, and accept- "ed a bill for the amount due in Sep- "tember, he will be called upon by the "new law to pay the same amount in "metallic coin, instead of the vitiated "currency and inferior value for which "he contracted. He will be a clear "loser of 10 per cent., the half amount "of paper-money, which he had engaged "to pay being worse than metal 20 per "cent., by the decree of the Govern- "ment. Against so oppressive and un- "equal a measure the body of mer- "chants both in Lisbon and Oporto have "petitioned the Finance Minister. "They have demanded that on all con- "tracts made previous to the 1. of Sep- "tember, when the new law comes in "force, for payments in currency, cre- ditors shall be compelled to receive "such currency, or its equivalent, which "is 20 per cent. in metal. All their pe- "titions and remonstrances have been "fruitless, and the Minister of Finance 'has just given them a flat refusal. 'What can be the reason for his deny- 'ing so plain an act of justice and

"equity is not discoverable, and he him "self assigns none.

"Annexed is the reply of the Portu- "guese Minister to which the letter "refers:—

"Most Illustrious and Excellent Senhor Ricardo Jose Duarte,—In reply to the representation which you were pleased to deliver to me in conjunction with other respectable merchants, forming a deputation of the merchants of this city, I have the honour to inform you that I do not see sufficient ground for proposing to His Imperial Majesty the declaration of an agio of 20 per cent. on the portion of paper-money in all payments which fail to be made after the 31. of August instant, on account of transactions now pending.

"The publication of the decree of the 23 of July was made after the serious deliberation which a subject of such importance required, and the result of that deliberation was the conviction that it was not possible to make any declaration which should not have the effect of creating inconveniences in certain circumstances, and that the method adopted was calculated to produce not only fewer and more transitory evils, but would also best conduce to facilitate future commercial transactions by disencumbering them of endless impediments and embarrassments.

"Will you, sir, and the other gentlemen, have the goodness to consider that the concurrence of opinions which is manifested by their body makes nothing in the way of argument, nor proves the correctness of those opinions? The establishment of warehousing ports, which ultimately so greatly advanced the commerce and navigation of England, was at first looked upon by all classes as a calamity for agriculture and national industry. I forbear to refer to other examples of a similar nature which present themselves at every step. From all of them it may be inferred as a corollary, that the merchant, generally speaking, examines these subjects only in accordance with the immediate relation they bear to him. It is the duty of the Government, however, to look at them in all their parts, and to take an enlarged and general view of them. Moreover, the object in question is already provided for in article 58, title 7, of the commercial code, and the Government took particular care not to interfere with a law, the scrupulous observance of which must form the most solid basis of mercantile credit.

"The Government, besides, has already given an example of equity, in admitting the payment of its paper, before the 31. of August, and after that day it will pay in specie, not only its debts arising out of pending transactions, but also those of the most remote date. Thus much have I to state in reply to you, trusting that you will be pleased to communicate my answer to the other subscribing gentlemen; again expressing my acknowledgment for the kind terms they have thought fit to honour me with.

"I remain, &c.,

"JOSE DA SILVA CARVALHO.

"Lisbon, August 13."

You here see, my friends, that this is a Peel's Bill, under very different circumstances; but with this very great difference with regard to the debt of the Government; for the Portuguese Government means not to pay the whole of their debt off in gold; but to pay in the currency in which it contracted the debt; that is to say, to pay less than the nominal amount. Peel's Bill made no such provision; and it was on that ground that I found fault with it; it was precisely on that ground that my resolution of the 16. May, 1833, was founded; and yet Peel reproached me with dishonesty, because I asserted that such deduction ought to have been made from the nominal amount of the debt; and Lord Althorp moved the expunging, or rather, the not inserting on the minutes; and when the reports of their speeches against me reached the eyes of the base and servile miscreants in the taverns and club-houses, and brothels, they uttered foul breath in quantity equal to that which Casca tells Brutus, that the stinking rabble of Rome uttered, when Cæsar put aside the crown. Nobody thinks proper to accuse the Portuguese Government of dishonesty; and why, then, was my proposition called dishonest? Nobody says that the Portuguese Government have been guilty of a breach of national *faith*; why, then was mine a proposition to break *national faith*? Ah! but I proposed, as a preliminary, to sweep away the pensions, sinecures, grants, and the troops of dead-weight. This it was that alarmed the tax-devouring crew. I wondered for years what it was that could have made old Daddy Coke so outrageously spiteful against me for my Norfolk petition containing the proposition. My proposition was evidently in favour of the nobility, gentry, and all the landowners. It must, if adopted, relieve them of a very large part of those burdens, which then pressed, and now press,

so cruelly upon the land. I was, sur prised, therefore, that the DADDY shoul run about from parish to parish in Nor folk, to get meetings to present peti tions in opposition to the county meet ing-petition, which I drew up and car ried; but about three years ago ou came the whole mystery: I found tha the great DADDY; the agricultural Daddy the sheep-shearing Daddy, was a SINE-CURE-PLACEMAN, had been such almost all his life-time, and had recently had a quarrel with the Ministry of the Duke of WELLINGTON, because they ha lopped off part of his sinecure, leaving him still, however, two or three thousand pounds a year. The DADDY, in railing against my petition, never said a word about my proposition to lop off the pensions and sinecures. He confined his abuse for my "*dishonest*" proposition for reducing the interest of the debt; and in the character of Government grantee, fed out of the taxes raised upon the DUNGENESS Lighthouse, he kept out of sight, lying as snug, and curled up as close, as an earwig in the heart of the bloom of a carnation; or on the side of the stone of an apricot. Oh! cursed nasty devils, how many thousands of them have I killed! When I kill one now, I always think of Daddy COKE; who kept bawling, "Rogue, "rogue, you want to rob the or-"phans and the widows who have put "their little earnings in the funds"; not a word about the pensions and the DUNGENESS Lighthouse: and this is a great country gentleman, is it! This is one of those for whose benefit, to save whose estates, BROUGHAM has proposed a Poor-law Bill. Well, DADDY! pay the fundholders, then, with your wheat at five shillings a bushel.

Now, my friends, from this digression about this stupid old DADDY, let me come to observe, that this drain of gold from Portugal to America, having compelled the Portuguese to return to gold and silver, the Portuguese come to us for the gold and the silver; or they do not, at least, supply us with that which they supplied us with before. Here is another drain upon us; and, it does seem impossible that wheat at three-and-sixpence a bushel is to be avoided, without one-pound notes and legal tender.

The law of Doctors ALTHORP and THOMSON can do nothing at all in the raising of prices, while the Americans and Portuguese remain in this mood. The demand for gold is increasing every day: people are beginning to hoard gold; and pretty beasts they would be if they did not. They are pushing for gold, it seems, in Scotland; for there they have one-pound notes, and they are doing the same in Ireland. Our bank-notes are now a legal tender for all sums *above five pounds*; but for no sums *of* five pounds or *under*. So that the country banks in England can make payment in Bank of England notes instead of gold, if the sum be above five pounds. This is a partial bankruptcy. It is a partial refusal to pay in gold. The Bank itself in London, is held to pay all its notes in gold, of every description, if presented to itself; but its *branches* in the country are not compelled to pay in gold, except for notes issued by the branch itself. This spurious offspring are not obliged to pay the notes of their old mother. This is a partial bankruptcy; it is a partial legal tender; it is a partial refusal to pay in gold; but it cannot be effectual for the purpose intended. Something must be done; and I still think that that something must be, an issue of one-pound notes and a law of legal tender.

It is of great consequence that the people of this country should clearly understand the way in which all the industrious classes are injured by paper-money. When I was in that happy Long Island, which I liked so much better than NEWGATE, I wrote three letters addressed to the big Prince Regent, the principal object of which was, to show him the manner in which the Bank-fellows had, by degrees, usurped the powers which belong to the crown, and how they ruined the people; how they took their property from them, and gave them nothing in exchange: how they raised prices up and down at their pleasure; how they fattened, and how they made other people starve; and how ne-

cessary it was to put an end to their monstrous power. It is fourteen years, or rather more, since those letters were published. Boys, then in arms or in the cradle, can now read. Boys, then ten years old, are now young men of twenty-four. Lads, then of sixteen, are now men of thirty. These letters were never seen, I will engage, by big George the Fourth, who was too much engaged with his excellent company, Lady Conyngham, the "*Right Honourable Sir* John M'Mahon," and "*Lord* Bloomfield"! Too much engaged with this excellent company, and with his fishing on Virginia Water. But, my friends, and especially the young ones, if he had not time to read these letters, that is no reason that you should not read them, I therefore here insert the second letter, which treats of the subject immediately before us; and which, if you read it with attention, will for ever fix your opinions as to this matter; while it cannot fail to give to your minds those impressions which shall prepare you duly for the scenes that are to come.

I am, your faithful, and most obedient servant,

Wm. COBBETT.

N. B. The reader will please to observe the following letter was written and published *before the passing of Peel's bill*; and, of course, the legal tender law and one-pound notes were in full SWING...... Oh, God! I am frightened. I hope that nobody will send this *Register* into *my parish*.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

LETTER II.

On the dangers, to which the crown may be exposed, by its being identified with those who traffic in seats, and in bribery, corruption and perjury, at a time when a sudden blowing-up of the paper-money shall take place.

North Hampstead, Long Island,
5. *Jan,* 1819.

May it please your Royal Highness,

Before I proceed to address your Royal Highness on the subject of preserving the crown and preventing universal confusion, it is my duty to endeavour to convince you that there exists danger; and this I shall do in the present letter.

Those, whose object it is to amuse and deceive your Royal Highness, give you accounts of the amazing *resources* of the country; and, we all well know, that its resources are surprisingly great; and, not only great in amount, but, when things are in their natural state, of such a nature, and deposited and bestowed in such a way, and in the hands of such a people as to make them ten-fold in *effect*, what resources of equal mere magnitude are in some other cases. All those who know any thing of the uses of property in England, or who know any thing of the character and habits of the people, must estimate very highly the resources of the country. Those only, who are under the blindness of ignorance or of envy, can suppose it possible, that England ever can, for any length of time, become a feeble, insignificant country. It belongs to politicians like the Edinburgh reviewers, who, at reading the romances about America, burst out into prophecies relative to the *power* and *glory* of immense regions, which now are but a wilderness; it belongs to such men, and only to such men, to estimate the resources of a country by fertility of soil and extent of acres. Dunderheaded Chalmers and Thief-Taker Colquhoun have displayed the strength and resources of England in a *guess* at the number of pigs, sheep, beeves, and so forth, in which respect the United States far surpass Great Britain and Ireland.

The Thief-Catcher's book was clearly intended to gain him a title; though I do hope, that your Royal Highness will not be induced to bid him rise up a baronet, at any rate: though after Sir Bate Dudley, it is difficult to say what may not be expected. The Thief-Catcher labours hard to show, that the pigs, sheep, beeves, horses, mares, colts, cocks, and hens, are *so numerous*, that *the amount of the debt is nothing at all*;

or, at least, nothing worth speaking of.

This is the sort of stuff, by the means of which the people's minds have been buoyed up for the last twenty-six years. No man pretends that England has not great resources, particularly in the ingenuity, industry, and punctuality of her people; and, which is of more value than all the rest, in their *public spirit*, their love of country, their pride of country, in which respect they exceed the people of any other country in the world.

But, sir, the resources of the country; that is to say, the mere amount of the valuable things in a country, has very little to do with the safety of the government of that country; nor has it but very little to do in certain cases with the happiness of the people; nor with the capacity of the nation for great enterprize. A nation may possess the soil of Egypt, the population of China, the mines of Peru, and yet have *no resources at all*; for, with all these, it may be unable to bring any of its means so to act as to make the people safe in their persons at home, or to defend themselves against an invader. England, at this moment, is not very far from this state; for, while her people are shut up in dungeons with impunity to the oppressors, her resources are so managed as to render her wholly incapable of carrying on war.

However, the view to which I am about humbly to endeavour to draw the attention of your Royal Highness is of a very different description from that of these pig-pokers and hen-roost peepers: a view more worthy, I hope, of being presented to your mind.

If, by *the resources* of a country, we mean the *things of value* in it, these may abound to an incalculable extent, and yet they may tend to the destruction, rather than to the preservation of the government; for, if the part which ought to remain with some men be taken away and given to other men, the greater the quantity of valuable things, the greater the quantity of injustice, and the greater the quantity of ill-will and irritation. *Labour* is one of the articles of value, and it is of more value than all the other things put together. But, if the men who labour have the *half of its produce taken from them*, the greater the quantity of labour the greater the danger to those who cause this act of injustice. In such a community no harmony can exist: the oppressed must *wish*, at least, for the destruction of the oppressors, and, whenever they can do it with a chance of success, they will seek their destruction.

But, these reflections aside, valuable things are of *no value* to any man, unless he can *use* them. Stockings are of no value to the stocking-maker, unless he can turn them into bread and meat and house, and so forth. Horses are of no use to the horse-breeder, unless he can turn them into other things. Land is of no use to the landowners, unless they can turn their annual worth into other things, or, indeed, unless they really eat dirt, which, from the muddiness of the heads of most of them, one would almost suppose them to do. Nor are the valuable things of a country of any use to that country in war, unless they can be turned into soldiers and sailors and implements of war.

It follows, then, of course, that, except in the *hunter-life*, where every man provides everything for himself, nothing is of any value, which cannot, by some means or other, be turned into some other thing. In a very thinly settled country, where each family provides for the greater part of its wants, and where the wants are few in number, this transmutation may, with great inconvenience, be effected by the exchanging one valuable thing for another of different nature but of equal value. But, this mode of dealing, if greatly inconvenient in the half hunter-life, becomes intolerable in a populous community, and, indeed, it is impossible.

Hence men sought a *standard of value*, a sign which they might give to each other; and this has, with us, taken the name of *money*. Clearly, therefore, this must be a thing of vast importance, seeing that, without it, *nothing is of any value* at all; seeing that,

without it, the stocking-maker must eat and drink his stockings, or be starved, and that the landowner must dress out his wife and daughter in dirt, or, at best, in boughs and grass. Burdon, in his foolish and base speech, which he called a *defence* of the Duke of York, told a rigmarol story about some bishop having told him, that when he was tutor to some of the Royal Dukes, he never could make them clearly *understand the value of money*; which is likely to have been true enough, though coming from a bishop; for, besides that the bishop might not have a very clear mode of conveying his meaning, I dare say his ideas of the value of money went no further than the very simple business of hoarding, the utility of which it would indeed have been strange if a prince had been able to comprehend. But, to the value of money as a *performer of labour*, and as a *cement of civil society*, the Royal Dukes would, I hope, have paid attention.

Swift, who, in one short and beautiful poem, has more sound and useful matter in political economy than is contained in all Adam Smith's bulky volumes, calls money "the *life-blood of the nation*." And it is really nothing less; for, without it, not a member can stir. If disordered, the whole frame instantly feels the effects. If too abundant, the lenders are ruined. If too small in quantity, the borrowers are ruined, and the pennyless starved If wholly stopped in its circulation, the society, if populous, is dissolved, and even if not populous, plunged into confusion

A matter of such vital importance has never, heretofore, been left to the management of any hands but those of the *sovereign*, under whatever name he has been acknowledged. In England, to make and issue money, has, until of late years, been an attribute belonging solely to the king; to usurp this function of royalty is *treason* at Common Law; many men have suffered, and justly suffered, as *traitors*, for the act: and yet, we now behold a band of money-makers, issuing false money too, and hanging men for imitating their false and fraudulent money.

Without a true money; without a true standard of value: without this there can be no *contracts*. The denomination of the law is: "*good* and *lawful* money." But, no good and lawful money can there be, if any man, or body of men, any company or any band, can change the value of the money at their pleasure; and as often as their whims, or their interests, may dictate. At every change a sweeping violation of contracts takes place; a *treason* is committed at every change; and, I do most sincerely hope, that your Royal Highness will have to order the execution of *many* of the traitors, in spite of their bills of indemnity. Empson and Dudley were hanged, though they pleaded acts of Parliament in their defence. These were the real conspirators and traitors in January, 1817. The dungeons ought to have sounded with their groans; the gallows ought to have lifted them, and not the brave Cashman, into the air.

However, it is of the yet unaccomplished acts of these traitors that I have, at present, to speak. In order that the *standard of value*; in order that so very important a thing as the *sole cement of society* should be exposed to no danger of injury, or destruction, at least, it has wisely been the practice of all nations to make it consist, not only of materials little liable to perish, but, from their comparative *rareness* and the *labour expended in getting at them*, of great intrinsic value, in proportion to their weight. Having taken these precautions, and having confined the power of issuing to the sovereign, a nation might with truth say, that it had a *standard of value*, or a *money*. But, when the king was robbed of his exclusive right of coining and uttering the money, and when the component matter of the money was changed from the precious metals to *paper*, there was *no standard of value*, and the property of every man lay prostrate at the feet of the new money-makers, their associates, abettors and protectors.

Suffer me to explain to your Royal Highness *how* it is that the paper-money crew pillage your father's people. They

make paper-money. They lend the money so made, taking what they, in their cheating jargon, call a *discount*. Therefore, the borrower, when he brings the money back, brings a quantity, suppose a *hundred pounds* more than he has received. With this hundred pounds the money-makers *buy an acre of land*. This is the way they plunder; this is the way they grow rich; this is the way they are enabled to live like princes, while princes and people live like beggars. If, indeed, they lent *real money*; if they lent even paper *for which they had given any thing of value*, they would have a right to their *discount*; because they have a right to receive interest for their money. But, they *make* the thing they lend. It is the representative of nothing but their *will*; and there will is to take away the property of others. If they were *liable* to be called upon for payment in money, not of their own making, the case would be different. But, they are not. They were protected by what is called law against the just demands of their creditors. Not only can no creditor touch their bodies; he cannot touch their lands and goods; he cannot take back any part of his own property, of which they have defrauded him.

One of the great reasons which have long been acted upon by nations in lodging the sole power of making, issuing, and regulating money; one of the great reasons for lodging this power in the hands of the *sovereign solely* was, that the sovereign could not, by possibility, be suspected to make, or to wish to make, a *dishonest use of this power*. The sovereign, unless supposition would admit a monster to become a sovereign, could not possibly have a selfish motive for any act calculated to injure the great mass of the people, and especially if the same act tended to throw the nation into confusion. But, if such were lodged in the hands of any private person, or any body of private persons, then the holders of such would naturally use it for their own advantage, be the consequences to the people at large what they might.

And thus has it been with that audacious and rapacious body, called the Bank of England, who, from a Company of Merchants, have, in conjunction with the seat-dealers, become the real sovereigns of England as far as *power* is concerned. While this company were held by the law; as long as they were subject to the ordinary laws of the land; as long as they were compelled to make good their pecuniary engagements, or to answer the complaints made against them in the king's courts; so long the king was master. But from the moment that they had a protection against the ordinary laws, they became the arbiters of the property of all men. They, by their sole will, determined what the king should receive in the shape of taxes, and whether contracts between man and man should be fulfilled or broken.

These money-makers are now protected and upheld by the seat-fillers, by annual bills of protection; and while this state of things lasts there can be no *certainty* for property. There can, in fact, be no property, seeing that nothing is worth having without a *real money*. This combination of tyrants can, at any time, make money plenty or scarce. They to-day can ruin all the lenders of money and all creditors; they can make debts and bonds and settlements and annuities worth not a quarter part of the value agreed for. They can *reduce* rents, wages of servants, and every thing in the same proportion. Then in the course of a few months they can ruin all the borrowers and debtors. They can augment the value of debts of all kinds; they can double or triple rents, wages, and every thing, payment on account of which is contracted for. Works of this description they have carried on, and they can repeat them at their sole will and pleasure. It was this band of usurping coiners who caused the severe pressure of misery in 1816 and 1817. Their seat-dealing associates ascribed the misery to a *sudden transition from war to peace*, and they ascribed the discontents of the people to my "*Twopenny Trash*." But it was the coiners who produced the misery, and

it was reason which produced the complaints of the people.

What a monstrous power then this! If a king were to ask for such power, if he were to show a desire to obtain the absolute power of causing all contracts to be violated at his pleasure, and to render his people miserable whenever he pleased; if he were openly t endeavour to obtain the absolute powe of inflicting starvation on a majority o his people, that people would be fully justified in destroying him as a monste unfit to live. Yet the seat-dealers and their bank have not only sought for such power, but they have obtained i and *exercised* it.

This is something wholly *new* in the affairs of nations. Such a thing never existed before. Paper-money, banks bubbles have before existed, but a power like this was never before heard of in the world; and this power has been created by the seat-dealers solely for the purpose of obtaining the means of upholding their own usurpation.

But happily for the nation this monstrous, this diabolical power, contains within itself the sure means of its own destruction. It is of the very essence of this power that the money made by the usurpers is in itself *worth nothing*, and that it is not exchangeable into real money at the will of the holder, because the moment it becomes so exchangeable the *power ceases*. The king's coin becomes the standard of value, and he again is, in this respect at least, the *real sovereign*. And it is this *intrinsic worthlessness* of the sham money that insures its destruction, and also the destruction of every thing which depends on it for existence.

Such a money, false and mischievous as it is, may, when once it has either by force or fraud been made to usurp the lawful money, last for a considerable time, even though *all* the people well know how false and base and mischievous it is. For money is so necessary to every minute of the life of man; it is so completely the "life-blood" of civil society, that it cannot be done without for a single day, without producing the greatest of inconveniences, and indeed without producing, in a populous country, evils of the most terrible description, unless there be uncommon wisdom and energy at the head of affairs. All the people, every man and every woman, may detest this spurious money as heartily as I do, and yet they may feel half frozen with horror at the thought of the nation being left, only for a day, *without money*. Hence they look at the system with detestation, while they fear to see it destroyed. But indeed, if these feelings of fear had no weight at all; if these feelings did not exist, men's *daily and hourly necessities* would make them acquiesce in the system, so far as to *use* the paper; and if I myself were now under the sway of this complicated system of violence and fraud, I must take and pass the paper, or go without food and clothing. Nay, your Royal Highness, whose authority is by this vile and impudent system usurped, and whose office it degrades and insults, cannot dine or ride out without the aid of this base money.

So that its existing and passing current, and being sought after and kept with care, are no proofs, nor signs, of its goodness or stability; but they are complete proofs of the vast powers of money, of its indispensable necessity, and of the confusion that must inevitably arise from a total, or even a partial want of it. And hence we come to consider the dangers to the *Crown* and to the *people*, which are involved in this fraudulent system.

The counterfeiting of the king's coin to a great extent would, by creating distrust in many persons, produce great alarm and confusion. But besides that, to do this wicked act to a very great extent, is a work of extreme difficulty; there is in the coin an intrinsic value to restrain, and as to the distinguishing of counterfeits, there are in the nature of the coins themselves, in the materials of which they are composed, certain qualities, which prove their goodness, and which qualities are easily *ascertained* by almost every person in trade, and indeed by a great part of the labourers and mechanics. So that from a counterfeiting of coin no very great

and general evil can arise. There is *a part* at least of the standard of value left in circulation, however sweeping the art of counterfeiting may be. But the base rubbish now in circulation has no foundation to rest on. It depends on mere opinion; or rather, on the mere supposition, or hope, or presumption of the *taker* of it, that he shall be able to pass it again. He has a horse, he wants a cow in exchange, and if the bank-note will but answer the purpose of the transmutation, it *serves his turn.* But let any thing happen which shall make him afraid to let the horse go for the note, lest no one will give him a cow for it; let this happen and the nation is *without money.* The standard of value is gone, and there can be no buying and selling.

It is not here as in the case of a sweeping counterfeiting of coin, for in the case of the coin there is always *something* left as a standard for temporary use at any rate. This gives breathing time. Prices fall, perhaps, prodigiously, and contracts must be violated, but still it is impossible that there should not be left the means of keeping people quiet till things can be put to rights a little. Not thus in the case of the paper, which, if a good blow be given it, falls at once. It is not a night, with moon or stars to succeed the sun, and brought on by degrees: it is total darkness, and darkness all at once by the extinguishment of the sun.

I beg your Royal Highness to contemplate the consequences of this at least *possible case.* Amongst the least of the consequences would be a total stop to all commerce and every species of dealing. The rich would have nothing to distinguish them from the poor except their inferiority in point of capacity to obtain and use the necessaries of life; for vain is the imagination of him who can hope, that in such a state of things, and in such a country as England, and especially in such a city as London, *laws* would have any force, or that any thing like peace and order could be preserved except by general voluntary consent. Foolish is the man who supposes that he could obtain temporary subsistence by his promises or his credit. Physical force would be fed first, and the right of the strongest would return backed and urged on by a mass of resentment, such as mankind never before witnessed.

In such a state of things of what use would be those *resources* of which the pompous thief-catcher, Colquhoun, talks? The number of *hares* and *conies* would signify very little I believe. The beeves and the colts, and the cocks and the hens would avail the nation little. The debt and the fundholders would be as completely forgotten as if they were clods of earth or tufts of grass. The army would melt down instantly into the mass of seekers for victuals and drink. The scene would be surpassed in sublimity of horror by nothing that the world has ever heard of except by that of the last judgment, as described by St. John the Divine.

I am not to suppose either want of talent, of courage, or of inclination in your Royal Highness to perform your duty upon any occasion; but I may, and do, doubt the use of any talent, courage, or inclination in a case like this, unless your mind be *now* duly impressed with *the possibility of the occasion arising,* and unless you be *prepared before-hand* with a set of measures to be put into *instant execution.* And upon these two topics it now remains for me to address your Royal Highness.

I am fully convinced that such an event, such an end of the paper-system, is not only *possible,* but *very likely.* Your Royal Highness will permit me to observe, that Mr. TIERNEY, in his last year's opposition to the paper-coiner's protecting bill, declared, in the most solemn manner, that if that bill should pass the system would end in a horrid *convulsion*: so that I as to this particular only join in sentiment with him. The bill *did pass,* and unless the debt be reduced another such a bill must pass; or the thing ends at once by the hands of those who have created it, and under whose hands it has grown to its present magnitude of enormity.

When Mr. TIERNEY made his speech the idea of the whole fabric of fraud

being blown up at once by the distribution of notes, after the manner practised against the French assignats, had not been publicly started; though I now find that there are several gentlemen *in England* who lay claim to the invention. At any rate it did not originate with me. The moment I heard of it I made it public; for doing which I merit, I am vain enough to hope, the thanks of all real friends of the king and country. There appears to be no doubt, in the mind of any man of common sense, that, *if put ably into execution*, the mode of attack could not by any possibility fail of being successful to the entire extent; and I again most solemnly assure your Royal Highness, that my firm belief is, that it will be ably, and most ably, put into execution, unless the object of destruction be by some means or other speedily removed. I state this my conviction to your Royal Highness from a sense of duty towards his Majesty and the people. I would, if any written paper of mine could be delivered to you sealed, state to you all the grounds on which this conviction rests, but no consideration shall induce me to commit any thing to the discretion of such a man as he who sent Riley to a dungeon: no man protected by a Bill of Indemnity shall hold a paper written by me.

The facility of imitating a worthless money must always exist, because that which one man can make another man can make, the materials being within the reach of all men. The terrors of the gibbet have not prevented imitation of the spurious money in England, and that too to a very great extent, by needy persons who make the imitations for the sake of mere food and raiment, and who carry on the work under every disadvantage that can be imagined. Even these poor distressed and desperate men have been able to give the paper-system a *rude shock*. What then may not be apprehended from a coolly devised plan of imitation and circulation! And your Royal Highness will please to observe, that such a plan may be, if the thing were to go on, acted upon by any hostile nation in time of war. It would be a work of *some difficulty* for France or America, in war time between either of them and England, to spread about in England imitations of the base money; but sir, what are difficulties in the face of half a million of money, and what would that sum be to either of those nations, as the price of the overthrow of their enemy? With that sum every street in London might be sowed with bank-notes. Some of the American prisoners of war in Dartmoor Prison made bank-notes in the prison, purchased their way out with the notes, travelled to Ireland with the notes, and with the notes purchased their conveyance out to sea to be put into American privateers, in which they attacked the English commerce. I had this information from one of the parties, and he gave reasons and facts to convince me of the truth of his story. The effects of this false and base money are mischievous beyond all the bounds of imagination.

We want no other proof of the impossibility of discerning an *inimitable* money, which is at the same time *worthless* in itself, than the fact that the coiners of the English money have applied to foreign artists to assist them in devising the means of preventing imitation. A Royal Commission has been appointed; and only think, sir, of a *Royal Commission* appointed to inquire into the mode of *making promissory notes for a company of merchants*! A Royal Commission to consult with them as to the best means of upholding their traffic! That is to say, to consult with them what is best to do in order to enable them to continue their power of plundering the nation! Nothing speaks more plainly than this appointment. What need have a king and houses of parliament to care about the affairs of this particular company of merchants? Why should a Royal Commission interfere in their particular concerns, any more than in the concerns of any other company? The cause is clear: those who recommended this appointment were convinced that the whole system of sway in England rested entirely upon the paper of these mer-

chants, and on the further conviction that this paper could no longer stand, unless the imitation of it could be effectually prevented.

The Bank in London was offered, by Mr. Mear, of Philadelphia, a plan for making their notes *inimitable*. They refused the offer upon the ground, *that they never relied on the artist*. The answer was sensible; for, indeed, no reliance can be placed there. Yet, finding that *secret* marks will no longer serve their purpose; finding that *juries* no longer feel disposed to find men guilty, on evidence founded on *secrets* which the *witnesses will not divulge to the juries*: finding this, the *artists* are, it seems, to be *relied on*; and, which is quite a new thing, *foreign artists* are applied to for their aid? It is imagined, that by rendering the imitation *expensive*, it will be rendered impossible to common men. The best proof that it cannot be rendered expensive is, that the *patent notes* of the Philadelphia fabric are now imitated here and in Canada with the greatest success, so successfully as to impose on the banks themselves.

Besides, sir, what is the *expense*? Only a few hundreds of pounds; or, at most, a few thousands. Suppose a purse were formed by only a few of those men, who have left their native country, because they could not any longer enjoy their property there; suppose a plan deliberately digested by these men, with all the opportunity of examining specimens and consulting artists; suppose this plan put into execution; suppose the whole business to be conducted with ability; in such a case the false money *must* be destroyed; and, if destroyed in this way, all the consequences of a sudden total want of a standard of value must inevitably follow.

I am aware, that those who have the real power in England *now* see this danger; and, I suppose that, seeing it, they will *endeavour* to provide against it. To do this, however, they have no means, other than such as would, though step by step, *put an end* to the paper-money. What measures they may adopt, I do not pretend even to *guess* at. Whether they will reduce the debt, and, by that means, make a return to real money *possible*. Whether they will do this in *direct terms*, or, by a reduction of the value of the paper, this reduction being effected by giving to the real money an augmented denomination. Whether they will make *two prices*, a money price and a paper price, and demand, in the receiving of taxes, a larger nominal sum in paper than in coin. There is no guessing at what they may do, or attempt to do. Their plans and shifts and tricks and shuffles are matter of curiosity rather than of interest, seeing that the *result* must be the total destruction of the false, base, and mischievous paper.

There is no man, who now believes, that this scandalous system of fraud and oppression can *much longer* exist; and yet, no man, in his senses, believes, that coin can resume its place without a very serious *shock* of some kind. The lowering of prices to the standard of coin would, if there were *no debt and no taxes*, produce something nearly amounting to general confusion. Contracts must, even in that case, be *revised* by public authority, and debts must be lowered in their amount by the same authority. To bring back the paper to the state of 1792, which I believe to be impossible, would produce effects nearly similar, even if there were no greater debt and taxes than then existed. The private affairs of all men are affected by the system, which cannot be changed without public authority to arrange and settle those affairs so as to make them correspond with the change in the system; or without inflicting starvation on a majority of the people. And this, may it please your Royal Highness, is on the supposition of little, or no debt and taxes; to which I will add the supposition of there being no injuries nor recollection of injuries, rankling in the breasts of the people; and, I will, moreover, suppose the people to be as ignorant of these matters now as they were before the "*Two-Penny Trash*," convinced them that butchers, bakers, millers, and farmers, were not the cause

of their misery and the proper objects of their vengeance.

If, in such a state of things, a return to coin, or, to part coin and part paper, would produce *confusion*, what would such return produce *now*? And, what then would be the consequence of a *sudden* and complete annihilation of the paper? It is of no importance if we believe, that it is *not likely* that this latter will ever take place: it is sufficient for us to know that it *can* take place whenever it be judiciously attempted. Your Royal Highness may think, that my information as to the *likelihood* is incorrect; but, in order to induce your Royal Highness to endeavour to be *prepared* for such an event: to be sure, that is in the power of any man to produce it by the judicious use of a thousand pounds; it is much more than sufficient. And, therefore, in my next letter, I shall have humbly to beseech the attention of your Royal Highness to my opinion as to *the means of preserving the crown and preventing universal confusion, in case of a sudden blowing-up of the paper-money.*

I am,
May it please your Royal Highness,
Your most humble,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

PERENNIAL CLOVER.

Colley Farm, Reigate, 24. *Aug.* 1831.

SIR,—I herewith send you a small parcel of the *perennial clover*, such as is described in Mr. Sinclair's WOBURNENSIS, at page 221 and 222, "*trifolium pretense perenne*"; and I advise you to get the first edition of this work, as I believe the last is not coloured; and you will there see a very different *plant* from the *cow-grass* or *marl clover*, and which I think is a biennial. The broad-leafed clover, if treated as you intend, will stand three or four years, if not longer; as I have now a plant I removed from a field of mine to the garden, which has stood three years. The seed I send you is invaluable for *permanent pasture*, mixed with other good grasses, where it will stand a century without extra care, and, of course, is good for breaking up alternately as it is called. But I have also cut as great a crop the first year, sown by itself, the same as the broad-leafed clover. I don't know where you get *your* cow-grass: there is not a dealer comes into our market but will sell you "*cow-grass*." The farmers also, catching the name from the dealer, sell you "*cow-grass*." And you may tell it from the broad-leafed clover if you can, either in root, stem, leaf, or bloom. But I will tell you the perennial clover by either; you may, however, have got the cow-grass.

I admire your proposed experiments very much, although I doubt of their being practised by farmers who must try and farm for a livelihood. I once sold a sack of the *perennial* red clover for 18*l.*; there must be some of it about the country; but whether seeding I don't know. I have written to one person to day to know. I have several pieces mixed with other grasses, and one, which is a two-years hay, you would admire much; it has been invaluable to me this year.

I remain, dear sir,
Yours most sincerely,
J. PYM.

Mr. PYM is certainly right. I have compared *his* seed, and *seedsman's* seed, with what I know to be *broad clover* seed; and I find that his differs greatly in size and colour, from the broad clover; but that the seedsman's seed *does not.* I am not *sure* that the broad clover is *not perennial* It will certainly stand several years; and, perhaps, it would last as long as the *lucern*, if treated in the same way. And, if you leave the lucern to carry on a war with the natural grass, it will soon disappear. The *real* perennial clover will, however, carry on a war with, and hold its ground in spite of, any thing, except spade or plough. I never knew any of it sowed by itself. I am taking particular pains with the seed sent me by Mr. PYM, and I shall have the means of making a very accurate comparison between it and the seedsmen's *cow-grass*, which takes that name as well as that of perennial clover.

I have no time to write just now, except for the printers; and as Mr. PYM will see this, I will here ask him what he may happen *to mean* by farmers who are obliged to farm "for a *livelihood*"; not practising experiments, which he *admires*? It is not expected of common farmers to make experiments requiring care, and minute pains, and written records; but does he mean that they cannot, because compelled "to farm for a *livelihood*," *venture* to do that which will give them the largest crops of the best kinds of grass? Next year I shall know what is the exact *relative produce* of 26 sorts of grass, sowed at the same time in the same field. I shall know the *time* when each is fit to mow; whether they produce a second crop, or more; and, by turning sheep or cows into the field, I shall know precisely the sorts which they prefer; because the rows are four feet apart, kept ploughed between; kept quite clean, and so distant, as for you to see which the animals prefer. Now, if we see that they eat some of the sorts down bare, while they leave others untouched, you know, at once, which is the best for them. And this knowledge must be particularly useful to a man who farms for a "*livelihood*." Nor is the *amount of the crop* in this wide order so inferior to broadcasts as some might expect. Will Mr. PYM bet me *two to one* that an acre of broad clover, sowed by itself all over the ground, will, during the first year, produce *twice as much* as an acre in single drills four feet apart? If he will, I am his man. No; he dares *not* bet me! And, as to the *second* year, I will bet him even-handed, that the rowed crop is the *largest*. No manure in either case. What does he mean, then, about "farming for a *livelihood*"? Why, this is the way to farm for a "*livelihood*"! I had two and a half acres of cabbages this summer; they kept a large dairy and 40 hogs for two months at the least, and they are now followed, on the *same ground*, by cabbages again, the oldest rows of which are *loaved* and ready to begin upon. Ah! but this cannot be done by farmers who farm for a "*livelihood*"! They, prudent men, must not *venture* on such huge crops: besides, they would commit *sin* in giving 20 tons of "*garden cabbages*" to dumb creatures out of an acre of land! But am I *angry* with them for not doing this? By no means.

I again thank Mr. PYM for the perennial cloverseed, and blame him only because he has not taken care to *preserve the stock*, and has only half-a-pint to send to me.

According to present appearances, the *trifolium incarnatum* is *an annual*, as much as wheat is. I do not pronounce *decidedly*, but I think it is; and that if cut after its seed has ripened, it will never shoot again. This is my opinion; and if my opinion be correct, the thing is not worth a pin; for broad clover, sowed *in like soil*, at the *same season*, will be as early, will produce a greater crop, and will cut once, if not twice, afterwards.

THE POOR IRISH.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—Your great and unceasing exertions in behalf of the working people throughout the empire, the labourers of Ireland must always remember with gratitude. As one of them I beg to thank you for your honest, your unpaid advocacy of our cause. I rejoice to learn that you intend coming over to see us. Oh, how delighted we will be to see you—to have an opportunity of hearing that manly voice which, regardless of the frowns of tyranny, has been ever raised to vindicate the cause of the oppressed, no matter of what creed or country.

To your frequent and energetic appeals to the English mind in favour of the Irish peasantry—to the clear expositions you have given of their wretched condition, and the causes thereof, we are principally indebted for that kind feeling of generous sympathy which so many of your humane countrymen manifest towards us.

On a late occasion one of them, Mr. Thomas Attwood, the honourable mem-

ber for Birmingham (long may he live to grace the British senate with the expression of honest sentiment), explained in five words what it is the Irish labourer wants, and ought to get; namely, "honest bread for honest labour." This is all the labourers desire. Could they procure honest bread, or any thing like it, for their labour, they would be never heard to complain. But they cannot. To be rightly acquainted with their state of life, to know the many vile tricks that are played against them, it is necessary that one should himself work among them, aye, and eat of the same table too.

In the most fertile part of the fertile county of Kilkenny, quite contiguous to a certain lord's deserted mansion, I saw poor men (myself was one of the number) work in a scorching season of the year, from the 1. of May till harvest, at the rate of four-pence a day; that was not the worst of it; except three or four times, we never got, I am almost ashamed to mention these things, but truth is best to be told, we never got any thing morning, noon, or night, but a kind of potatoe, which, though in general use throughout the county, are scarcely eatable in June or July; these, with sour milk, composed our *nutritive* fare.

We were not, however, worse off than our neighbours. When we complained to the man we worked for, who is a farmer, and holds about one hundred acres of excellent land, that he had our labour for nothing, and that the kind of diet we were getting was only fit for pigs, he readily admitted the justice of our complaint; but, said he, where in the country can you find better, what can I do? Prices are low: the rent is so high, that I cannot afford either to pay or treat you as I could wish; if I do not keep myself clear with the landlord, he will turn me and my family to the road, and in a very short time I will be forced to go swell the crowds of those unfortunate creatures, who rove about *begging* a day's work, or something to keep them alive.

The summer I allude to, was certainly a very hard one (a thing of no rare occurrence in Ireland), the great bulk of the peasantry were in the greatest distress, though the country abounded with provisions of all kinds; but, then they were wanted for other purposes than that of feeding the men, by whose industry they were produced. The working men, who will undoubtedly wait on you, in different parts of the country, to show they are grateful to you for past services, and for your present anxiety to better their condition, will tell you, and tell you truly, that, even in the best of times, they receive for their labour only a scanty portion of the earth's worst produce. They will inform you, that such of them as are employed, get each about 6*l.* 5*s.* a year, that is about 5*d.* a-day, allowing 300 working days in the year: that of these, 1*l.* 10*s.* is paid for a cabin; 1*l.* 5*s.* is little enough to buy clothes, to say nothing about fuel; the remaining 3*l.* 10*s.* goes for half an acre of potatoe ground, which being, in most cases, the worst the employer has to give, and tilled late in the season, when his own work is all finished, seldom yields more than thirty-five or thirty-six barrels of potatoes.

Probably those whom you heard speak so long, and so learnedly on the growing prosperity of the people here may imagine, that this is an allowance quite sufficient to support a poor man's family, in comfort, particularly, when they calculate, with scientific precision, what the value of his pig might be. But I assure you, sir, and any one who knows the country as well as I do, and is not afraid, that his pretty accurately describing the destitute condition of the labouring poor, might betray too intimate an acquaintance with low life, or perhaps, do what is worse, excite the indignation of persons, who have it in their power to injure him, can, with the strictest adherence to truth, also assure you, that, though the labourer rear a pig, a morsel of his flesh or any other meat, his family never tastes, unless perchance, on Christmas Day or Easter Sunday; no, nothing for them all the year long, but the potatoes; not always of the best kind; they have, to be sure, salt and a scald herring betimes, to sea-

son them down their throats in winter and spring; and a "sup of milk," as they term it themselves, now and then in summer. And why is it so? For want of trade and manufactures, no employment is to be had at any thing but tillage; the competition for that is so great, that the landholder can have those he chooses to employ at his own terms, and treat them as he pleases; thousands of able-bodied men, however anxious to work, can get nothing to do; so that a nuisance to themselves, and a disgust to the public, they crawl around the farmer's doors, piteously craving something to sustain nature.

One cannot be surprised at all this, when he reflects on the spirit which seems to actuate some of the great landed proprietors of this country. A few days ago, one of them, an absentee nobleman from the county of Kilkenny, on rising to defend a brother peer, who had been represented as a harsh and cruel landlord, complained, it is reported, of the system of letting small farms in Ireland, by which so many *beggars* were let in possession of land. Now, what had these poor people done whom this *Christian* Lord has thought proper to designate by the scornful appellation of beggars? How have they offended, that his lordship, forgetting that "he who despiseth the poor reproaches his Maker," has been pleased to speak so contemptuously of them? Why, nothing more than that they were resolved as the Creator ordained, "In the sweat of their face to eat their bread." But to suffer them to do this, would militate against the system of clearing estates and making large farms; they, therefore, must be scattered abroad, houseless and heartless to wander on the earth.

Turning away from this distressing tale of misery, let me direct your attention for a moment to a part of the country which it would, I am sure, delight you to see. You have often heard I suppose of Forth and Bargy, in the county of Wexford. There the people live in peace and comfort; the land is pretty evenly divided among them; there is no consolidating of farms, in general they do not exceed thirty acres. A man having no more than ten, or even seven acres, has a snug clean house to live in, clothes himself and his family neatly, and lives tolerably comfortable; not that he pays less rent than a larger holder, he often pays more a great deal, for such are the exertions of himself and his family, so productive do they render their "bit of land," by tilling and manuring it well, that it enables them not only to pay a heavy rent, but also to obtain all the necessaries, and some of the comforts of life.

Had tenants in other parts of the kingdom been treated like those of Forth and Bargy—had poor men in other places been left in possession of their little holdings like the inhabitants of those baronies, like them they would be industrious—like them they would live together in peace, harmony and love. The good and virtuous would not have to deplore those outrages that have disgraced the country; never would such a thing as "the red box" be seen on the table of the House of Commons. I fear I have trespassed too long on your time. Again I beg to thank you. All I have stated to you regarding the labourers I know from personal observation. Only I did not like to disgust you too much, I could have told you of labourers who, on account of bad treatment, spent nearly six weeks in the sick house, their families begging during the time. This I saw, and many other painful things too tedious to mention now.

Hoping that you will pardon so humble a person as I am, for taking the liberty of addressing you. Knowing that you will do all in your power to procure for those who are able and willing to work some means of employment, which will enable them to support themselves and those who are dependent on them, as you conceive working people ought to be supported,

I remain, with lively gratitude,

Your obedient humble servant,

PETER LAWLESS.

County Wexford, Tombaggard, Barony of Forth, 13. August 1834.

(*From the Wexford Independent.*)

A LETTER from an individual named PETER LAWLESS, who properly belongs to the humblest class of labourers, will be found elsewhere. It is addressed to Mr. COBBETT, who must be convinced of the anomalous state of our social institutions when men, who can reason and think like the writer in question, are destined to drag out a miserable existence in the midst of abundance—being doomed to toil from the rising to the setting sun, at *four-pence* per day. But LAWLESS's is not an isolated case of the superior intelligence of our peasantry. There are numbers of poor labourers depending solely for support on the precarious employment of a pauperized and wretched tenantry, whose improved and intelligent minds fit them for useful members of society in any department of the industrious walks of life. Would Englishmen suffer this state of things to remain unredressed for a single month? Will the Irish bear it much longer, remains to be seen.

MONEY MATTERS.

THE following articles are very interesting, and ought to be attended to:

BANKING SYSTEM.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—It is a favourable omen for the cause of justice when the *Times* newspaper does its duty, and when it ranges itself on the side of those who wish to prevent this community, balanced as it is on the brink of the precipice, from being pushed over into the troubled sea of assignats. I have thrown together a few remarks which I thought might be useful.

Already the natural consequences of the modified dishonest legal tender begin to show themselves; already new and monstrous forms of banking harpies, begin to rear their horrid heads.

"Eddidit innumeras species; partimque figuras
"Retulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit."

Nottingham, 13. *Aug.* BASANITES.

"Quanto laborant morbo nummario, quantoque loborabunt."

In 1826, "The United States' Bank and the leading State Banks placed themselves in a situation of great strength and repose, &c.," banking phrases which call to mind the exclamation of the Governor of the Bank of England to Lord Liverpool and the Ministers, "*that all was well*," on the cessation of the demand for gold in 1826 (an artificial demand solely created by the paper bank-notes), heedless of the devastation and ruin spread around by the nefarious system, and unconscious that he and his coadjutors would ever be charged openly and in a printed circular with "ignorance, malversation, and stupid obstinacy." "The alarm which the convulsions of that period (1825 and 1826) produced in the Bank Directors, and in the functionaries of the Government, induced a new state of things: they ascribed the evil to any cause but the right one, which was truly and essentially their own ignorance, malversation, and stupid obstinacy; and after drifting about from one absurdity to another, from country banks, because they forsooth, and not the Government and the Bank, had fostered speculation, to branch banks, from private banking companies to public joint stock banks, &c., they at last settled down upon what they stupidly and ignorantly described as a better system. Lord Althorp was employed to submit the proposition to Parliament, &c."—Vide the circular to bankers, London, July 12, 1833, signed "H. B. and Co."

"The committee of country bankers represents all the country bankers, with the exception of about one-eighth. The fund (not *union*) was formed in 1827, to protect the interests of the country bankers against the Bank of England."—Vide evidence of Henry Burges, Esq., to Committee on Bank Charter, &c., in 1832.

"The currency (the debts of bankers) has been in a very unsettled and extremely unsatisfactory state during the last ten years."—Vide the evidence of a Bank Director to the Committee on Bank Charter, &c., in 1832.

Cheap, economical, and productive bank-notes, in a very unsettled and extremely unsatisfactory state during the last ten years ! ! and yet, by the speech of Mr. Robinson (now Lord Ripon), re-echoed by the almost unanimous acclamations of the House of Commons, the nation was declared to be in a highly prosperous state early in the year 1825, at which time, and previously, the currency was "in a very unsettled and extremely unsatisfactory state." And here the question naturally arises, whether the Bank Directors had criminally concealed this important circumstance from the credulous Mr. Robinson and his colleagues, and the more so, as only six years had elapsed since they expressed themselves in good set terms to the following effect, in a communication to his Majesty's then Ministers:—" It has ever been the desire of the directors to keep the issues of bank-notes at as low an amount as they could find consistent with a due attention to the great interests of the country, which they deem to be the peculiar objects of their care." —Vide communication from the Committee of Bank Treasury to the Ministers, July 20, 1819.

In February, 1825, Lord Liverpool expressly alluded to the soundness of the currency, the first time such an allusion had been made by an English Minister. Poor man, he was harnessed to the car of the fraudulent system; he probably did not perceive that to the eye of justice and equity every Minister who lends himself to a paper-system appears in the odious light of a false coiner, and that he staves off the fate of a Fauntleroy by the strong hand of power; indeed, this wholesome truth is proclaimed in the report of the Finance Minister in Portugal to Don Pedro. "The Bank are very desirous not to exercise any power, but to leave the public to use the power they possess of returning bank-paper for bullion."—Vide evidence of the Governor of the Bank to the Parliamentary Committee in 1832.

"It is my opinion (I do not know whether it is that of the Bank) that the amount of our paper circulation has no reference at all to the state of the foreign exchanges"—Evidence of a Director to the Bullion Committee in 1810.

"I certainly have always considered the amount of the issues of the Bank of England to act as a powerful lever upon all our foreign exchanges, so as to *regulate* their rise and fall."—*Ibid.*

"I do not consider gold to be a fairer standard for Bank of England notes than indigo or broad cloth."—*Ibid.*

"Doubtless, during the restriction, the advance in gold was the true measure of the depreciation of the paper." —Vide G. W. Norman's (a director's) evidence to the Parliamentary Committee in 1832.

"C'est ce choc de principes de toute espèce, avancés suivant le besoin qu'on en a, et puis oubliés un moment a près pour d'autres, qui ne peuvent plus s'accorder avec les premiers, qu'on a toujours reproché, &c. (supp.), aux Directeurs de la Banque. Le temps est un grand maître et rien ne peut suppléer à son action."

"Regulating the foreign exchanges;" (subsequently, when driven from that fallacy) "regulating *by* the foreign exchanges." If they *regulated* the foreign exchanges, or even regulated *by* the foreign exchanges, how happened it that their paper vessel was nearly capsized in December, 1825, in a storm of their own creating, and was just saved from sinking on the 17th of that month, when a director tells us, in his own emphatic words, "and on Saturday I had the happiness to crawl to the cabinet, almost dead with fatigue (fatigue of paying paper debts), and to call out to Lord Liverpool and the Ministers that *all was well.* This was on Saturday, the 17th December, &c." And yet a country banker, and member of Parliament, told a very different tale on the subject of all being *well on* the 17th of December, 1825. "In that year he was Chairman of the Committee of Bankers, and from what he then saw, could say that many who had gone on with *industry* and *honesty* year after year, had been totally destroyed by that scene of ruin; and that many who had

managed to get through the storm had never recovered from the effects which it had left behind, but after a vain struggle with difficulties finally sunk." — Speech of J. Smith on the motion o Thomas Attwood.

Perhaps the following passage from the celebrated political economist J. B Say (who has lately finished his usefu and honourable career) is not inapplicable in its censure to the exulting exclamation "that all was well." "Mot précieux et terrible, qui montre comment la ruine peut être réduite en principes. Les mauvais principes sont plus facheux, que la perversité même, parcequ'on les suit contre ses propres interêts qu'on entend mal, parcequ'on les suit plus long temps sans remords et sans ménagement."

"Was the settlement of the Bank question nothing?"—Vide debate in the House of Lords, July 9, 1834.

The settlement of a question which has been settled, unsettled, and resettled so often, which has the modified infamy of legal tender attached to it, and which was some years ago put at rest for ever, according to the man of "the mountain of paper irrigated with gold," can make little impression upon men who distinguish abstractions from realities, words from substances, and the sign from the thing signified.

" ——— incerta hæc si tu postules
" Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas
" Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione
" insanias."

"I verily believe, my Lords, that if I were to search the whole of our annals, and all England through, for a practical statesman who always attended to what he thought sound and incontestable principles, and was invariably guided by the results of experience—a pilot who in steering the vessel of the State proceeded with greater skill and caution according to the best ascertained charts, holding the lead and plummet in his band, taking soundings ahead and around—if I were to seek for and name such a man, the individual whose name I should pronounce would be Mr. Huskisson."—Vide Lord Brougham's speech in the House of Lords, July 31, 1834.

"It would be monstrous to imagine that it could ever be in the contemplation of either House of Parliament that bank-notes at their present or any less value to which they might possibly be reduced, should be made a legal tender. To entertain such an opinion would be to impute to Parliament a design to practise a deception and to encourage a fraud."—Vide Huskisson's pamphlet of 1810.

If his lordship be a legal-tender and cheap-currency man, his fulsome eulogium upon Mr. Huskisson shows that great men have their errors and weaknesses, or, as the French say, "Qu'ils ne s' avisent jamais de tout."

And with such inconsistencies and contrarieties of opinion on the part of the directors, are the affairs of a great nation to be carried on with such men and such money materials? Are the people to be enticed to hoard money in savings' banks, to be frugal to do this, when by the acknowledgment of the Bullion Committee it is known that this very paper has been depreciated 42 per cent. relatively to the gold coin of standard weight and fineness; when the directors and the Government cannot be ignorant that the fundholder was defrauded by being compelled to take his interest in this depreciated paper; moreover, when the 3 per cent. public stock was at one time depressed to 50, and when Bank stock, by the magic ouch of paper and the Restriction Act, rose to 290, yielding annually usurious dividends and an occasional "*magnificent bonus*?" These latter unhallowed gains belonged in great part to the pillaged fundholders and the defrauded annuitants. Talk of reform in the manners and morals of the working classes, when we have dishonest legal tender embodied in an act of Parliament, and when it appears that this nefarious system has banished all honour and vestige of justice from the minds of hose men who have managed our monetary affairs. Yes, they must search the dictionary for the meaning of the words. Such men call out "stop hief," whilst they are running off with ther people's property, which process

they have the audacity to call nation gains.

The writer of these lines, who has studied the subject for more than twenty years, and watched all the tortuous policy and plans of the paper system in its desperate contest with the nature and necessity of things, has come to this conclusion, that a truly great man ought to gird up his loins, and set to work to destroy the nefarious system root and branch.

MONEY-MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Wednesday Evening.

The settlement of the account in Consols took place to-day, and there being a large surplus of stock to be carried over, or, as it is termed, a "large bull account," money was in considerable demand during the morning, and ½ per cent. was paid on continuation till October. The time-bargains of the present account, operating for the rise, appear to have lain in a few hands, and to consist in great measure of stock carried over from that which preceded it; but, on the whole, stock seems to have come to market to a large amount from the sales of the public. This may be an indication either of pecuniary difficulties, or more profitable employment for capital elsewhere, or want of confidence in the present state of our monetary system, which latter is the more profitable cause, and investments in stock at these prices are certainly not much encouraged by our more cautious capitalists. During the demand for money in the course of the morning to carry over the time-bargains, the Consol-market was much depressed, some transactions for money having been effected at 89½: but when the bulk of the business was disposed of, it acquired more firmness, and an advance of about ⅜ per cent. soon followed. The last quotations of Consols were 89⅞, to 90 for money, and 90¼ to ⅜ for the October account. Exchequer-bills left off at 38*s*. to 40*s*. premium.

The letters received this morning from Madrid which are of the 17th inst., have not advanced in the least the information before possessed by the bond-holders, some of whom manifest impatience at this delay in any decision on the part of the Finance Committee, but it ought rather, we think, to be viewed in a favourable light, since it is most desirable for all the parties interested that the sentiments of the London and Paris capitalists on Count Toreno's plan should be known in Madrid before any definitive step is taken. Many are of opinion, and it is certainly by no means improbable, that the committee are procrastinating purposely, in order to have time to learn what those sentiments are, without which, as they are aware, it may be quite useless for them to go on. One of the articles of Count Toreno's project includes provision for a new loan of 4,000,000*l*. sterling; and unless the other articles are deemed satisfactory in those markets, Paris and London, on which he must depend for a supply, the whole will prove abortive, for nothing can be more certain than that Spain must have money. This is indispensable, not merely to cover the deficiencies of the revenue, but to provide payment for the advances made by Messrs. Rothschild, which the Spanish Government can only make good by the conclusion of such a contract. There is every motive therefore for granting equitable terms to the French and English creditors, whose capital, subscribed under a liberal arrangement, can alone retrieve the finance of Spain, and whose Governments may be said by the execution of the quadruple treaty to have secured her political existence.

The market for Spanish stock has been firm to-day, and has experienced some advance, the Cortes' bonds leaving off at 45¼ to ¾. Portuguese stock was very heavy, caused by the scarcity of money, but improved in the latter part of the day, and left off at 81¾ to 82. The others were almost wholly neglected.

In one of the New York papers, which arrived yesterday, is a calculation of the expenses and advantages attending the importation of sovereigns from England into America, which goes on to show that

	£.	s.
1,000 oz. of gold in sovereigns, at the English Mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per oz., will cost	3,894	7
Add two month's interest, at 5 per cent., on 60 days' bill, remitted in payment	32	9
Insurance freights, small charges at 1¼ per cent.	48	13
Requires a remittance of	3,975	10

	Dollars.	
Which, with a premium on exchange of 6 per cent., is	18,729	06
Interest from purchase of bill to receipt of gold, say 70 days, at 6 per cent.	218	
	18,957	57
Proceeds in the United States—1,000 oz. of gold, at the legal price, 94,8 per dwt.	18,060	
Leaving to pay small incidental charges	12	53
1,000 oz. of gold in sovereigns say 3,894*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* at 4,87 dollars per sovereign or pound sterling, is	18,965	61
But as fixed by law, 1,000 oz. at 94,8-10c. per dwt.	18,960	

The actual par of exchange upon sovereigns of the full English Mint weight is stated to be about 9½ per cent. premium on the false par of 4,44 dollars, and the expense of importation being about 3½ per cent., it follows that gold can be imported there until the exchange, which by the last accounts was quoted at 5, rises to 6 per cent. premium. It can however be made a profitable exportation from England to the United States, when exchange is at a higher rate, as in case of remittance there is no loss of interest, except for the time in which the gold is passing from one country to the other. But, independently of the mere trading profit on the transaction, it is probable, now that a gold circulation is established in the United States, that a large amount in sovereigns will find their way thither, through the mere convenience which it will be to emigrants and others to carry gold with them.

The exportation of the precious metals from the port of London, from the 18. to the 24. instant, inclusive, was as under:—

	Ounces.
Gold coin to Hamburgh	50
Ditto to the Mauritius..	160
Ditto to Grand Canary..	75
Silver coin to ditto ..	2,000
Ditto to Boston	21,288
Ditto to Rio Janeiro ..	6,499
Ditto to Hamburgh....	5,300
Ditto to Marseilles	18,000

PAPER-MONEY RUIN IN AMERICA.

BINGHAMTON PRICES CURRENT.

We have seen a letter from J. Stoddart, jr., Sheriff of Binghamton, Broome Co, N. Y., enclosing the results of a sale of property under his orders, which took place at Binghamton on the 15. January. There must have been great pressure for money at Binghamton, or some other pressure, of a most alarming character. If there is no remedy to be found in the existing laws (we presume there is), new laws ought to be made which will prevent cows being sold for the price of a pound of beef, sulkeys at 5 cents, &c. The sale was made under a judgment obtained by a commercial house in this city. The Sheriff, in communicating the result, says, "At the commencement of the sale there were no others present, as I recollect, but the one who made the purchase. In going to the sale, I recollect mentioning it to several persons that the sale was then to take place. At the latter part of the sale there were several persons present."

The notices of the sale were, as they are in every instance of notice of Sheriff's sale by me, three manuscript ones on the doors of public buildings in the village ten days previous to the sale;

and I noticed that they continued up. You perceive that the property was sold for *almost* nothing,—yet I feel that you will do me the justice to consider that *I* could not act as private agent for plaintiffs in any case."

PRICES, &c.	Cents.
1 cow 12½c., 1 gig 12½c., a saddle and bridle 3c., 1 sulkey 6c.	34
Lot boards and scantling 12½c., 1 fanning-mill 200, 1 do. 200	4,12½
One fanning-mill 2,25 dollars, 1 do. 2,12½ dollars, 1 do. 2,12½ dollars, 1 do. 2,12½ dollars..	8,62½
Lot staves, 1 fanning-mill, 2,00 dollars	2,25
Dollars	15,34

1 carpet 6c., 1 pair table ends 6¼c , 2 canes and 1 whip 3c., 1 carpet 12½c.	27¾
1 rug 6c , 1½ dozen windsor-chairs 6c., 1 book-case, 12½c., 1 table 6c.	30½
1 looking-glass 6c., window-curtains 6c., 1 settee 10c., pair and irons 6c.	28
Shovel and tongs 6c., extra books 6c., 1 carpet 6½c., 1 looking-glass 6½c.	25
1 dressing-table 6c., 1 suit bed-curtains 6c., 1 do. 6c., 1 do. 7c.	25
2 wash-stands 12½c., 2 dining-tables 12c., 1 clock 6¼c., shovels and tongs 3c.	33¾
Pair bellows and glass lamp 3c., looking-glass 3c., carpet 6¼c., 3 baskets 3c.	15¼
1 bureau 6c., 1 warming-pan 3c., candle-stand 6c.	15
1 carpet 3c., 1 secretary 6c., 1 old bureau 3c , 1 bed, bedding and bedstead 6c.	18
1 bed, bedding and bedstead 6¼c., 1 do. 6¼c., brass kettle 3c., iron kettle 3c.	18½
2 iron pots 3c., extra crockery 3c., extra tin ware 3c., extra glass ware 3c.	12
1 wagon 3c., 1 wheel-barrow 3c., cutter 6c., pitch-forks 3c	15
1 wagon 6c., 1 set harness 6¼c., 1 do. 6¼c., old bbls tubs 3c ..	21½
Dollars	2,85¼

Work-box 8c., pair candlesticks 10c., 1 clock 30c., fancy-box 6c.	54
1 rocking-chair 12½c., 1do. 6¼c., 1 do. 6¼c., 5 windsor-chairs 25c	50
1 looking-glass 37c., 1 tea-table 25c., candle-stand 25c	87
Tea-table 25c., tea-waiter 10c., 1 carpet 20c., lot crockery 25c	88
Glass-lamps, 2 candlesticks 6¼c., extra tin ware 6¼c , chopping-knife and waiter 6¼c........	18¾
Extra glass ware and extra knives and forks 18¾c., 1 bureau 10c., 3 trunks and 1 chest 25c	53¾
1 bed, bedding and beadstead 12c., 4 chairs 12½c., bedstead 12½c., 3 chains 6c...........	43
1 toilet table and glass 10c., 1 suit curtains 12½c., 1 carpet 6c., 1 secretary 25c	53½
1 mop 6c., 1 stand 6c., 1 looking-glass 6¼c., 3 chairs 6¼c	24½
1 Franklin stove 12½c., 1 brass kettle 6c., pair steel yards 3c..	31½
3 iron kettles 6c., shovel and tongs, old barrels and pails 6c.	12
Dollars	5,08

(Extracts from the New York Papers.)

JACKSON MONEY.

It is with great pleasure that we perceive the true Jackson money is now in circulation. Half eagles of the new Jackson coinage are passing freely from hand to hand this morning, and all who get hold of them seem to feel at once the superiority of such real money to the miserable paper substitute with which the spirit of aristocracy would still continue to cheat the people. The new eagles, half eagles, and quarters are really beautiful coins—at least so we are assured, in relation to the eagles and quarters, and so we can attest from our own examination, in relation to the halves. The *Globe* says, "It is devoutly to be hoped that the Mint may be able to supply all the pressing demands on it—and that every independent citizen may obtain a few pieces to carry and preserve as a charm against the sorceries of the mammoth. We

understand that from 20,000 to 25,000 dollars a day can be struck off."

It having been assiduously represented in some of the Bank papers that the amount of goods imported into this city during the present year, had greatly fallen off from the amount of the importations of the previous year, the *Journal of Commerce* has been at the pains to obtain correct information from the Custom House. So far from there being any decline in our commercial prosperity, as proved by the amount of goods imported, there is a very great increase in the present year up to this time, over the corresponding period of last year. This increase amounts to nearly eight millions of dollars. A sad falling off indeed.

Import of American cotton into Liverpool:—

First six months of 1833, 452,010 bales.

First six months of 1834, 463,642 bales.

The total export from the United States to Liverpool for 1834 will probably be about 720,000 bales, netting to the shippers upwards of twenty-four millions of dollars, to be drawn for in bills of exchange.

IMPORTANT!

EXPRESS FROM LISBON.

(From a Second Edition of the Times, Friday morning, 11 o'clock.)

LISBON, 25. Aug., Evening.

THE appearance of every thing has changed within the last twenty-four hours. After what transpired on Saturday in the Chamber of Peers, a committee was appointed by the Chamber of Deputies, to take into consideration the law respecting the paper currency, and after a minute examination of its details, unanimously decided, that after the 1. of September, specie alone should be the legal tender in Portugal, but that all contracts made prior to the 23. of July, should be liquidated according to the terms on which they were contracted. To-day the report was brought up, and passed the Chamber without a single dissentient. This is a great step for the Ministers, and greatly strengthens their position.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BONAFFE, F., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, merchant.
BRADLEY, J., Clown, Derbyshire, joiner.
ROWLAND, G., Plymouth, housekeeper.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

MORGAN, J., Newport, Monmouthshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

ARCHER, P. and G., Botolph lane, merchants.
ASHCROFT, T., and J. Tilson, Liverpool, timber-merchants.
BACK, J., Aintree, Liverpool, innkeeper.
BELL, J. W., Rotherham, Yorkshire, upholsterer.
BURLEY, J., Birmingham, brush-maker.
LARKINS, J., Kensington, and Mincing-lane, merchant.
MASON, W., Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, axletree-maker.
MITCHELL, W., Abingdon, Berkshire, grocer.
POWELL, W. E. and J., Oxford-street, linen-drapers.
SEDDON, W., Eccleston, Lancashire, flour-dealer.
TUMMON, B., Sheffield, painter.
WALLINGTON, H., Stockport, Cheshire, builder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CAMERON, D., Campsie, Stirlingsh., grocer.
HUNT, J., Glasgow, merchant.
JOHNSTON, J. and J., Perth, tanners.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

INSOLVENT.

ECCLES, W., Union-court, Old Broad-street, apothecary.

BANKRUPTS.

ISAACS, P., Union-street, Bishopsgate-street, furrier.
KNIGHT, R. V., and J. Watling, Bread-street-hill, drysalters.

LONDON MARKETS.

Mark-Lane, Corn-Exchange, Sept. 1.—Though the supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, fresh up to this morning's market, were limited in extent, yet the surplus remaining on hand from the previous week caused the stands to be tolerably well filled with samples, and which proving more than equivalent to the demand, rendered the trade dull and further depressed; fine selected parcels of wheat, however, moved off hand at Monday's rates, but all other descriptions, both of old and new qualities, were difficult of disposal, unless at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. on the currency of this day se'nnight. A limited inquiry existed for low-priced bonded Wheats for export.

The supplies of Barley continued moderate, and grinding qualities were saleable at 29s. to 30s. There were several samples of new Malting Barley at market, a remarkably fine and bright parcel of Chevalier realized as high as 40s., though the currency must not be calculated at more than 36s. to 37s. and 38s. The other sorts exhibited much disparity of quality, and obtained from 30s. to 35s. 6d.

Malt maintained the currency of last week, with a limited demand.

Rye meets inquiry, and fine new samples were worth 40s.

The supply of Oats was liberal, and the article experiencing only a limited demand, the trade ruled dull at last Monday's rates. There were a few parcels of new Irish Oats at market, both black and white; the quality was fine, but the quantity not sufficient to form any criterion of the general produce of the season.

New Beans coming more freely to hand, were full 1s per quarter cheaper, and old samples barely obtained the sales of Monday.

White Peas dull, and Grey and Maple meet purchasers at fully the previous quotations.

The Flour trade was heavy, and ship qualities difficult of disposal, unless lower terms were accepted.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
—— White	50s. to 54s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
—— West Country red	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rotoshire red	38s. to 42s
—— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
—— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 36s.
—— Chevalier	40s. to 42s.
—— Distilling	30s. to 33s.
—— Grinding	28s. to 31s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
—— Ware	58s. to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 40s.
—— Maple	38s. to 42s.
—— White Boilers	36s. to 44s.
Beans, Small	36s. to 40s.
—— Harrow	34s. to 37s.
—— Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
—— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
—— Poland	22s. to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 23s.
—— Potato	23s. to 24s.
—— —— Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
—— York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
—— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
—— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
—— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, September 1.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great, its supply of Sheep and Calves moderately good; of Lambs and Porkers rather limited. Trade was throughout very dull, say with Beef, Mutton, and Lamb, at a depression of 2d.; Veal 4d. per stone; with Pork, at Friday's quotations. Prices of sucking Calves have experienced a further advance of from 2s. to 5s. each.

About a third of the beasts appeared to be Short-horns, and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Sussex beasts, Towns end Cows, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were New Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to five of the latter; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

A full moiety of the Lambs—the whole supply of which was supposed not to exceed 3,000, were new Leicesters of various crosses; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder, about equal numbers of Dorsets, and Kentish half-breds, with a few Somersets, &c.

About 2,300 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Short-horns, the remainder, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with, perhaps,

100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts about 170, chiefly Scots, with a few home breds, Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 130, chiefly Devons, Herefords and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 50 chiefly Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Sussex and Irish beasts, from Sussex, Surrey and Kent, and most of the remainder, including the Towns-end Cows, from the London marshes.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
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MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

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POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

THE WEEKLY TRUE SUN on Sunday next, 7. September, will contain, in addition to a Summary of all the News of the week, *The Poor Law Amendment Bill*, with Notes, by an eminent Lawyer; and a copious Index.

This Law, which effects a complete revolution in the government of the Pauper population, now unfortunately so great a portion of the community, cannot be a subject of indifference to any class, and ought to be read and studied by all.

The price of the WEEKLY TRUE SUN, the largest and best weekly paper printed in the metropolis, is Sevenpence. As only a certain number of papers will be struck off, it is requested that early orders be given to the Newsmen.

Weekly True Sun Office,
366, Strand, 30. Aug, 1834.

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Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0		0	14	
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0		0	10	
Valencia and Toilenett	0	10	6		0	14	
Silk Ditto	0	16	0		1	0	
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0		4	10	

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

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CURES OF SMALL POX.

Mr. Drew, P.H.S., and General Agent for Morison's Pills.

SIR,—Since I last had the pleasure of writing you of the cures performed by this invaluable medicine, the Small Pox has been raging with great malignity in this city and in many parts of the kingdom, and has, in many cases, proved fatal in its consequences. It behoves me as an agent of Mr. Morison's to give an opinion respecting the effect of these Pills in that dreadful disease. If taken as a preventive, where the Small Pox is prevalent, it is almost sure to stop the infection; or if caught, to eradicate it from the frame, as they carry off through the bowels all the corrupt humours which are the cause, and the only one, why the Small Pox attacks the system at all; for I perfectly agree with Mr. Moat, the Vice-President of the College, in what he has written in that small treatise on the original causes of the Small Pox Virus, which he illustrates in the plainest manner possible. He says, a new era has, however, happily for the human race, arrived, when in the nineteenth century a Morison has arisen, gifted with a clear knowledge of the source and cause of the Small Pox Virus, as inherent in the child in the womb, and from the aterniue impurities; that the disease (being the first effort of our nature to throw off these humours in infancy) is not only necessary to the future health and well-being of the man, but perfectly harmless, if judiciously treated and promptly met at the very threshold of life. The cause which produces the effect having been at length ascertained, the remedy is as certain in its immediate efficacy as it is fundamentally productive of sound constitutions in after life, so far as our ailments have been hereditary. Now from the knowledge I have of that disease, I am certain the above is a correct explanation, and I defy all human casuistry to contradict it; and I am also certain that Morison's Pills are a sure and certain remedy for that disorder, in any stage, if persevered in. I would advise, if there is any fear of infection, to give immediately the No. 2, or purging Pill; and if caught, to give the same in strong doses till the fever decreases, and the spots are all gone; then give small doses of Nos. 1 and 2 alternately, to finish with, which, after the taking of this medicine, will be left almost without a blemish, and not, as I am sorry to say is the case at present, see so many beautiful faces spoilt for ever; because, from the present treatment, the humours are not thoroughly carried off, and is the cause of the Measles and Whooping Cough, which generally follow this disease, proving so much more fatal in its consequences than it used to do, when the Small Pox inoculation was in vogue, and the system properly prepared. The reason is obvious why the disease is more fatal when caught by adults than children; because, as they approach to manhood, the blood becomes, from various causes, more impure; therefore, if allowed to remain without a constant purging of the bowels, the fever gets to such a height that death very often ensues as a natural consequence; therefore I think it my duty to advise all heads of families to keep by them Morison's Pills, as a sure and certain remedy for that dreadful complaint, and I can assure them they will never regret having used them. I have had certain proofs in my own family, as well as others, of the result—therefore can speak from facts. The cures I see performed by this invaluable medicine would astonish the most sceptical, when all other aid had been unavailing. There is also a case advertised in the *New Weekly Despatch Messenger*, and many other papers, of the cure of a son of Sir Richard Sutton, only seven years of age, under the eye of the medical gentlemen, who had given him up as a case of consumption, and who was cured by Morison's Pills only, under the direction of Mr. Probett, General Agent for Derby, Lincoln, and Nottinghamshire.

J. WEBB.

Feasgate, York, 6. June, 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 85.—No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, September 13th, 1834. [Price 1s. 2d.



Before this *Register* reaches the press, I shall, I suppose, be in Ireland; whither I shall go entirely alone, determined to show that I want no protection, assistance, or counsel, notwithstanding I am going amongst those whom I, before I quitted my home, called the "wild Irish." It is high time that my more immediate countrymen should be wholly disabused in this respect. I have laboured with great zeal, industry, and energy, in order to disabuse them. It was, indeed, considering my capacity for the task, no more than my duty to do this. To God, who gave me that capacity I was always answerable for the performance of this duty; but now, when a most excellent portion of those whom I have disabused, have clothed me with the power of taking part in the making of laws to govern this long-oppressed and calumniated people, it is tenfold more my duty, in spite of all the obstacles which I may have to encounter, to obtain that certain information with regard to this people, without which, I must, at best, be proceeding upon hearsay. These expressions of feeling for Ireland, I would not now put upon paper, if I had not been putting them upon paper, and in stronger terms and epithets, during the whole course of the last seven-and-twenty years.

During my absence, my correspondents, on whatever matters, will be so indulgent as to excuse my not answering their letters, at least, by any thing approaching to a return of post answer. It will be necessary that the letters follow me; and that they may follow me, with a cover added to them by the gentleman who will forward them from London, the weight of them should be a good deal less than an ounce. It would be attended with the greatest inconvenience that I, being at such a distance, should make any arrangement which might make the answer depend upon any other person than myself. I must beg gentlemen who may have occasion to write to me, always to direct their letters to *Bolt-court*. Seeing me date articles in the *Register* from other places, they may possibly think that, to direct to those places is the speediest way of causing the letters to reach me. This they would find to be a mistake: the letter would get sent about the country; and, therefore, I request that all letters for me may be addressed to Bolt-court, where they will be punctually received, and whence they will be carefully forwarded to me.

It may happen that some gentlemen may wish to see my crop of corn at the farm; or to see some other thing belonging to my rural management. They will find the farm in the care of Mr. John Dean, who will be ready, at all reasonable times, to show them, or tell them, any thing and every thing about it. According to present appearances he will be harvesting the corn about the middle of October; and any of those gentlemen who have requested of

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

me to be permitted to go and see it will do well, perhaps, if they continue in the same mind, to go about that time. One thing they will not see there, nor in any part of the neighbourhood round about; namely, *labourers living upon potatoes and salt*; and that no accursed Scotch quack; no barren rig of a woman, who sucks up taxes by writing against those who pay the most of them; this is a thing that none of these devils will ever see in the county of Surrey, and especially in the tithing of Normandy.

Normandy Farm is five miles from Guildford, six miles from Farnham, seven miles from Godalming, across the Hog's-Back; eight miles from Bagshot; thirteen miles from Chertsey; and, on every one of these roads, you go over commons and greens, and through a region of cottages, not one inhabitant of which is there who would not perish rather than be reduced to potatoes and salt.

N.B. An Irish gentleman who left some French books on agriculture for me to read, is informed that the books are at Bolt-court, where they are ready to be delivered to him; that I have not had time to look into but one of them; that I am as much obliged to him as if I had had time to profit from his goodness; that it is great good luck that restores to him his books; and that, if he will be advised by me, he will never again lend me a book which he is not prepared to take leave of for ever; not that this is proper, and not that I like that it should be so; but that it is completely impossible that it should be otherwise.

TO

LORD GREY.

Normandy Farm, 28. *August*, 1834.

My Lord,

I was in hopes that I should not so soon have had to count the *eleventh PrimeMinister*, who have figured on the stage since I have been a spectator of their at once stupid and mischievous acting. The time of your strutting in buskins, not with a dagger of lath, faith; but with a real sharp instrument: your time of strutting has, however, I thank God! been short, though full of mischievous measures; full of hostility to the best rights and interests of the people; marked at once by extreme imbecility, and by arrogance extreme. There have, I perceive, been found creatures in Northumberland so silly, or so base, or both, as to present to you addresses, expressive of approbation of your conduct as Minister. This address of mine will be of a very different description. When the savage sentence was passed on me in 1810, you expressed your pleasure. Since you have been in power, you have endeavoured to give me a second chapter, on a similar subject. You are now a fallen Minister, and I am what I always have been. You deserve no sparing at my hands, even on my own account: that, however, would not have induced me to take the trouble of writing this letter. It is what the working people have suffered under your sway; it is their wrongs, and not my own, that fill me with resentment against you; and that induce me now to exhibit your ministerial career in its true light to the world. I had rubbed out the old scores; I had done justice upon you and your associates, as far as related to myself; and the account was squared up to the month of August 1831; and I have nothing to complain of, with regard to myself; but a great deal to complain of with regard to the people of England, and especially the working people, to defend whom against powerful wrong-doers, is my very first and most sacred duty.

First of all let me remark upon your

pretence of old age and infirmities. "Old age"! Why, I am as old as you; and have done more work in every year of my life since I was ten years old, than you have ever done in your whole life-time. Old age, indeed! why, I am just upon the eve of setting off to make the tour of fertile and unhappy Ireland; and perhaps that and the north of Scotland, too, to which I did not go before; and, it is possible, and not altogether improbable, that, if you creep to the roadside in the first or second week of November, you may see me brushing along by the "*boothies*" in the neighbourhood of your home, and hear me swearing that I will perish rather than see the labourers of Sussex and Surrey and Kent brought to the state of those of the border. "Old age," forsooth! You are not much older now than you were when you became Minister. There is, indeed, all the difference in the world between a sheep or an ox that is four years older than another sheep or ox; but, then these have got their full growth; the sheep is full-mouthed at five years old, and after that begins to lose his teeth; and it is pretty much the same with the ox: but it is not so with man; four years out of seventy are not what four years are out of five. But, after all, the strange thing is that you should become so old and so feeble, in so short a space of time. When you became Minister you were all "vigour." In your very first speech there was "*vigour, vigour, vigour*" at every turn. You began your career by a vigorous augmentation of the number of bayonets. That was your first specimen of vigour. Your next vigorous step was your special commissions, the history of which is written in the hearts of three or four hundred husbandless wives, and three times the number of fatherless children. In short, you were all "*vigour*"; all "*vindication of the law*"; one instance of which latter was the prosecution of me by that Denman who has now been made a *lord*. Curious enough that you should be all vigour, until your relations and dependents were provided for, and that then you should become, all at once, so old and so feeble!

However, old or young, strong or feeble, I thank the Lord God that you are no longer Minister: and I thank the King that he has graciously given you time now, in your old age, to reflect on the acts of your administration; to reflect on the case of poor Cook of Micheldever; to reflect on all the circumstances attending the affair of Thomas Goodman; to reflect on the state of the husbandless wives and fatherless children in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; to reflect on the case of the Dorsetshire labourers; to enjoy for the rest of your life the sight of the "boothie" and "burgoo" system; to study the *feelosophy* of the north; while we, here in the south, bless God Almighty that we shall never see or hear more of you or your "vigour."

Your *disinterestedness* formed a subject of your speeches at the close. Now, as to this matter, I thought perfectly natural, and not at all unjust towards the people, that you should place your son in office, he being a person of industry, talent, and integrity, as I dare say he is. I thought it by no means improper that your brother should be made a dean; there was still less impropriety in Mr. Ellice being placed in office, being a person every way fit for it; but, when the brother became a bishop so speedily; when a brother-in-law also became a bishop, and when your two sons were promoted in the navy over the heads of so many thousands of officers, a great part of whom were at sea before your sons were born, we might, at any rate, have been spared the boast of disinterestedness.

Upon this subject your speech in the House of Lords, in which you gave up the ghost, contained, as it was reported in the newspapers, a passage enough to make one sick. You are reported to have said, that the King, *of his own accord, and without being at all solicited, or even getting a hint*, gave your brother his bishoprick. Why, now, Lord Grey, do you really believe that a story like this will be swallowed by this people? Their swallows are very

large, to be sure: their throats are wide enough almost to take down a coach and six; but this is a Highland mountain, Scotch firs and larches and all. Why, then, it was, of course, the King who insisted upon having your two sons put over the heads of so many officers in the navy. It is a monstrous story; and one that ought not to have come from the lips of your lordship, if from any man upon the face of the earth. It was such a strange thing, too, for a Minister to say. Why, is not the doctrine of the constitution this: that the King does nothing of a public nature without the advice of his Minister, and that the Minister is answerable for the act? If one could suppose such a thing as that the King should have chosen to send to Hereford a *conge d'elire*; that is to say, a *leave to elect*; that is to say, *an order to elect* a shoeblack, or a chimney-sweep, to be bishop of the diocese; if one could suppose such a thing, would the King be answerable for such an insult to the nation and to religion? No; but you would have been answerable for it, if it had been done in your time: you would have been the person responsible: so you were in the case of your brother, to be sure: and besides all this, there is hardly a man in the whole country who believes that the King would have done it of his own accord, and from his own private feeling.

Next comes your administration with regard to the press, which has been far more hostile, more severe, more destructive to the liberty of the press than that of any administration of four times the duration, since the time of Ellenborough and Gibbs and Perceval. Your taxing officers have had three or four hundred men put into jail in a year for selling papers unstamped. This was to "*vindicate the law.*" What law? Why a law, which you, and your whole party, particularly Brougham and Lord Althorp, opposed with all your might. You called it unconstitutional; you called it tyrannical; you divided against it again and again; and, not only have you suffered it to remain in full force, but you did what your Tory predecessors had not done: you have put it into execution to the very letter, and with the utmost vigour, calling yourselves all the while, a reforming and liberal Ministry.

This law, which you *vindicated* so *vigorously*, and which you had opposed with equal vigour, as being unconstitutional and tyrannical; this law was one of the Six Acts, two of which have expired of themselves, while the four worst remain in full force. The act under which all these writers and publishers have been crammed into jail, was passed along with the rest of the famous Six Acts, in the extraordinary session of the year 1819, about six months after the passing of Peel's Bill, and about five months after the Manchester slaughter, and just about the time that the clerical magistrate, Parson Hay, was preferred to the great living of Rochdale, in addition to his living in Yorkshire. This act, Mr. Hume has always called "Cobbett's Act," it being manifestly, and almost avowedly, an invention for the purpose of extinguishing my *Register*. This act forbids the publication of any paper, containing news, or intelligence, or political discussions, oftener than *once a month*, if it be in numbers, or in a series of any sort. Once a month was not often enough for me. But the act graciously allowed a publication once a week, or oftener, provided the publication contained *two sheets and a quarter of paper, each sheet being twenty-one inches long, and seventeen and a half inches wide*, and not containing any advertisements. There was another condition; namely, that *if the thing had not a stamp it should not be sold for less than sixpence.* Before this act was passed men might publish at any time, at any price, on any subject, and in numbers, and without a stamp. The only disadvantage of such unstamped paper was, *that it could not go free of postage.*

The Tories seeing that this act did not succeed in its object; that is to say, that the *Register* lived and thrived in spite of it, very sensibly suffered it to remain a dead letter; but, the liberty-

loving Whigs, who had put on the semblance of opposition, tooth and nail, to this act, not only suffered it to remain in full force; but such was their desire to "*vindicate the law*," that they availed themselves of this very act to cram the jails full of those who were endeavouring to oppose them; not by *open trial by jury* did you proceed, but by your taxing men at Somerset-house, and by your police-magistrates, who punished without any trial by jury. In one instance, indeed, the case was suffered to come before a jury, in the case of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, published by Mr. Hetherington in the Strand. The jury decided that the sale of the publication was legal, and they acquitted the defendant; though, I believe, nearly five hundred men had been put into jail by the magistrates, when their only crime was the vending of this publication! And yet you have been a mild Minister! You talk of your good intentions! You talk of your love of liberty, and your anxiety for the happiness of the people. In the case of Mr. Cleave, editor and proprietor of the *Police Gazette*, your Attorney-General pursued him in the Exchequer, while he was suffering in jail, committed by the magistrates for the same offence.

Your conduct with regard to this act of Parliament fully verifies the truth of that which was deemed a monstrous slander when I uttered it; namely, that you, and your faction, when opposing these acts, *wished them to be passed*; aye, and would not have opposed them, if you thought that your opposition would have been successful! This was deemed a monstrous slander in me. It was said, that the devil himself would not have had the heart to impute such base hypocrisy to any part of mankind; but the thing is now as much like a fact as any thing that I ever saw in my life: for, here are you in the plenitude of power for four years; here are you, able to get your brother and brother-in-law made bishops; able to toss your two sons over the heads of thousands of men; able to tumble down ten bishops in Ireland; able to lay a tax of eight hundred thousand a year in perpetuity upon this nation, as the interest of a sum to be *given* to the West India estate-owners, or mortgagees: here were you able to issue special commissions, that plunged whole counties into mourning; here were you able to make a parliamentary reform, which, at any rate, extinguished a hundred or two of rotten boroughs; and though, as I shall by-and-bye show, you could not have remained in place a week, without doing it, you were able to do it; but you were not able to repeal "*Cobbett's Act*," though it had failed of its real object; but on the contrary, published it up anew, sharpened its edge, and set it to work. When the Whigs came into power, in 1783 or 1784, before they were supplanted by Pitt, they found two booksellers, Walker and somebody else of Paternoster-row, who had been their partisans: they found these two men, who had run so many risks for them, not in jail, but on the road to jail, fine, and pillory; they found them under a state of conviction, and waiting for the day of judgment; that is to say, for the arrival of the term when they were to be brought up to receive sentence. These two men, who were very considerable booksellers, and very respectable and worthy persons, having no fault that I ever heard of, except that of confiding in the sincerity of Whigs; these two men, who had been prosecuted for a publication, coming from the pen of one of the Whig party, and he a distinguished man, too, hailed the change of Ministry as their sure deliverance from ruin and disgrace. But, though the Whig Attorney-General would certainly not call them up for judgment, they thought it prudent, as Ministers were not immortal, to have a *nolli prosequi* entered against their names. To this end they applied to Fox, they applied to Sheridan, they applied to all the great men of the *sincere* faction, who (let the world hear it) suffered their names to remain, refusing to obtain the *nolli prosequi*, though they were all-powerful at the time, and suffered Kenyon, the new Attorney-General, to find

them in the list of persons to be brought up for judgment!

However, so long a time had now passed, that, though the fear of ruin might now and then come athwart their dreams, they could not believe it possible that the new Ministry, with liberty-loving Pitt at the head of it, would ever think of raking up so old a matter. Kenyon, however, put on his spectacles, and tracing down the list with his finger, coming to the names of Walker and Co., Paternoster-row, booksellers, "Ha, ha!" said he, and holding his left-hand finger upon the paper, with his right hand catched up the pen, and made a scratch, which not only sent these two men into jail, and extorted the fine from them, but actually clapped them in the pillory. Alas! my lord, the Whigs have always been the same, from the days of old Burnet to the present hour.

Another instance of Whig fidelity; of the fidelity of the Whigs to their friends and supporters, and which comes within the public life of your lordship, I will now relate as my hand is in. Many of my readers will recollect, that one of the great questions upon which the Foxites fought the Pittites, after Pitt came into power, was the question about the old Duke of Richmond, as Master-General of the Ordnance, whom they accused of wasting the public money in fortifications, or pretended fortifications to the dock-yards; and they finally did triumph over the duke, and gained great popularity by the triumph. They owed this triumph entirely to a Major Glennie, at that time the most skilful officer in the corps of Engineers; but who had the misfortune to be gulled into a support of the Whigs. They knew nothing about fortifications, any more than any forty or fifty of the geese upon the common. I do not know that it is to be imputed as a fault to the Duke of Richmond, that he sent Glennie to grass, where the pasture was very moderate. He went to settle in the province of New Brunswick, where I used to see him as a member of the assembly of the province. While I was in Newgate, I was, one day, writing one of my essays so complimentary to your faction, when the keeper introduced Major Glennie, who told me that which I have related with regard to him, and who told me besides, this horrible story; namely, that, at the time when the Duke of Richmond sent him to grass, and upon pasture like Bagshot Heath, Fox, Sheridan, and, in short, the whole faction, advised him to remain quiet; not to make a stir; for that he might mar, in some sort, that which they had so completely accomplished; and that he might be assured that, *if ever they came into power*, be should be amply rewarded for his great services to the party, both in honours and pecuniary means. Poor Glennie, who had more faith in him than Scotchmen generally have, or than any body ought to have in any faction whatever, having waited twenty long years to see them in place, saw the happy hour arrive in the year 1806. Straight hastened he to Whitehall, his only fear being that he should be smothered in their embraces, and loaded, in his old age, with honours and emoluments too much for him to bear. This fear was soon removed; for he heard from the lips of that Fox and that Sheridan, that, either to promote him, or reinstate him, or give him pecuniary compensation for his losses, "they "could not think of proposing to my "Lord Grenville," who was the colleague of the Duke of Richmond at the time when Glennie had furnished the means of annoying the Minister and turning out the duke. Now, to be sure, though your lordship was in place, at the time when Major Glennie got this answer; at the time when all sorts of assistance was refused him, he being in a state to require such assistance, you had not, like Fox and Sheridan, been a party to the promises made to Major Glennie; nor do I know that the case was laid before your lordship; but the thing sticks itself on the faction; it is an instance that marks the character of that faction, whose great characteristics, as I told you in the Court of King's Bench, *perfidy*, associated with the blackest *ingratitude*. What

was, in this respect, the course of your Ministry? An abandonment of your best and sincerest friends, and a caressing of your bitterest enemies. STURGES BOURNE surrendered his seat, because he would not support you; and you immediately put him into the special commission at WINCHESTER, and made him one of the poor-law commissioners. FRANKLAND LEWIS, who has constantly opposed your Ministry, is now put at the head of the poor-law commission. Here are only a couple of instances out of a couple of thousand that might be produced; and this is one of the great causes of your fall; and of that fall exciting not the smallest feeling of compassion in any sensible and just man. You take care of yourself, take care of your own numerous family and connexions; but leave your partisans to pasture on BAGSHOT Heath; and this, too, under the shameful pretence, that you are guided by impartiality and disinterestedness.

To return to the Six Acts and the press, from a digression which I am sure the reader will not think impertinent: has not your conduct now proved, I say *proved*, that your opposition to this greatest of all the inroads upon the press, was *insincere*, to give it the mildest of epithets? Does not your conduct *prove*, that you must have wished for this reprobated act to pass, even at the time when you were opposing it? At any rate, one of two things must be: either your opposition to the act was destitute of principle, or of sense, or the opposition was insincere; for you became Minister; you became possessor of the power of doing away with the act, and you suffer it not only to remain on the Statute Book, but you give to it every force that it is capable of receiving in the way of execution; and that, too, in the most underhand, indirect, and cunning manner; keeping your Attorney-General out of sight, and doing the deed at the same time. I will not for good manners' sake, say that you were either *fool* or *hypocrite*, when you opposed this act; but again I say, one of two things *must* be; your opposition was destitute either of principle or of sense; or your retention and enforcement of the act, must be ascribed to qualities of the head and the heart, a description of which I need not take the trouble to put upon paper, it being impossible that it will not suggest itself to the mind of every sensible man in the kingdom.

Your last act was truly characteristic of your whole career; I mean your praises of the poor-law project, and your volunteer offer to move its second reading, which was so admirably sneered at by him who has been your real swamper. There was something in this last act of yours, of which, upon my soul, I have too much mercy to speak of in terms in which it ought to be spoken of; and, therefore, I will only say of it, that, in all the tame acts of all the tame men, of whose conduct I have ever been an observer, this was the very tamest, and the very lowest. About that act I shall say nothing more to you, having, as to that disease, another noble patient under my hands, the benefit of whose treatment will, I trust, be extended to those of his whole order, who may be similarly afflicted.

But, will I allow you *no merit* as a Minister? Faith! not one particle: not one particle of merit. You have repealed not one bad act, and you have passed not one good one; and a great number that I think very bad. To be sure, there have been some repeal of taxes; but these are not sufficient to be felt sensibly by the country, while the encroachments on the rights and liberties of the people have been greater, and far greater, than during any twenty years previous to your coming into power. But have not you *given us the Reform Bill*? You *give* us the Reform Bill! You GIVE! We took it, if you please; and you held back as much as you dared venture to hold back.

In the first place, you could not have kept your place for a week, if you had not pledged yourself to a reform of the Commons House of Parliament; and, what is more, that pledge would not have got you into power, had not the Duke of WELLINGTON (for what reason God only knows!) volunteered that declaration, which made him so odious in

the country, and without which he might have remained in his place, the people always hoping, even I (the last to have hope in such a case) hoping, that a good worrying would, at last, make him tack shortly about, as he did in the case of Catholic Emancipation, and do the thing at once, and effectually; and until he actually made that declaration which shut out all hope, I had more reliance on the Tories than I had on the Whigs; because, if the former did it, there would be no shuffling; no deceit; no perfidy; no pretending to give, and withhold, at the same time: and, God have mercy upon this people! what shuffling, what complexity of trickery, what a showing of the gingerbread, and then drawing it back, have this people had to behold, during the last four years! what projects of reform, and what real aggravation of abuses!

Thus, then, no merit had you in entering upon the subject of reform. You had abandoned the cause of reform several years before: the reform was forced upon you, or you were forced to keep out of place; reform and Downing-street; or no reform and the "*boothies*" and the "*burgoo*"; this was your choice, and you chose the former. And, having entered on the subject of reform, did you not give as little as you possibly could; and were you not prepared to give less; were you not prepared to confine the suffrage to twenty pounds instead of ten, when the detection took place, at the time when the *Pis-aller* PARKES was carrying his whispers about? Nothing was ever more clearly proved than the fact, that you were prepared to *assent* to the raising of the suffrage to twenty pounds, when the remonstrances of the great towns in the north scared away the project. A twenty-pounds suffrage would have made the House of Commons infinitely worse than it was before, scarcely any man would have had a vote, except the immediate dependents of the aristocracy, and the tax-devourers of various descriptions. That this was your intention is beyond all doubt. Whatever fools may do, I take the will for the deed, and deny you any merit at all, on the score of the Reform Bill.

And now, my lord, in what plight do you leave the country, over which you have been ruling for pretty nearly four years? You leave it more heavily burdened with debt than you found it; you leave Ireland with a Coercion Bill, which was not thought necessary when you came into power; you leave men's minds totally unhinged with regard to the municipal governments of the country, and, which is of much greater importance, with regard to the fate of the established church. It is your Ministry which has, for the first time, ventured to put forth those opinions relative to the revenues of the church, which must inevitably lead even the labouring people to inquire into the origin of property; you have passed an Act, which totally abrogates a great branch of the ancient constitution of the country; your colleague, BROUGHAM, and you by fair implication, have appealed to the law of nature from the law of the land, and also from the law of God; you have set the working people to discuss the question of *who ought to have the land*. Instead of bringing us back from the point to which we had been misled by the boroughmonger Parliaments, you have hurried us along into additional innovations; like JACK, in the "TALE OF A TUB," instead of carefully selecting the abuses and removing them, you have been engaged in tearing the garment to pieces; so that at this moment you have brought us by what you sillily call following the "spirit of the age"; a phrase so foppish and so foolish that, after hearing it, one wonders at nothing that comes from the lips of the same man: by pursuing this jack-o'-lantern, which you call the "spirit of the age," and by dragging us along after you, not a man of us knows what is going to take place; and in the minds of all ranks the word *property* becomes to be a subject for examination as to its true meaning; which, of all things in this world, is the most menacing to the peace of a community, and the stability of a government. You complained of the difficulties with which you were sur-

rounded, and who was it that made the difficulties? You yourself made the difficulties. The people wanted a parliamentary reform, but they did not want one that would throw the voting into the hands of the monied-aristocracy, the sister-services, the pensioners, the sinecure-people, the tithe-eaters, and all the swarms that live out of the labour of a people. They wanted a House of Commons that would take off their burdens: you gave them one, a majority of which were interested in keeping the burdens on.

And such as the House was, and is, you have proposed to it nothing that did not add to the difficulties; and when the House had determined on a motion of real relief to the people, you got it to rescind its determination. What the people wanted was, not a parcel of new projects, brought forth under the stupid, the silly, the foppish, the childish, the coffee-house-club, pretence of following "*the spirit of the age*"; stuff that is talked of by nobody but a set of creatures too imbecile to understand any thing at all about the interests of the nation; and the bare making use of such a phrase marked you out as unfit for any public trust whatsoever. The people did not want a reform for the sake of making scores of innovations without doing any thing to relieve them. Above all things, they did not want a reform for the purpose of having a Poor-law Bill passed, hatched amongst the "*boothies*," and having for its main objects the [illegible]g of proxy-votes in vestries to the landowners, in order to make the people live upon a coarser sort of food. The people did not want a reform for this; and this you created yourself: this difficulty was of your own making: you were the Prime Minister when it was hatched; you advised the measure; you, as your last effort, at your very yielding of the ghost, expressed your anxiety to have this measure carried. And this will prove to be the great difficulty, as it is indeed already; and this was acting up to "*the spirit of the age*," was it? It was the "*spirit of the age*" that called upon you to cause the people to live upon a "*coarser sort of food.*" It was that *spirit* that suggested to you a couple of great workhouses for each county; it was that *spirit* that suggested to you the workhouse dresses of Bingham, and the separating of man and wife, and parents from children, only because they were poor and destitute! Fine "*spirit of the age*"!

But, in what a state have you left the fiscal affairs of the country, and the pecuniary affairs of private men! Were you not warned more than a year ago, of the consequences of the proceedings of the American President? Did not this *Register* tell you, that it would take away our gold, and produce consequences of which no man could foresee the result? You did not read the *Register*, did you? Then you were guilty of neglect of your duty; better you had read it than spend your time in drawling over the stupid and lying reports of your Poor-law Commissioners. Better to have read it, than to have bothered your brains with the Scotch feelosophy, and in hunting about after proofs of the good of education. Better to have read it, than to have been poking about amongst the senseless gabble of the French *doctrinaires*. In short, it was your duty to read it; and if you did read it, then you set it at nought, and you wilfully brought on the present state of things; when all men are at a loss to know what is to happen; whether "*the spirit of the age*" will bring us one-pound notes again, and two prices in the market; or whether we be to go on in our present course, till the bayonet-men be sent to conduct troops of farmers into your poor-houses. One or the other, or something worse than both, must be: you had the power in preventing either from coming; but "*the spirit of the age*" would not suffer you to use that power in that sort of way. Let this always be remembered of you, that you had the power completely in your hands; and you have so exercised it as to bring on a crisis which creates general and just discontent, and which must lead to troubles which would not have existed had it not been for your series of measures.

Your proceedings with regard to the church, have been the worst that could possibly be adopted by the stupidest of all mankind. You have done enough to shake her to her very foundation, without doing any thing to satisfy the people with regard to her. You have agitated just enough to make the common people see that there is law for taking away the revenues altogether just enough to convince them of this and then you have adopted no measure for taking them away. You have made the church a thousand times as hateful as she was before, declaring your attachment to her, and your resolution to uphold her at the same time.

You have done just enough about corporations to throw odium upon them; but not one step has "*the spirit of the age*" induced you to go in the correction of any one real corporate abuse; and there is the great corporation of London, *addressing* you, I believe; and going on with all its old abuses, so oppressive to the people, and so detestable in the eyes of justice and of good government.

You complain that the House of Commons has wasted its time on *trifling matters*; and whose fault has that been? Has not your Ministry been the encourager of cant of every description? Has it not appointed committees on drunkenness, which there were laws already sufficient to punish? Has it not fostered the cant about the Sabbath, and suffered days and nights to be spent in talk about it, when they might have silenced the talk at once? Has it not got a committee on "*heddekashun,*" agreeably to "*the spirit of the age,*" while it has hundreds of men in jail for selling cheap things for the people to read? It is this Ministry that has been the trifler, and not the House of Commons. If your Ministry had done its duty, it would have proposed changes, if changes were to be made, *one at a time*, and would have had a decision upon that one, before it had gone to another, instead of which here we have jumbled before us, at one and the same moment, church-reform for Ireland, change in the tithe-laws for England, corporation reform, common-law reform, dropping in bit-by-bit, county courts reform, poor-law *reform*, negro reform: in short, hardly a man of us knew what there was actually laid before us; and thus the precious time has been wasted during two sessions, until a sort of mongrel-legal-tender project has now come into operation just at the time when the gold is being drained away to every part of the world: and this is the state in which you leave the country, after having had the control over it for four years.

With regard to the House of Commons, without alluding to any distinction about parties, there are men enough in it to do what is right, and what ought to be done, and quite disposed to do it, *if they knew what it was*. But, have you ever laid before us any plain, any intelligent, any frank, any rational, statement of the nature and extent of those "*difficulties*," of which you have so pathetically complained? Never; and we have now to hunt about to find them; or, if any of us happen to know them, no thanks to you. We should have had submitted to us the nature and extent of those difficulties: we ought to have had the remedies suggested to us one by one; or, if any of us suggested remedies, you ought to have heard them with attention, and suffered them fairly to have been brought forward and discussed, and settled one way or another; instead of which, you have furnished us with no statement; you have furnished us with no remedy; and when remedies have been suggested by individual members, what has been their treatment by your Ministry and your supporters? Look, for instance, at the treatment of Mr. Thomas Attwood. I differ with him in opinion with regard to his remedy; but many men, and men of sound understanding and great integrity, do not differ with him; the subject is, at any rate, one of the greatest national importance; and yet his treatment has been such on the part of the Ministry and their supporters, that I cannot justly describe it, without the use of epithets and terms, such as I do not like to make use of

when applied to persons, for many of whom I ought to have great respect notwithstanding their conduct in this case. Mr. Attwood's proposition is, *one-pound notes* and *legal tender*; and he has manfully persevered in his proposition, in spite of laughings, hootings, and every other means of reducing him to silence. And, now, at this very moment; in so few days after these laughings and hootings, it is a question with the whole of the community, whether we be, or be not, to have one-pound notes and legal tender. Why, if this should be the case, how will Lord Althorp, Mr. Poulett Thomson, and their supporters, ever be able again to look Mr. Attwood in the face? There are some who can *look any body in the face*; blest with an outside of brass and an inside of emptiness, can look any thing, or any body, under any circumstances, in the face; but, I should like to see the two that I have named standing opposite Mr. Attwood, and proposing a bill of indemnity to themselves for having done the very thing which they and their supporters had so often loaded him, not only with ridicule, not only with contempt, but almost with *dishonesty*, for proposing; for, let it be recollected, that my Lord Althorp said that, "as an *honest man* he could not listen "to the proposition of Mr. Attwood and his brother." I should like to see them standing before Mr. Attwood and proposing such a bill of indemnity. To men of sense and of feeling it would be *punishment*; it would be suffering; it would be agony; but severe as these might be, they would not be beyond the deserts of the parties. The good nature of Mr. Attwood would obliterate the past; but there would be *others*, not quite so good-natured. And this scene must come; or wheat at four-and-sixpence a bushel; and universal ruin and confusion in agriculture must be the consequence. As to your supporters in the House of Commons, they would think nothing, and ought to think nothing, of approving of the one-pound notes and legal tender; they are not bound to hard cash by their past laughings and hootings; and, though nothing could destroy the private character, the character for good intentions, the character of undoubted desire to promote the good of the country; though nothing could take this character from Lord Althorp, one-pound notes and legal tender would utterly destroy his character as a statesman: his *opinions* in future would pass as things of little worth; property always seeks *safety*: and seeing this, it would no longer confide in him; and it is confidence in him, and that confidence *alone*, which sustains the shattered and shaken concern which you have left behind you. Let him but propose a bill of indemnity for one-pound notes and legal tender, created by Order in Council; and all that purity of motive, all that anxiety for the welfare of the people, all that good temper and sound understanding, for which I, one of his opponents, give him full credit, vanishes at once into air; and down comes tumbling the miserable Ministry that you have left behind you, to be remembered only for its mischiefs, and as a shocking spectacle of the effects of "*the spirit of the age.*"

In dismissing you for ever, I have to observe, first, that when there appeared to me a probability of your being called into power, in 1822, I addressed a letter to you, and warned you of your fate, if you did not follow my advice. Below I publish this letter again, to show that you have fallen because you did not follow my advice, and particularly because you were associated with that very man against whom I warned you, and who has now swamped you, and who is sure to swamp any body, or any thing, that places himself, or itself, at the mercy of his frantic imagination, and under the control of his all-stunning "*jaw.*" Second, and lastly, I have to observe, and I trust that it will be remembered by the nation, that you resigned your office because the Irish Coercion Bill was made softer than you wished it to be; and that your very last act was, your unqualified approbation of the Poor-Law Bill. Go, then, with the recollection of these upon your head; go, and whenever your name is mentioned, let the people recall these things

to mind; you will say that you had a right to want a harsher Coercion Bill for Ireland; that you had a right to praise your Poor-Law Bill; true, and I have a right to hate you for it, and to rejoice that you no longer have power; and thus ends my address to you, forming so striking a contrast with the addresses which you have received from the fools of NEWCASTLE and the *fools* of MORPETH.

WM. COBBETT.

TO EARL GREY,

On the Remedy for the Evils that now afflict the Kingdom.

Kensington, 8. *Jan.*, 1822.

MY LORD,—Let me, before I, for the last time, urge your lordship to come forward for the salvation of the country, once more shortly state what is now the *situation* of the country, and show how strongly that situation resembles that of France *just previous to the Revolution.*

The fact is not denied by any one, that taxation, be its amount what it may, lessens, in proportion to that amount, the enjoyments of a people. This, and almost in these very words, is acknowledged in the Report of the Agricultural Committee. This nation is now taxed to a degree almost beyond endurance; for, as I said in 1814, and had said in "Paper against Gold," to pay in cash was to double or triple the taxes. The tax on a pound of candles, for instance, is now, when the labourer's wages are reduced to 8*s.* a week, just as much in nominal amount as it was when his wages were 12*s.* a week. But threepence taken out of 8*s.* is *more* than threepence taken out of 12*s.* In short, it is clear, that Peel's Bill has, by reducing prices one half in general, and, in some cases, a great deal more, doubled or tripled the taxes; so that these are now become absolutely intolerable. "Nous demandons à grands cris," said the French people in their eloquent *Cahirs*, "We ask, we cry aloud;" and for *what*? Why, for a reduction of those *taxes*, those heavy and galling imposts that were producing amongst them famine and distraction.

It is *the debt* which is the cause of this dreadful scourge. It demands thirty millions of hard money a year to pay the *bare interest*, and it is made the excuse for raising about ten or twelve millions more for "sinking fund" and other like purposes. Then, to collect these sums amidst the sufferings that the collection of them occasions, demands a standing army in time of peace. This army is made the ground for *a staff* quite enormous, and for barracks and other establishments equally enormous. These again add to the weight of taxation. So that it is *the debt*, that work of the Whigs of the glorious Revolution, swelled up by an endeavour to compel the Americans to submit to taxation without representation, and brought to its present hideous size by the war against the people of France to force back on them the Bourbons, and to crush those who were endeavouring to obtain a reform of Parliament in England. It is the *debt* here, as it was the debt in France! The French revolution was a *financial affair.* I remember, that the late Mr. GARLIKE, who was then at the court at the Hague, wrote to me, in 1791, in somewhat these words: "The revolution was a thing of *necessity.* The Government could not have *gone on another month.* It was like a spider, twisted up in his own web." I, who had then been a *soldier* for about seven years, thought it very strange that a Government that had *an army* could not *go on*! I have since discovered how this is; and the practical proof is now, or very shortly will be, before me.

The old French Government did not possess the *power* to lighten the burdens of the people. It was compelled *to call for the assistance of the people themselves.* I beg your lordship to remember this; for the same call must, in some shape or other, take place here. The old French Government called upon the people *too late* in the first place; then in the next place, it did not act in a fair and frank manner with the people; thirdly, it endeavoured to maintain all

the greatest abuses in full vigour; and fourthly, it was in want of what we have, the *forms* of freedom and of representation. There was, when they came to act, nothing short of a *new Government* that would do in France; while we with similar, precisely similar difficulties, stand in need of nothing but such a change as shall make the House of Commons the real representatives of the people at large; but to be that they must be *chosen by the people at large.*

Without a reduction, and a large reduction too, of the interest of the debt, it is in vain to talk of a *remedy.* The follies of *Webb Hall* are now become subjects of ridicule amongst all classes of men. There are few that remain unsatisfied of the truth, that there must be a complete *revolution in property,* unless the operations of the debt be stopped. We already see four, if not five, noblemen's estates in the hands of one single family of "loyal" loan-jobbers, whose father would have brushed, and perhaps *did* brush, Lord Shelburne's coat! And good God! the nobility of this country, while they haughtily and scornfully cast from them a supplicating people, who cannot be their rivals, take to their bosoms, hug, cherish and pamper a race of reptile loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers and Jews, who are actually at this moment pocketing their rents, by the means of which they will purchase from them the land and the parchments!

My Lord ASHBURNHAM, who presided the other day at a meeting at Battle in Sussex, who is said to be a very good landlord and an excellent man in private life, and whose conduct upon the occasion here alluded to was remarkable for candour and for mildness, very feelingly observed, that, in whatever degree the farmers were suffering, he could assure them, that they *did not suffer more than he did.* Why, my lord, what a thing is this to hear from a nobleman of large landed estate, prudent in the management of his affairs and squandering on nothing! What a thing to hear from such a person; and when we know too, that this is only a specimen of what exists in every part of the kingdom! Several years ago (in 1816) I wrote, in sport, some lines now literally true:

> Of paper-coin how vast the pow'r!
> It breaks or makes us in an hour.
> And thus, perhaps, a beggar's shirt,
> When finely ground and clear'd of dirt;
> Then re-compress'd by hand or hopper,
> And printed on by sheet of copper,
> May raise *ten beggars to renown,*
> And tumble *fifty nobles down.*

In 1803, when the vapouring Addington was putting forth his schemes of "*solid finance,*" I said that if the debt were not *arrested in its progress,* the *nobility and the church must finally fall;* for that their long existence was wholly incompatible with the existence of that debt. The unprincipled SHERIDAN, who, for some vile purpose or other, was at that time giving his support to Addington, *denounced* me, in the House of Commons, as a man aiming at the destruction of *public credit,* and did his best to mark me out for public resentment and to render my writings a subject of *criticism* with that great master of style, the *Attorney-General.* I lived to see that profligate politician descend to a disgraceful grave; and I shall live to see fully verified the opinion for the stating of which he would have had me sacrificed; for who is there, my lord, that does not *now* see that the ancient nobility and the church *must fall,* unless the debt be, by some means or other, nearly, if not quite, put an end to?

The nobility, by which I mean the ancient families of the kingdom, whether peers or not, suffered Pitt to create *a new race* of statesmen. The Roses, the Longs, the Addingtons, the Ryders, the Castlereaghs, the Cannings, the Scotts, the Percevals, the Jenkinsons, the Laws, the Dundasses, and many others. These have had the *active powers* in their hands. Out of their system have arisen the Barings, the Smiths, the Peels, the Curtises, the Luke Whites, the Alexanders, the Ricardos, and thousands of that description. The ancient families, in all times lethargic, have been content with the protection, the *ease* and *safety,* which the new race of statesmen promised them. But at last they begin to find (and I would fain hope that they will not have made the

discovery too late), that it is not *ease* and *safety* that have been the result of their confiding the nation's affairs to the new race of statesmen. These have been pretty "*vigorous*" gentlemen. They have been very able in *keeping down reformers*. They have discovered great ingenuity in prescribing the price and bulk of pamphlets, and in taking means to prevent the crime of making "*breakfast powder*" out of wheat and rye. They have never been backward to make provision for preventing the landowners from losing their hares and pheasants; but for the soul of them they cannot find out the means of preventing them from losing their estates! They have talked very fluently about *property* being the basis of legislative power; about the "designing demagogues" who, "bankrupt in character and fortune," wanted to get at the property of the rich; about the "*sacredness*" of *property* they have spoken volumes; how to prevent the hedge-stakes, the nuts and the haws, from being stolen, they have well understood; but as to *the estate itself*, to preserve that to the owner makes, it seems, no part of their province! And, my lord, if this be done at all, be you assured, that it will be a work in which the "*designing demagogues*" will have a great deal to do.

Let no landowner flatter himself that the thing admits of *mitigation*. Mr. Gipps said, at the Canterbury meeting, the other day, that the landlords as well as farmers must *make sacrifices*; from which it would appear that he supposed that the thing would not go *beyond a certain point*. With the *farmer* it will not, for the farmer is only a higher sort of labourer; but with the landlord, no matter how large his possessions, there can be no stop, no pause, as long as the debt exist in any thing like its present amount. He must *lose all* in a very few years. The whole will be absorbed by the labourers, the paupers (whose allowances are in fact now so much of wages); by the army, by pensioners, placemen, and fundholders. The landlords is now living out of the *losses* of the farmer; but the present race of farmers will *soon be gone*; and the next race will have *nothing to lose*! There will be, for there can be, *no rents*. The tax-gatherer will take the whole of that which ought to be rent; and this is, and long has been, as clear to my sight as is the paper that I am now writing on.

There is then no means of saving the landlords but by getting rid of a great part, and a very great part, of the debt. And is this to be done without admitting the people to a due share in the choosing of members of their *own house*? Is this to be done with nine-tenths of the people forbidden to meet to petition their "*representatives*"? Is this to be done without harmony and cordiality between the great mass of the people and the ancient families? Is this to be done while the people are smarting under the endless wrongs, indignities, insults and scoffs heaped upon them by the upstarts who have been supported by those ancient families?

Will a *change of Ministry*, my lord, enable the landholders to get rid of this burden and this danger? What can another Ministry do more than this can do? That it could do no more is *felt* by the whole nation; and this is the cause of the universal apathy as to this point. Every man of every party and opinion as to other matters is of opinion, that a change of Ministry could do no good. As to the great question immediately before us, it is not forgotten that Peel's Bill really was the work of "the Whigs"; that the scheme originated with a now dead *Scotch Reviewer*, who had been thrusted into Parliament by a [illegible]ber of your party, and whose praise [illegible]r this very scheme is to this day a theme with which both parties insult the good sense of the nation; that the [illegible]yment scheme, *unaccompanied* [illegible]y *other measure*, was pressed on the Ministers by your party; and [illegible] short, that the immediate cause of the present distress was more the work of their hands than of those of the Ministers. Besides, my lord, what a mass of odiousness does your party contain! What a flock of gowned and wigged vultures, whom even to think of as connected with *power* is sufficient to make us startle with affright! One of

these, an apostate from sound principle, a soft-spoken, servile, silky slave, who, with humanity on his lips, and with a heart full of malignity, had the infamy, during the season of Six Acts, to describe me, plainly as if by name, as a person fit for *banishment or transportation*, while he had the meanness to extol to the skies other writers, whose turtle-soup and rich wines were warming his worthless carcass and inspiring his hypocritical tongue. Another, the restless and all-grasping ambition of whose mind is well portrayed in every feature of his agitated, anxious, angry countenance, spoke of me during the same season of Six Acts, as conducting *the worst part of the bad part of the press*. A third, whose whole soul is absorbed in the greediness of gain, one that will be accuser here, defender there, of the same identical act, who will bully or crawl, lie or *weep*, for gold, went, during the same season of Six Acts, out of his way, stopt in the middle of his pursuit, in order to make the insolent assertion that I was a *contemptible scribbler*, though I had never mentioned his name in the whole course of my life. I state these things merely as instances of the hatefulness of your party; for to your party these men *belong*; and we are not so weak as not clearly to perceive that they are mere *curs*, let loose upon us by the ancient families. We know well whence they derive the means of insulting us with impunity; and it is impossible for us not to shudder at the thought of any event that should make an augmentation to those means.

What could the nation expect, my lord, from a Ministry of which such men should make a part? Do we now complain of severe treatment; do we complain of restraints on our liberties; do we complain of any thing that is harsh; what is there, what has there ever been, of this description, which these men have not been, in effect, the principal agents in producing, having never failed to use their vile tongues for the purpose of blackening the actions and the character of the persons principally aimed at in those deeds of severity, and by means of such blackening to give the appearance of *necessity* to the very measures of which the detestable hypocrites affected to disapprove? These men, iron-hearted by nature, hardened by habit, fearless because indemnified beforehand, eager to show themselves worthy of being intrusted with the execution of deeds of injustice and cruelty, seem to have relieved their mock opponents of the trouble of being foul-mouthed and brutal. And is it from men like these, my lord, that the nation would have to look for *relief!* Dunderheaded too withal. Blundering at every turn. Never starting any thing not either odiously wicked or consummately ridiculous, meddling in every thing, and damning all they touch. And are these the men to restore prosperity and peace to a ruined, a broken up and distracted nation!

Besides these, there is a numerous band in the *north*, ready to start at a moment's warning to come and join in sucking the last drop of blood from the fainting people. This band are, too, committed, as far as words can commit such people, to maintain *the very contrary* of that which is now absolutely necessary to save the landowner and to quiet the nation! In the honour of your lordship, on your honesty, your zeal, and your talents, the whole nation would rely. But, it cannot, and it will not, rely on those by whom you are surrounded. Therefore, there is no hope without a *reform of the people's House of Parliament*. Without this the thing must *go on*, and every estate, not occupied by, and affording food for, the owner, must pass away to a new possessor.

As to the *sort of reform*, I have already troubled your lordship with more than enough. But, if I go *too far*, why not stop short of me? If it were true, that some of us asked for *too much*, would that be a reason for giving us *nothing*? If time press (and I confess it does) why, my lord, not break up a hundred of the boroughs, and give their members to the great towns, on the universal suffrage plan? This, which would be giving only a *third* of the

Commons House to the people at large, might satisfy them until time were found to consider the matter more maturely. Why not have a reformed House sitting in *April next*? And why not have the debt reduced, and the devil set at defiance by June? As to what I am told some *lords* say about a House chosen by the people, *packing the other House about their business*; and, when it passed tax-laws, would make *none but the rich pay taxes*, and would thus *take away their estates*: as to these, my lord, they are merely *feigned* fears, they are manifestly excuses hatched for the purpose of justifying flagrant wrong upon the plea of *necessity*. These lords know well, that the legislatures in Amemerica do not rob the rich by *partial taxation*, they know that it was never done even by the *sans-culottes* of France; they know, in short, that it is monstrous to suppose such a thing. But, *these* persons also know, that it is their intention not to yield an inch; but to hold on, to hang on to the last to the principles of *Canning* and *Davies Giddy*.

However, pray, my lord, I beseech you to look at the *absurdity* of feigning fears like these under circumstances like the present! Grant, though it is contrary to all reason and to all experience, that a House of Commons chosen by the people would lay the taxes upon the great proprietors exclusively. What then? Their estates, or rather, their incomes, would be reduced down to a certain fixed amount. But, if the present thing go on, they *must lose the whole of their incomes in a very short time*, so that even that which they pretend to fear, would, if it were [illegible]lly to take place in consequence of a r[illegible] of the Parliament, be an improv[illegible] in their circumstances; they [illegible] then have *something*; nay, they [illegible] still be the *richest* of the comm[illegible] whereas they will now be the p[illegible] they will now be left with nothing; I [illegible] I mean to say distinctly, that, if the present thing go on unchecked for only a very few years, every landed estate, the owner of which receives *nothing out of the taxes*, will pass into new hands, and that the present owners (unless they fill the land and live on it) will become literally beggars or paupers, and, with perfect seriousness I declare, that I should not be at all surprised to see many a man with a title go into the *poor-house*; for, let it be observed, they get feebler and feebler every day from the same cause which daily and hourly adds strength to their devourers. I once employed a French count to *bind volumes of the Register for me*, and a very good bookbinder he was. This *Register* has seen strange changes in the world; but, unless the ancient families speedily call the people to their aid, my sincere opinion is, that the *Register* has yet to see and record changes still stranger, and, both in themselves and in their consequences, far more important than any that it has hitherto seen.

If the persons, *most interested* in the correctness, or incorrectness, of these forebodings, had not, for so many years, shut their eyes to truth, they could not have been in their present situation. However, "there is nothing new under the sun", the old nobility of all countries have, at different periods, been led along in this way by *active and greedy upstarts*, who have uniformly taught them, that their security was to be found only in distrust and rigorous treatment *of the people*; the people, who can never be their rivals, who are necessary to their subsistence, and who, if only decently treated, are always against changes of every sort. But, in addition to the ordinary workings of up-[illegible] have now a band of paper-[illegible]ntry, who snatch away the lands with a "*presto! change!*"

We have now not to wait long to see the *event*. If some *efficient* measure be not adopted during the ensuing session of Parliament, it is, in my opinion, more than probable, that a later period will be *too late*; not only too late to save the estates of the ancient families from the transfer; but too late also to prevent that *very convulsion*, which has all along been the bugbear held up to frighten those whose utter ruin seems now to be inevitable, if the present course be persevered in for any length of time.

Once more, therefore, at the end of precisely (for it is this very day) *twenty years* of unavailing calling on the nobility; once more I call on them to *conciliate the people*, and to appeal *to them* for protection against the "all-devouring monster." This is the sure and easy way of putting an end to all the turmoil and peril that now exist. In this way all would be justly, quietly, and happily settled. The people, full of satisfaction and good humour, would cheerfully make sacrifices beyond what any generous mind could expect. Always attached to things long established, they would once more be proud of what a long series of harsh and scornful treatment has made them at once hate and despise. The fabric of falsehood and fraud and all the extortions of its inventors would instantly disappear, and England would be again the seat of industry, of freedom, of that confidence between man and man, and of that abundance in good things, that frankness, that unostentatious hospitality, for which she was in former days justly famed, but of all which she has been bereft by a band of lawyers converted into statesmen, and bringing in their train a band of loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers, Jews, and makers of paper-money, that root of all evil that debaser, that corrupter of mankind, that scourge and curse of a people from generation to generation. The proposition of the saucy and viperous PERCEVAL to establish a fortress in Hyde Park, to cover *thirty acres of ground*, to contain quarters for ten thousand foot, five thousand horse, and a train of artillery, for the *openly avowed* purpose of *keeping the metropolis in awe*; this is only a specimen of what we have had to put up with for the whole of the thirty years last past. Little did those, who so readily gave their assent to such things, imagine that the consequences were *finally to fall on themselves*? On them they have now, however, fallen and are falling with weight insupportable. May they be admonished by what they have already felt, and seek in the revived friendship of the people that security for themselves, which I am satisfied they will find in no other source,

If a contrary line of conduct were to be pursued; if a refusal of reform were to be still persisted in; if to their deadly and natural foes, the loan-jobbing race, the ancient families were to persist in adding a mass of foes of their own creating, a true picture of *all* the consequences I forbear to draw. But, let it be observed, that, if the thing could go on to *the class of the transfer of estates*, the turmoil would not *there end*. The same work of transfer must *still be going on*; the same agitation, the same distress, the same pauperism; the same evils of every description, until the nation, debauched and brutalized, insensibly alike to honour and to shame, would be the sport of its hostile neighbours and the scorn of the world. To this length, however, the thing could not and cannot go. The native vigour of the nation, the mass of intelligence and of talent it possesses, that love of country which is a passion in the bosom of Englishmen, the recollection become so galling, of the deeds of their forefathers, would, long before the thing arrived at this point, rouse them to action, and in some fit of convulsive energy, all the degrading shackles would be snapped in sunder and scattered to the winds.

That anything which I have said, even with the present experience and the manifest appalling prospect to back me, will have any effect on the main part of those who are most deeply interested in the matter, is a great deal more than past experience will permit me to hope; but, at any rate, when the tremendous catastrophe shall come, here will be this one additional proof of my anxious desire to prevent it.

I am, my Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT-CORN.

Tillingham, near Maldon, Essex, 27. *Aug*., 1834.

SIR,—I have this season planted a piece of your corn, the first ever seen in this part of the country: I send you two ears which are about an average sample, the crop is considered very fine, and greatly admired, but I stand in need of your advice upon one point, *which is not mentioned in your book*: it is to know whether the corn, which is now ripe, might not be cut, stalks and ears together, and tied into small sheaves, and stacked the same as beans, and then stacked on a frame and left till next spring for seed; in fact, harvested as beans are harvested, and secured the same.

If you could spare a moment to notice this subject in the *Register*, which I have taken and read with great pleasure and satisfaction for many years, it might be of use to others as well as to me, and I should feel greatly obliged.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ROBERT WILLES.

Mr. Wm. Cobbett, M. P.

P.S. The corn was bought at your shop, planted on the 10. of April, and the ears here sent cut on the 22. of August, which is considered early ripening. You will please to make any use of this paper you may think proper, and also the name and place of abode.

ANSWER.

No: you cannot *stack* it in any way without its becoming mouldy. You cannot get the juice out of the *stalk*, do what you will. Nor can you get the juice out of the cob without long drying in the air. In short, your crop, if of considerable amount, is spoiled, if you do not follow my book in all its parts; and the *new edition* of the book, too; because that was the result of the most ample experience.

WM. COBBETT.

THE CROPS.

Maidenhead, 10. *Sept*. 1834.

ALL the way across, from Normandy to this pretty and clean town, which is in Berkshire, the crops of grass and turnips are very fine: finer than I ever saw them in my life. Over this whole stretch of country, the land is very *light*, and a great part of it exceedingly *poor*; but, even on these miserable lands, where, to break up and cultivate is really an invasion of the rights of the grasshoppers, the efts, and the lapwings (black plovers, or pewits). The grass and turnips are good. The *grain crops* have been large and excellent; and the *apples* every where abundant, and unusually large. The *grapes* (in the *quantity* of which Surrey, I verily believe, surpasses Champagne) are now nearly ripe in many places; and the crops are prodigious. At one house, in the parish of Farnham, there are, against the dwelling-house, against the hop-kilns, and against other buildings appertaining to the farm, grapes I should think which will weigh *half-a-ton*; many of the bunches will weigh from 3 to 5 or 6 pounds. Looking, yesterday morning, up one side of my farm-house, seeing it covered with fine grapes, and seeing the ground below, up to the wall itself, covered with Cobbett-corn, the stalks loaded with ears and nearly ripe; thus looking and seeing, and turning round and seeing Wanborough farm-house, at only a mile from me, I said to myself, What but the *devil*, or *female infatuation*, could have induced Birkbeck to traverse the seas, and after them the wild mountains of America in search of *rich land!* The *latter cause* is the greatest demolisher of men's sense; Satan may be overcome, and the party assailed left at large, but for the latter there is no remedy short of a razor, a rope, a mill-pool, a madhouse, or *almost starvation*.

Birmingham, 10. *Sept*., 1834.

THE turnips and grass have been equally fine all the way along, except on some of the thin soil in Oxfordshire, where there is never any grass, and where, I suppose, the turnips are never good.

This is a year of *real plenty.* The *hops* at Farnham (and, I suppose, in the other hop counties) exceed all that I ever saw before, both in quantity and quality. This town and its environs are always delightful to all those who are fit to live; that is to say, to those who admire the most beautiful scenery accompanied with the most fertile lands; for those who are insensible to these are mere lumps of flesh and skin and bone, not coming within the confines of humanity. In my rambles over this world, and always with my eyes open, I, seeing so many spots to admire, and to thank God for having made, had almost forgotten the spot first trodden by my then little feet. But now, being planked down, for the rest of my life, within 6 miles of that spot, and having frequent occasions to go thither, and to view it in all its bearings, I am convinced, that it is the very finest spot that God, in his goodness, ever made. Arthur Young, after making an agricultural survey of England, decided that the space from Farnham to Alton was the finest and richest *ten miles* in England. He must have begun eastward at *Bourne Mill*; else it is only *nine miles*; and then I join with him in opinion; for here is every thing: coppices, trees, corn-fields, meadows, hop-gardens, orchards, gardens, flowers, neat houses covered with grape-vines, a people (though they do go to bed a little too late) well fed, well dressed, and able at work.

At all seasons beautiful, this spot is peculiarly so at this time; the peach and cherry orchards of Long [illegible] the fields of lofty corn of Pennsylvania these are very beautiful; but nothing to be compared with hop-gardens in a year like this, when the hops (on poles from 14 to 20 feet high) of a whitish yellow, are hanging down amongst fresh and deep green leaves, those leaves varying in their dimensions, and the hops distributed amongst them in a manner to exhibit both to the greatest possible advantage. This sight sweeps the Long Island orchards and Pennsylvania cornfields from one's mind; and, as to *vineyards*, they are at even a little distance, mere masses of green stuff tied to hedge-stakes.

There is, too, an association of ideas here, which, though of a more vulgar character, by no means tends to lessen the pleasure derived from this sight; namely, the *value of the crop*, which will this year be, on an average, in this parish, not less, I should think, than 150*l.* the statute acre. They say, that there will be 30 *hundred weight* on an acre in some particular gardens! This circumstance adds greatly to the pleasure of those who view the above-described scene; except, indeed, in the minds of such persons as those who, when reckoning the gains of the hop-planters, wish to have them in their own pockets; and to such persons I do not address myself. To wish for another man's strength, agility, or talents, is excusable; but to wish to have his *money* is the sure mark of a dirty soul.

Birmingham, 11. *Sept.*

This people must certainly be dead, or bed-ridden; for it is a quarter past five and not a living creature can I see, or hear, except "*the boots*" of this "*Hen and Chickens inn*," who, upon my asking him what was become of all the swarms of people, exclaimed, "*Why, sir, it is but just past five!*" "Well," said I, "but have you any *law* here, any '*reformed* municipal,' or Bourbon-police code, emanating from 'the '*spirit of the age*,' that shuts people 'up in their houses in this manner?" He did not understand me, and went away about his business. "A boots" is, in one of these inns, what a goose is in a farm-yard, *always awake*, and always beginning to move as soon as any one else (no matter who or what) is on the stir. This is the only fault in my town's people of Farnham, *all* of whom I find a-bed, if I go thither at the time that I best like to go. They are not lazy, but they *go to bed too late.* What I have been writing here, the reader may say, is of no use; but, be that as it may, I am *to* go to a farm in the neighbourhood at nine o'clock; I have to get my breakfast and to do some other busi-

ness before I go to the farm; and if I had not gone to bed in good time I could not have written this. I hope it is not necessary for me to tell my readers, that, if I had taken the too common dose of *brandy and water*, going to bed early would have been of no use.

NEWS FOR THE BULL-FROGS

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 6. Sept. 1834.

SIR,—The two last market days here for the sale of corn were on Tuesday and to-day, on which days the price of wheat was *lower than was ever remembered,* namely, from 9s to 9s. 6d. per Newcastle boll (of two Winchester bushels) for wheat of the first quality, weighing about 60 lbs. per bushel; inferior qualities were as low as 7s. per Newcastle boll. These facts I deem of sufficient importance to make you acquainted with them; they are ruinous to the farmer as their farms are taken, and I am afraid their landlords either will not, or cannot, make such an allowance as to enable them to pay their way.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
W. CAIL.

To Mr. Wm. Cobbett, M. P.

WHAT NEXT? WHO CAN TELL!!!

(*From the Times, 11 Sept.*)

THE return of the exportation of the precious metals for the last week from this port, which is annexed, presents one entirely novel feature—namely, that of an exportation of gold to India having taken place. Such an occurrence has not happened for 12 or 13 years though persons conversant with the monetary transactions between the two countries have for some months past been led to anticipate such a result The first indication which fell under their notice was a cessation of the supply from thence, which was followed by a rise in the exchange, and a notice from the East India Company of a higher rate for the rupee, in sterling value, for bills drawn on India. Much speculation is exercised on the probable consequence of this change, and it is generally anticipated that having begun, it must go on to a considerable extent, and prove a new drain on the Bank, just relieved from the demand in the United States, at least equal to it in extent. At present the amount exported, as will be seen, is very trifling. With respect to Portugal, if, as was constantly believed yesterday, the supply of last week was the whole wanted for putting the circulation of that country into a healthy state, it must be allowed to be a very considerable one, the total value not being less than 160,000*l*. The agents appear, therefore, not to have been seriously embarrassed by the difficulties thrown in their way at the Bank of England. A report is current in the city—by the way, almost too idle to deserve any serious mention,—that these difficulties originated in the jealousy of the directors of the Bank of England at seeing a country like Portugal, under the management of the Bank of Lisbon, with the prospect of establishing a purer currency than their own, though semi-barbarous in financial matters, and but just emerged from the horrors of a civil war. The following are the exportations:—

Gold to India	1,365	ounces.
Ditto to New York ..	9,271	
Ditto to Hamburgh ..	590	
Ditto to Mauritius ..	500	
Ditto to Lisbon	34,000	
Total......	45,726	
Value about	£182,000	
Silver to Hamburgh ...	3,400	
Ditto to Lisbon	96,560	
Ditto to Constantinople	4,822	
Ditto to Cadiz	40,000	
Ditto to Van Dieman's Land	2,000	
Total......	146,782	
Value about	£36,000	
Together	£218,000	

PAPER-MONEY.

(*From the Newcastle Press.*)

The present state of money matters has amongst other marvels, produced an effect amongst the Scotch banks, which to those who remember how loudly this "Scotch system" has been lauded and be-praised, is not a little ludicrous. This Scotch system is neither more nor less than this: these banks advance money to traders not only upon such bills or available securities, as the traders may have to pledge, or discount but also upon a system of what they have dubbed "cash credits," which cash credit consists in a man's getting one or more of his neighbours to be securities, conjointly with himself, for such advance as the banker may make to him beyond a certain point—after which his own security is not deemed sufficient. The consequences of this system are twofold, 1. That by this means the banker may, with tolerable safety, push his circulation further than be otherwise could have done, inasmuch, as in case of any difficulty with his principal, he has recourse to the collateral securities, and thus often gets paid in full, whilst the other creditors of the parties, get little or nothing. 2nd. That where this system is prevalent in a community, the whole body becomes *banker-ridden* to a degree of slavishness, hardly possible to be conceived by those who have not actually witnessed it. Never was there a system of more complete tyranny: and to say any thing that may displease any man, woman, child, dog, or cat, in any way connected with "a bank," is a piece of rashness, no Scotchman ever ventures upon, proverbially hot-headed as he is. This is the secret of Scotch banks having no runs upon them. To doubt the stability of a Scotch bank is to be excommunicated in Scotland; and, when under extreme circumstances, a run has taken place, it has never been for coin. The suspected establishment has always, whilst it paid at all, paid in the notes of some other bank, and thus coin is a thing almost unknown north of the Tweed; and to ask for gold at a banker's counter, in payment of one of his own notes, is to do as it were some forbidden thing. We shall never forget the description of an English friend of ours of the "Sir" with which he was greeted upon his asking for "payment" of a parcel of the notes of one of the Scotch banks—the power of this bankocracy was perhaps most amusingly exemplified on the occasion of the extinction of one-pound notes in England. Many of the English banks were sufficiently averse to the scheme, but their opposition was powerless. Lack a day! In Scotland the one-pound "notes" almost raised a third rebellion; never was nation so unanimous. One would have thought that all Scotland, land, people, and all, hung upon these "notes"; and that the whole country would fall down in a fit if they were withdrawn. It was in vain to tell them that gold and silver to the amount of the notes withdrawn would of necessity circulate; and that whether it were paper or not paper, their currency must assimilate to that of England. Not a word would they hear, the loss of the notes would "cripple" the "accommodation" power of the banks, though with the same breath they boasted that so rich were these banks that they had "twenty millions" in the funds. Sir Walter Scott, who at that time was over head and ears in accommodation paper, led the van: and coin was effectually "banished from Scotland," where the "one-pound notes" circulate in full glory to this day.

In this state of matters the doings of President Jackson have made a sad diruption. Gold is now at a premium in the United States, and though no resident Scotchman dared for his ears go and demand a sovereign of a banker. This was not the case with an American captain of a packet, or with the emigrants, about to sail with him with the wise resolve of leaving the English "debt" and "taxes" behind them. The consequence is, that at Glasgow, and even at Edinburgh, the people's hair is all on end at seeing an actual demand for the King's coin; and the "notes" are getting "so fond of home," that the issuers

are invoking "legal tenders" or any thing that will preserve them from this unusual gold mania, so foreign to thei habits. Upon the back of all this th *Times* has let out that the *Legal Tender Bill* has been so clumsily got up as no to include the five-pound note country circulation. Bank of England pape can, it seems, only be tendered in payment of sums "*above* five pounds," so that any one having a parcel of five-pound country notes has only to present them one by one to get gold for them! It is important that this should be generally known both by bankers and their customers, as the bulk of the paper cir culation consists of notes for five pounds. The *Times* quotes the clause of the Act which is quite conclusive of the facts.

In London the money market remains nearly as it was last week. Exchequer bills are however lower, the premium being 35 to 37 shillings only.

The next publication of bank assets, &c. ought to be due about this time we think, we look for it with some curiosity and some anxiety. In the meantime the price of wheat we suspect is beginning to feel the effect of President Jackson's operations. We wish no harm to the landlords, but we do wish harm and great harm too, to the system. Let the landlords once revolt, and that system is destroyed; the measures of Jackson are adding immensely to the chances of that revolt: we, therefore, pray for success to the President and his excellent adherents, and we urge them to go on without pause until no bank-note under one hundred dollars circulate in the United States, these only being issued by separate, distinct, and independent States banks. It will be such a retribution as Providence has seldom inflicted if the English boroughmongers' system be at last destroyed by its own paper-money, and the acts of American republicans. Gracious God! what ought not the world to give for such a lesson!

T. D.

POOR-LAWS.

LETTER VI.

I saw the rulers of the land,
In chariots, bright with gold,
Roll on; I gazed, my babes and I,
In hunger and in cold.

I saw a prelate, sleek and proud,
Drawn by four chargers, pass.
Ah! how unlike to Jesus meek
Who rode upon an ass.

A trinket of a lord came by,
Deck'd in his rich array,
And waiv'd me off, my babes and I,
As things of coarser clay.

There followed close a hideous throng
Of pert and pensioned things:
Muck-worms, for whom our flesh and blood
Must furnish gilded wings.

I will not tell you what I thought;
Nor for my burning looks
Find words; but they were stronger far,
Than aught that's writ in books.

I'll set my right foot to a stone,
Against a rock my back;
Thus stretch my arms, and sternly say,
"*Give me my birthright back*"

Chaunts of the People.

Dunfermline, 31. *Aug.*, 1834.

Poor Man's Friend,—Malthus says, "Leave them to the punishment of nature": and to this we answer, we have no objections to be so left, but first, "give us our birthright back." Give us our share, our equal proportion of the lands on which we were born: give us full reward for our labour; and allow us to retain all the goods we produce; and we ask no provision by poor-laws: if, with all the powers and the means which nature so kindly confers, we neglect or abuse these, by all means leave us to her punishment. But if the gifts of nature, are wrested from us; if the land which God made for and gave to us all, is monopolized by the descendants and assignees of a few Norman robbers, or of the Robin Hoods or Rob Roys, with their Little Johns and Dougal Creturs of barbarous times: if a large proportion of the fruits of our labour is absorbed by idle pensioners, sinecurists, fundholders, rag-money-makers, useless and much *worse* than useless officers, soldiers, seamen, and it in consequence of ignorant and wicked

legislation in which we have no share with low wages and little employment we have not even the means of comfortable living in youth, health, and ful employment; how unjust, how cruel, how monstrous, how insulting, how audacious is it in the idle, high-fed, voluptuous villains to talk of leaving u who keep them, of leaving us, in age sickness, or want of employment, *not* (brutes!) "to the punishment of na- "ture," but to the neglect, contempt, and scorn of the very men whom we have supported!

The *mathematical* politicians of the Bentham and *Westminster Review* schoo teach, that the object of society and government is, "the greatest happiness to the greatest number": whereas, it ought to be, *the greatest happiness to each, and to all.* The New Zealanders, as Mr. Rogers has so neatly observed, act on the Benthamite philsosophy; when the greater number eat up the smaller number: and the Westminster rump have persuaded our legislators to apply their own narrow and fallacious principle to the institution of poor-laws. "The "greatest misery, (say they in effect), to "the fewer in number (the paupers), in "order that the greater number may "have the greater enjoyment." And, thus babble the mathematical economists, "It is good that one class (as the "hand-loom weavers) be sacrificed to "the interests of other classes." But, in working their political problems, is it right to exclude, as they do, the essential element of JUSTICE? And, what is "happiness"? Does it consist solely in wealth? Are social peace and sympathy nothing? Has God made us *brutes*, that we could enjoy, while we knew that our "happiness" necessarily involved the misery of others? Or, even on selfish principles, is the gratification of cupidity a sufficient compensation for the loss of security? Can the property of the rich be secure in the midst of a starving and irritated population? And *would not security be purchased at a cheaper price by a poor-rate, than by an army and police tax*? These and other political problems are not solvable by rule, compass, and pencil; nor to be illustrated by circles, squares, and triangles: such questions are not to be answered by learned feelosofers, aristocratic toad-eaters, and Jew-clerks; but by the common sense, reason, and experience of thinking, sensible, practical men; and such men are not to be found in universities, club-houses, or even in knowledge-diffusing societies; but must be sought for in farm-houses, factories, and work-shops.

Had any thing been wanting, sir, to convince the people that a ten-pounders' Parliament will not do, this Poor-Law Bill must be more than sufficient for that purpose. Its having passed into a law shows, that the legislature has no just sense of the rights of property, nor sympathy with the people: should its provisions not be carried into effect, the members of both Houses must appear as "incapables": should they be enforced, a total revolution in property and government must be the consequence.

To mitigate, in this case, the horrors of a temporary anarchy, if it be impossible altogether to prevent it, and to ensure the establishment of a better system, it is of the utmost importance that the people, the *working people*, who must be the arbiters of the nation's fa e, should be fully informed; and have their minds steadily fixed on the first principle of social organization: this I beg leave to repeat is, *The greatest happiness to each, and to all.* And, it follows as a necessary deduction, and as the first principle of government, that *the rights of electing representatives, and of being elected as such, belong to each and to all.*

If I could admit any principle of exclusion, it would be the exclusion of the *rich*; of those who may have the power o oppress: landlords, bankers, fundholders, and great merchants and manufacturers: and, if *rent* could be admitted as a test of qualification or exclusion, I might recommend the exclusion of all renters above ten pounds from the elective franchise; and the exclusion from Parliament of any proprietor above the value of three hundred pounds of yearly income. To exclude from the constituency and the representation, the greater number; nay, an immense ma-

jority of the national community; and to commit the entire management of the national concerns to an oligarchy, consisting of a mere fraction, how preposterous, how absurd, how monstrous!

The great body of the working people now feel, that they are plundered and enslaved by the idle: a "rural war" is horrible to think of; and trades' unions can effect but little; let the workies therefore direct their attention to one object, and concentrate all their energies for its attainment—*a full representation of the whole people in Parliament.* When this is obtained, and not sooner, we shall have poor-laws, and all other laws, in accordance with the principles of reason and justice.

Poor man's friend,
I am,
Your friend and servant,
THO. MORRISON, sen.

Mr. W. Cobbett, M.P.

P. S. "The Lord Chancellor visits the "Duchess, Countess of Sutherland, at "Dunvobin Castle, and *has expressed a "strong desire to witness the improve-"ments effected in Sutherland.*"—*Inverness Courier.* Mark that! Had we his Lordship where we had the honour of Mr. Cobbett's company, what daggers to his soul we would speak!

POOR-LAW ACT AND LEGAL TENDER.

Lord Brougham in his speech at Inverness prognosticates that the practical reforms carried in the next session will be fewer than in the last. The fulfilment of this prediction depends altogether upon circumstances. Man is not always the subject of indolence and apathy: his Creator has endowed him with passions; and in free countries public spirit now and then becomes the master passion. Judging from the last session, we might pronounce the prospect of practical reform small indeed; but we fall back on what was our consolation in worse times:

Fond, impious man! Think'st thou yon impious cloud
Raised by thy breath, has quenched the orb of day?
To-morrow he repairs the golden floods
And warms the nations with redoubled sway.

Lord Brougham may rest satisfied that the time will undoubtedly come when the representatives of the ten-pounders will not drivel. The exact time it would be absurd to attempt to fix; but there are elements at work which may make it nearer at hand than the upholder of all the great abuses of the State may choose to imagine. The Poor-Law Bill, if executed according to the intention of the legislature, will be one of those elements; and another will be the act making the Bank of England notes a legal tender.

The English papers are beginning to give us some information about the state of the paper-money; and the landowners are beginning to announce that they will not receive from their tenants, in payment of rents or other accounts, any local or joint-stock bank-notes.

The quantity of bills of exchange has very largely increased; and discounts are effected with remarkable facility. It is stated that very great quantities of joint-stock bank-notes, dated at small paltry towns all over the country, are forced into circulation in Lancashire, a large portion of which are believed to be issued in the discount of bills of exchange, or in the making of advances on current accounts, with which sagacious private bankers would consider it expedient to decline having any thing to do; and in the West Riding of Yorkshire the case is incomparably worse. There the undue facility of credit, and the quantity of paper in circulation, are stated greatly to exceed the extent at the disastrous period of 1825.

It is supposed to be in consequence of this state of things that the Bank of England have raised the rate of discount to 4 per cent. generally, with an additional commission when the discount is given to any country bank. That the general rate of discount is more than 4 per cent. is evident from the fact that the bill brokers are allowing 4 per cent. upon deposits. Notwithstanding these

coincidences with the circumstances of 1825, we do not consider it certain that the commercial convulsion will take place in the course of the present year. The measures of the Bank of England may have the effect of checking the evil before it has properly come to a head; and this is the more probable, inasmuch as the English bankers can scarcely have fairly availed themselves as yet of the license to issue notes without being bound to pay them in gold

Perhaps the next session of Parliament in place of being taken up with practical reform, may be occupied almost exclusively in attempting to rectify the dreadful blunders of the last two sessions.—*Glasgow Chronicle.*

MORE GAB.

BROUGHAM AT INVERNESS.

The Lord Chancellor arrived in Inverness about half-past four o'clock on Wednesday last. The magistrates, a large number of the inhabitants, and the trades' incorporations, with their banners displayed, were waiting to receive him. The Highlanders received his lordship with similar cheering to that with which they hailed Prince Charles Stewart, the Pretender, and of course with the same discrimination.

Shortly after five o'clock, Lord Brougham entered the Northern Meeting Rooms, accompanied by the magistrates, for the purpose of being presented with the freedom of the town. An immense concourse of persons were present, who received the Chancellor with loud cheers. After the Provost read the address which had been got up for the occasion, his lordship was presented with a burgess's ticket, conferring on him the freedom of the burgh.

"Lord Brougham then presented himself to the meeting, and was loudly cheered. He was conscious that it was not owing to any personal merits that he had received this mark of distinction at their hands. First of all, he owed it to the circumstance that he had the honour of serving a monarch who lives in the hearts of his subjects. He had enjoyed the honour of serving that prince four years, and during that time he had experienced from his Majesty only one series of gracious condescension, confidence and favour. To find that he lived in the hearts of his loyal subjects in the ancient and important capital of the Highlands, as it had afforded him (Lord Brougham) only pure and unmixed satisfaction, would, he was confident, be so received by his Majesty, when he (Lord Brougham) told him, as he would do by that night's post (cheers) of the gratifying circumstance. 'Gentlemen,' added his lordship, 'it was not always so in this part of his Majesty's dominions; but the people have other things now to do than consider whether this family or that family should rule over them; they are quite content to live under one family in peace and freedom. (Great cheering). If I have any personal claim to the honour you have done me it must arise from my having taken part in certain great public questions within the last quarter of a century. I allude to negro emancipation, to the abolition of the detestable traffic in slaves, to Reform in Parliament and in our municipalities, and to that without which all other reforms are of no avail, the education of the people. (Cheers). To those questions I have been a zealous friend, and I will continue the same so long as life is preserved to me. In doing so I meet with nothing but support, kindness, and assistance, from the worthy and powerful part of the community; from others I meet with nothing but revilings, misrepresentation, and calumny. I cannot say that these have any effect on me, for in truth I regard them with perfect indifference. The people now think for themselves, and will not take opinions from others, be they priests, peers, or printers; at the same time reverencing their priests, honouring their peers, and taking every opportunity—and God knows they cannot go to a better source—of deriving information from the liberty of the press and the fullest and most unrestrained discussion.' (Loud cheers). His lordship then adverted to the topics touched upon in the address

read by the Provost, in all of which he heartily concurred. One of the first measures of next Session will be the improvement of the municipal corporations of England, for Scotland is much superior in this respect to the sister country. Government will go on improving, but they will not make one step till they are sure of the ground on which they made the former. They will not legislate rashly or unadvisedly. I have heard, but with entire indifference, all the arguments brought forward against us. One set accuse us of doing too much, and another of doing nothing. I believe they are honest in the bulk, both one and the other. One set say we move too slowly, that is safely; the other as pertinaciously contend that we are going too fast. One set, from honest prejudices, are against all improvements, because they are satisfied with things as they are, and believe they cannot be made better. I respect them, but differ from them. Another set think we never do any thing. You open the trade to China and you abolish slavery, (which were the work of one session), and yet we are told that session did nothing. *My own opinion is that we have done too much rather than too little*, though it was necessary to do justice, and lay the foundations of future good government. Less was necessarily done last session than the former, because if you open the trade to China one year, you do not want to open it the next. If you set the slaves free in 1833, there are no slaves to liberate in 1834. If you reform the Court of Chancery in one session of Parliament, the same task is not left to the succeeding session. Yet we have done something lately. We have made some useful reforms in the law, and above all, we have carried reformation into a system which you in Scotland are happily free from; a system mischievous in itself, and still more mischievously administered; I allude to the poor-laws. If Government had done nothing else in ten years it would have deserved well of the country. *If we have done little last session, I fear we shall do less in the next.* But what we do will *be done well*, because it will be *done carefully*; it will be useful in doing—it will be wearable, and not done in a heap, ill adapted and useless, if not worse. These are my opinions, gentlemen. I shall go on in the same manner, regardless of the calumnies with which I may be assailed.' His lordship concluded amidst loud cheers by again thanking the magistrates and those present for the honour conferred on him."

The above is taken from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of the 8. inst., on which occasion the editor of that journal makes the following observations.

"It will be observed from the above proceedings that Lord Brougham eagerly embraced the occasion of being presented with the freedom of Inverness to make such allusions to his public conduct as show how keenly he has smarted under the dreadful punishment which his political tergiversation has called forth from the independent press. The poor fallen creature cannot conceal the perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart. He declares himself the victim of 'revilings, misrepresentation, and calumny,' and alliteratively announces the sources of his sorrows as 'priests, peers, and printers,' all of whom, like Sir Fretful Plagiary, he affects thoroughly to despise, and of course receives castigation from such a quarter with 'perfect indifference.' We are sure that the best public instructor has no animosity against him. The best public instructor finds it necessary to expose his defection from the cause of liberty and policy, in order that the people may be put on their guard against his bad measures. It will be seen from the report that Lord Vaux urged chiefly as the practical reforms of the reform administration, the opening of the trade to China, and the buying from the West India Planters their right in the bones and sinews and souls of their black fellow creatures. No merit can be claimed on the score of the China trade; inasmuch as the Duke of Wellington, some months before he quitted office, had intimated his intention to effect the same measure; and the throwing away of twenty mil-

lions sterling ('a few useless millions') in the name of compensation to the planters, after Lord Vaux had all his life argued that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, would not have been the topic of boast to any man who cared a straw for consistent principle. As parents are generally fondest of their weakest children, so his lordship especially commends the execrable, detestable bill for abridging the comforts of the English poor; and seriously says that if Government had done nothing else in ten years than pass this monstrous bill, it would have 'deserved well of the country.' The storm that will be raised by the English labourers whenever the provisions of this monstrous measure are carried into effect, will show how far its authors have 'deserved well of the country.' His lordship expressed his high satisfaction at finding that there were no Jacobites in the metropolis of the Highlands, and considered it of so much importance that he stated he would write that night by post to his Majesty to inform him of the gratifying circumstance. What contemptible charlatanerie! Lord Brougham, writhing under the infliction of the press, has often been compared to Sir Fretful Plagiary; and this Inverness exhibition comes as closely as possible up to Sheridan's fancy:"

Dangle. Now, Sir Fretful, if you have a mind to have justice done you in the way of answer—Egad, Mr. Puff's your man.

Sir F. Pshaw! sir, why should I wish to have it answered, when I tell you I am pleased at it?

Dangle. True, I had forgot that. But I hope you have not fretted at what Mr. Sneer ——

Sir F. Zounds! no, Mr. Dangle, don't I tell you these things never fret me in the least.

Dangle. Nay, I only thought ——

Sir F. And let me tell you, Mr. Dangle, 'tis damn'd affronting in you to suppose that I am hurt, when I tell you I am not.

Sneer. But why so warm, Sir Fretful.

Sir F. Gadslife! Mr. Sneer, you are as absurd as Dangle; how often must I repeat it to you, that nothing can vex me but your supposing it possible for me to mind the damn'd nonsense you have been repeating to me! And let me tell you, if you continue to believe this, you must mean to insult me, gentlemen; and then your disrespect will affect me no more than the newspaper criticisms; and I shall treat it with exactly the same calm indifference and philosophic contempt; and so your servant.

SWAMPING OF LORD GREY.

The reformers of Edinburgh are not the men we conceive them to be if they give more than a civil reception to the Conservative burgess of Inverness. They will say to him in the words of Scott's Highland heroine, "What are you that have the tongue and the habit of the hound, and yet seek to lie down with the deer?" The mere courtesies of hospitality they cannot be expected to withhold even from an undesired guest, but any thing more will be a sanction of the backward policy avowed at Inverness, and treason to the cause of justice and improvement. Lord Brougham will appear before the Edinburgh reformers branded with his declaration, that too much rather than too little has been done, and that less than the little of the last sterile session is to be expected in the next. Why what parsimony of justice can he propose? What scheme can he have in view for making the little less? To what pauper allowance does he design subjecting the mighty millions of the United Kingdoms, craving the redress of grievances and the correction of abuses? Has he a plan like that of the wiseacre in the old Greek story, who diminished his horse's meal from day to day, in the hope of teaching him to live without food, which rational expectation was disappointed by the death of the starved beast? But the Chancellor makes a worse beginning than the above experimentalist; for, commencing with granting nothing, he promises to do less. The Poor-Law, the Old Bailey Extension,

and the Beer Bill, are the three graces of the past session. With these we had our halcyon days it seems. Fining away from these proportions, "small by degrees and beautifully less," to what are the Ministerial boons of Lord Brougham to come? Reform, like *Echo* in *Ovid*, is to be attenuated till it disappears. It is to be put on pauper allowance, and made to feel the irksomeness of the support it receives at the hands of such Ministers as the Chancellor. This, forsooth, is a cheering prospect, and the people of Edinburgh will know what gratitude is due to the worthy who opens it to them. We are not without hopes that they will invite their guest to explain both how he proposes to do less than the little in the last session for the public contentment (as hair-splitting must have its limits), and also in what sense he asserted that too much had been done.

Has too much been done to relieve the Dissenters from their grievances in respect of registration and church-rates?

Has too much been done for the reform of the church?

Has too much been done for the abolition of impressment and the scourge?

Has too much been done for the purification of the Pension List?

Has too much been done for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and the prevention of corrupt practices in elections?

Has too much been done for the abolition of the injurious corn monopoly?

Surely the friends of Lord Brougham at Edinburgh should ask him whether his words have not been misreported, and whether, instead of "*we* have done too much," the public should not read, "*I* have done too much." The question may be the more easily answered at a dinner, at which Earl Grey will be present, for the ex-Premier is a ready example of the excess of the Chancellor's meddling. If Lord Grey be candid we are certain that he will plainly declare that Lord Brougham has "done too much," and that by "doing too much" he has procured for him (Earl Grey) the retirement from political life which his friends deplore.

At public dinners a song after toasts is customary, and should the name of Lord Brougham be proposed, we would suggest after it the little nursery song,

"Who killed Cock Robin?"

The parody will not be difficult—for example, it may run thus:—

"Who killed Earl Grey?
"I, said Lord Brougham,
"To be Chief in his room,
"I killed Lord Grey."

We admire the modesty of Lord Althorp in keeping away from the Grey entertainment; and there is something very appropriate in his preferring to it the turf society of Doncaster, in which the jockeyship is doubtless learnt of which he has given so very dexterous an example.

The scene at Edinburgh will be curious enough without the presence of Lord Althorp, and the eyes of all the reformers of Great Britain and Ireland will be upon their brethren of the northern metropolis. They will not forget their principles for the smiles of a man high in station, and holding the temptations of patronage. — *Times*, 12. *Sept.* 1834.

WORKING OF THE POOR-LAW BILL.

We thought the Poor-Law Commissioners were busy in filing bills of discovery against the overseers of every parish in the kingdom, insisting upon knowing into how little of flannel petticoat, or coarse plush, a full-sized pauper may be squeezed, and the smallest price at which folks who are ingenious, and who have not the fear of coroner's inquests before their eyes, will contract for the risk of keeping extreme hunger in workhouses and absolute starvation out of them. We were mistaken: they, or one of them, or some of their hangers-on, have found time to abuse us in an evening print because we showed how the industrious rate-payers at Lewes were to be visited with the cost of maintaining the bastards of idle profligates, and how a woman at Greenwich with four children was to taste by spoonfuls the bitterness of starvation

upon 4s. a week: and further, because we called the attention of our readers to a case reported under the head of "Thames Police-office," which case related how the slender pittance of 2s. or 1s. 6d. a week had been totally withdrawn from three poor widows.

These were doubtless heinous sins of ours. But we are hardened in this iniquity. We cannot for the life of us see any thing to chuckle and rub our hands at in the appearance of a naked and hungry poor: and so far from considering that there is aught very pleasing in the wan visage and the shrunken limbs of a starving and houseless fellow creature, we have bad taste and sentimentality enough to think the sight positively disagreeable. No doubt these are weaknesses — unquestionably we have no *philosophy*,—and we dare say that we shall utterly shock this hireling scribe when we tell him, that we lack nerve enough to make cold the widow's hearth, and that we have no ear for the music that his employers find in the cries of famished or half-fed children. —*Times*.

ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER. —About two months ago the manager of a branch of the Bank of England made it his humble request to a country banker that he would supply him with 3,000*l*. in gold, with which the latter immediately complied. A little while after, the country banker having occasion for some gold, applied in turn to the manager of the branch bank; but the answer he received was, that he could have no gold unless he was willing to pay 1-8 per cent. premium for it. It is by such devices that the country bankers are tricked out of their gold, and which gold is then sent up to London to enable the Bank of England to make a splash in its periodical returns. — *Times*.

TO MANCHESTER CORRESPONDENTS.

SEVERAL friends have written, stating their difficulty to obtain books (as they say) of the COBBETT LIBRARY. This difficulty ought *not* to exist; hence, this notice, which would not have been necessary, had they known that, for a long time has been kept, and is still continued to be kept, a general assortment by Mr. HEYWOOD, 81, OLDHAM-STREET, of that *brave* and *spirited* town MANCHESTER.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

ANFOR, C., Cottage Grove, New Peckham, Surrey, builder.
'ROSSER, W. and W., Pitfield-street, Hoxton, linen-drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

.NDREWS, J., Threadneedle-street, stockbroker.
TTREE, W. O., Newbury, Berkshire, draper.
:ENSON, G., Liverpool, innkeeper.
ONNAFFE, F., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, merchant.
NGRAM, C., Salisbury, currier.
'HADRAKE, T. jun., Commercial-road, and Salmon's-lane, coal-merchant.
WALKER, S., Gospel Oak, Staffordshire, iron-master.
WINN, C., Birmingham, blank-tray-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LLAN, R. and A. Wright, Edinburgh, bankers.
THOMPSON, W., Kinross, writer.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

INEY, J., Crouch-end, Hornsey, carpenter.

BANKRUPTS.

ADDY, J., Sheffield, table-knife-manufacturer.
:UTTON, J. E., St. Pancras, near Chichester, coach-maker.
GALLAWAY, J., Bronti-place, East-street, Walworth, cheesemonger.
HOUSE, W., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, wine-merchant.
LAW, E., Lower Thames-street, and Stoke Newington-road, West Hackney, salt-merchant.
M'GREGOR, J., Clayton-vale, Lancashire, calico-printer.
:ICH, W. H., Joiners'-hall-buildings, winechant.
ROWLAND, G., Plymouth, innkeeper.
'ARTAIN, T., Holt, Wiltshire, cattle-salesman.

TANNER, J., Reading, Berkshire, silk-thrower.
TRONSON, R., Liverpool, merchant.
WATSON, J., Milton-terrace, Southwark-bridge-road, baker.
WATSON, W., Great Easby, Cumberland, cattle-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HARVEY, T., jun, Glasgow, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 8.—The supplies of Wheat from the home counties, particularly from Kent, have been more moderate than any week since the harvest. Many of the fresh samples of new Corn this morning proved inferior in quality, and out of condition. The finer descriptions, however, only met with a slow sale at the rates of last Monday, while all other descriptions were difficult of disposal even had lower terms been accepted, and at the close of the market only a very limited clearance had been effected. The inquiry for bonded Wheat being generally at prices below the currency, have led to little actual business.

The supplies of old Barley continue very limited, which meet sale at the previous prices. There were several samples of new Barley at market, which again exhibited much disparity of quality; the stained and steely parcels brought from 30s. to 32s., and the Malting and Chevalier from 35s. to 38s.; at the latter price the Chevalier was a bright and fine sample.

Malt remained heavy sale, and the season is not sufficiently advanced for maltsters to commence working.

Oats have been throughout the week as well as this morning in very moderate supply. The trade, however, though not animated, was firm; good fresh corn being worth freely the rates of last Monday. With the exception of a partial inquiry for Oats to export, the article meets little or no speculative attention.

New Beans were dull sale, and rather lower. Old qualities sustained no alteration.

White Peas in limited demand, and Gray and Maple, though saleable, barely supported last Monday's rates.

The Flour trade remained dull, and ship Flour, being in short supply, underwent no further depreciation in value.

During the past week the principal exports have consisted of 1,181 quarters of Wheat to Lisbon; and 1,000 quarters of Oats to the Mauritius.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
—— White	50s. to 54s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
—— West Country red	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	38s. to 42s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
—— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 36s.
—— Chevalier	40s. to 42s.
—— Distilling	30s. to 33s.
—— Grinding	28s. to 31s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
—— Ware	58s. to 64s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 40s.
—— Maple	38s. to 42s.
—— White Boilers	36s. to 44s.
Beans, Small	36s. to 40s.
—— Harrow	31s. to 37s.
—— Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
—— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
—— Poland	22s. to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
—— —— Potato	25s. to 27s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 26s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 23s.
—— —— Potato	23s. to 24s.
—— —— Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.	
York	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.	
Single ditto	44s. to 48s.	
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.	
Derby	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.	
Cumberland	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, September 8.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep and Calves was moderately good; its supply of Lambs and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, owing perhaps to advanced prices being pretty generally and stifly demanded, throughout very dull. With the primest small Beef at an advance of from 2d. to in some few instances, 4d. per stone; with the larger and inferior kinds of Beef, as also with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Short-horns, and Herefords: and the remainder of about equal numbers of Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with perhaps a 100 Townsend Cows, a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep were New Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth

about equal numbers of Kents, Kentishhalf-breds, horned and polled Norfolks, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs—the whole of which were supposed not to exceed 4,000, were new Leicesters of different crosses; about a fourth South Downs, and the remainder Dorsets, with a few pens of Somersets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 2,400 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Short-horns and Herefords, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with a few Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts: about 200, chiefly Scots, with a few Norfolk home-breds, Devons, and runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 140, chiefly Devons, runts, and Herefords, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 30, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Sussex and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Towns-end Cows, from the marshes, &c. near London.

THE FUNDS.

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TO MRS. EWING, 40, GEORGE-STREET, FEMALE AGENT FOR GLASGOW.

MADAM,—The great opposition your cause is meeting with, and the heroic firmness with which Mr. Moat is withstanding all his antagonists at every quarter, is at present attracting public attention; but as your cause is good, being founded on truth, you must prevail. I am not in the least degree prejudiced in favour either of the one party or the other; I paid all the doctors I applied to, as I did you also for the Pills. I am no agent, nor in any way interested, farther than feeling grateful for the singular benefit which had been derived from your medicines in my family, when every other means had been tried and proved useless; and for the information and benefit of others in distress, I now add another open attestation, to confirm the many already given, proving the superior quality of Morison's medicines. In a former letter to you, bearing date May 28, 1833, I stated the extraordinary case and cure of my daughter, Jane Gardner, a child then seven years of age, who had been given up as incurable by many of the most famed medical gentlemen both in town and country. When under your treatment, she took no less than forty-four pills each day for four weeks regularly, then lowered the doses, and dropped the medicines, as formerly stated, being perfectly recovered. I need only now say, in reference to her, that she is still in perfect health, and using no medicine. But another child of mine, two years of age, was lately seized with meazles, and was very ill, we gave her the Pills alone, four each day, and she recovered. The same child was afterwards affected with scarlet fever, and swelling over the whole body; again we applied to the Pills only, increasing and lowering the doses as the case required, and I am happy to inform you that she is perfectly recovered. Morison's medicines are, and shall be, our family physician being firmly persuaded that if they do not cure in any case, or under any circumstances, nothing else will. We have had no prescribers but yourself—Mr. Moat himself never called—and it has been solely under your superintendence that the cases now and formerly stated have been cured by the Universal Medicines. Your kind attention shall have a lasting claim on our gratitudes, as your medicines and cheering visits have been evidently followed with the Divine blessing on all occasions in my family. Permit me now to inquire, Why is your good cause meeting with such great opposition? If the doctors can do any good, they are at liberty to go on and prosper as long as they can; but if Hygeists do more real good, why should they be prevented from ameliorating the sufferings of those whom the doctors pronounce incurable? I conclude, with wishing you abundant success and victory over your enemies.

I remain, yours most respectfully,

JOHN GARDNER.

Furnishing-shop, 427, *Gallowgate, Glasgow*, 9. *June*, 1834.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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NORTH WALES.

Holyhead, 14. *Sep.*, 1834.

MY VOICI, agreeably to my promise, intending to be in Dublin to-morrow evening, 15. September, as I at first proposed.

I came by the mail from Birmingham (150 miles in fifteen hours), and a pleasanter coach to ride in I never saw, and it was as fine a day as eyes ever beheld: its rival has just commenced, for the sun in all his glory is just rising, and darting his beams over the waters, which divide and subdivide the little strips of land which constitute this part of this little Island of Anglesea.

The turnips and grass exceedingly good all through Shropshire, and as long as there were any turnips. About OSWESTRY they wholly ceased; and we got amongst mountains, which grew worse and worse, more and more mere rocks; those rocks more and more craggy; those crags more and more hideous; till, at last, I actually shut my eyes, in order not to see them any more; unfortunately for my taste, the moon came and followed up the sun, so that even night gave me no deliverance. What a contrast with the spot that I left last Tuesday evening! There they were gathering in the ropes of hops; and there the grapes (white and black) were hanging on the sides of all our houses, while on two sides of mine, the Cobbett-corn plants were standing close up to the walls, loaded with ears of corn, nearly fit to gather in! Never was a truer saying than that, "One half of "the world does not know how the "other half lives."

Of "Welsh cattle" I have seen, in my time, hundreds of thousands. They now go over Normandy Common in droves of a thousand, or more, in a drove, on their way to the fairs in Kent and Sussex, where they are great favourites; and, if kept to a proper age, they make very fine oxen and very good milch cows, whole dairies of which are to be seen in those counties and in the weald of Surrey. I have now seen the *beginnings* of these cattle. These mountains have, generally, little plots, or strips of earth, on their bases, or in the narrow valleys that wind about amongst these endless heaps of ugly rock. These plots grow grass, and that grass is excellent. On one of these you see a little stone house, not a tenth part so big as any one of ten thousand *individual stones*, that lie by the side of the road. Somewhere near this little stone house (with a window about as wide as your hat), you see a little hay-stack, containing, perhaps, a ton; and thatched and bound over with bands in such a manner as to tell *what sort of weather*

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

it has to stand. Then, somewhere abou the place, you see a little black cow or two, and one or more weaning calves about the size of a Newfoundland dog These, according to the capacity of the owner, are sold to the *drovers* or *jobbers* at one, two, or three years old. As they increase in age they move or towards England, and towards that food which is not to be had at their homes; and thus they come off at last, two, three, or four years old, to work, to be fatted, or give milk, and fat calves, in the south of England, where they cannot be *raised* with profit. Hence the herds of fine oxen, with which I have seen the rich marshes in Kent and Sussex covered over; and hence the fine teams of oxen, which plough and harrow and roll no small part of the lands at the foot of the South Downs. If one of those careful and laborious and frugal Welsh women, who raise these cattle, could see one of her diminutive calves become a fat ox in PEVENSEY LEVEL; or if she could see six or eight of them in the wealds, drawing a timber carriage with ten tons weight upon it, what would be her surprise!

"*Dear* is that shed to which his soul conforms,
"And *dear* those rocks that lift him to the storms."

Upon my soul, Dr. GOLDSMITH, I do not believe you here. He *bears* them, to be sure; they are his *lot* and his *all*; he knows of nothing better; but, you never shall persuade me, that they are as *dear* to him, that he has so much *pleasure* in contemplating them, as the Sussex chopstick has in contemplating his neat garden, his borders of flowers, his grape-vine-covered cottage, and all the appurtenances of his dwelling-place. No; nor have these arid scenes the effect of inspiring frankness and generous feelings, as scenes of fertility and plenty have. The *habit* of setting a high value on things of little value is very good to form a prudent man, an usurer, or a miser; but not good to form a frank and generous man. And in support of this my *philosophy* I appeal to the *Americans*, who never know, or think of, *want*; and who scorn to disguise any sentiment that they entertain; who will speak of their pecuniary embarrassments without the least reserve; who will confess even their deficiency in courage, if it exist; and whose hospitality and disregard of its effects on their property are notorious to all who know them. Merciful and even kind to their deadliest enemies; and brave and patriotic as any portion of God's creation! Curious, too, that natives of all other countries *catch the character* when they go thither. It is *the absence of the fear of want*; it is that *plenty*, which God has said shall be at once the source and the reward of virtue: and, while these facts stare us in the face, a set of hard-hearted villains, bred in the arid and beggarly parts of the north, are hatching projects to reduce the people of the south to "*a coarser sort of food*"!

Be this as it may, however, I have, for *my part*, no idea of *picturesque beauty* separate from *fertility of soil*. If you can have *both*, as on the banks of CLYDE, and on the skirts of the *bays* and *inlets* in Long Island, then it is delightful: but, if I must have *one* or *the other*,

any body may have the *picturesque beauty* for me.

The *people* in Wales are just what we see the milk-women in London. Low in stature, but strong; generally light in their dress; and not filthy in their houses. The young women have small round faces; very fresh coloured; very *pretty*; but it is all *hard*; it is *solid*; it may, in a picture, be *prettier*, perhaps; but it is not *like* the assemblage of softness and sweetness that you see in the faces and in all about the girls in Sussex and Kent Such appears to be the difference between the effect of rearing cattle and of eating them when fat.

From the beginning of Warwickshire I have not seen a grape-vine against a house. They grew *rare* in Berkshire; only *here and there one* in Oxfordshire; but, after that, they wholly disappeared. In 1826, travelling on horseback, I breakfasted on grapes and bread, from Kent to the skirts of Gloucestershire, on the *wolds* of which they quitted me. And at "Lidiard Tregoose" (Lidiard *tres grose*, or *very big*) in Wiltshire, I had them from the side of the little public house, finer than I ever saw them from a glass grapery. This want, added to the want of flowers in labourers' gardens, and this added to the dull uniformity of the surface of the fields, make these grass countries truly dismal to one who comes from the endless variety and bustle of a country of *agriculture*; besides the reflection (and one for a *statesman* it is), that these same grass-lands, if subjected to the plough, would produce *more meat, cheese and butter, wool and hides* than they DO NOW, and *bread too*, to eat with the meat, cheese, and butter, and backs to wear the wool, and feet to wear the hides. NOT more *rent* to the landlord! But, more food and clothing; more wages to labour, and more riches and power to the commonwealth. What, then, I would pass a *law*, would I, to prevent this excess of pasturage? If I would, I should not be in want of a *wise precedent* in the laws made by our wise ancestors; but, I would not; I would proceed by *indirect means*; I would make it the *interest* of the parties to act as I wished.

TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR,

On his reported Speech in the House of Lords, on the 21. July, on the Poor-law Scheme.

LETTER III.

Isle of Anglesea, 14. *Sept.*, 1834.

My Lord,

This is the third letter which I have addressed to you on the subject of your reported speech in the House of Lords, on the 21. of July, in this year, on the poor-law scheme. The two former letters have been republished in the pamphlet form, and I have given leave to the publishers of unstamped publications to republish all these letters, while I have myself done my utmost to cause them to be read in all the parishes of Wiltshire and Berkshire. There will be two more letters after this; and when the whole is finished they will form a volume, which I trust your lordship will live to see outlive this Poor-Law Bill. I have any feeling but that of pleasure in the doing of this; but, and you know

it well, my lord, I have, ever since I took pen in hand, been expressing my abhorrence of the injustice, the cruelty, the ferocity, of those principles which have now been formally promulgated as good, and which have been urged as such in support of this bill; and therefore, were I now to neglect my duty in exposing this measure in every way that I possibly can, and in endeavouring to cause its repeal, I should indeed be that inconsistent wretch which corruption has, for so many years, been falsely representing me to be. Were I, from any personal consideration of any sort, to refrain from discharging this duty, understanding the subject so thoroughly, and seeing the poor lift up their hands to me for help, I should be the basest of all poltroons; I should deserve the contempt of even the contemptible creatures that have been assailing me so long; to say nothing of those judgments of God, of which I should justly incur the infliction on my head.

Thus thinking, I proceed in the performance of my duty; and I have first to remind your lordship, that in my Letter II. I have proved to you, that the very parson whom you applauded for his system had excited the hatred of the whole parish, and at last had had his stacks burnt, as the openly-avowed consequence of his having adopted, and adhered to, the system which it is intended to make general by this law. In my first letter I asserted, *that the necessitous poor had as much right to relief as you had to your estate.* You have a perfect right to your estate; and all the notions of those who hold that men ought to be limited in their possessions I regard as the effect of great foolishness; for, besides the right, I know that it is expedient, that it is for the good of the whole of the community, that there should be some very large estates, and that their extent or magnitude should go on diminishing while their number went on increasing, from your estate down to the cottage of the labourer, and his garden of ten rod of ground. Therefore it is not that I question your right to your estate; but it is that I insist upon the labourer having *a right to relief out of that estate,* when he is in a state of want, which want he cannot himself, either for want of strength, want of sanity, or want of employment, relieve; and I insist, that not only has he this right by *reason* and by *nature*, but that he has it by the law of the land; and that if this prescriptive right be taken from him by act of Parliament, there is an end to the constitution of Government so long established in this kingdom; and that an act of Parliament can *as justly* be passed to take from you your estate.

Now, my lord, *what is it* that constitutes your right to the possession of your estate? You bought the estate, or your predecessors did, or it descended to you from a long line of ancestors. Now observe, no purchase, no ancestry, can give you any right not *originating in a grant*; the law being that all the land belonged to all the community, till *a head of the community was appointed*, and then he, in the name and in the behalf of the community, *granted it to individuals,* but never in *absolute* pro-

prietorship; it was *always* held on certain *conditions*; it was always charged with *certain services* to the state; it was always a species of *tenancy*; the King always reserved a claim to something out of it in one way or another; and though these claims were abolished, for the most part, by act of Parliament, the landowners imposing most unjustly *a tax on the labour of the people in their stead,* still it was not, even by acts of Parliament, made an *absolute* proprietorship.

Very good proprietorship; a thing not to be disturbed if it can possibly be avoided; but a thing that may be disturbed, and with much clearer law than that on which this Poor-Law Bill has been founded; and a thing which I believe will be disturbed, unless this Poor-Law Bill be speedily repealed. To hear the talk about property, which we have been compelled to listen to ever since MALTHUS broached his infamous principles, one would think that every owner of land deemed himself a sort of CREATOR; or at least a possessor immediately appointed by Almighty God. This is a monstrous blunder, but naturally enough the offspring of the insolence of wealth; a most monstrous blunder, as your lordship will see at once, if you look into Baron GILBERT's book on the Common Pleas. You will there see the origin and foundation of your proprietorship; you will see that you are not an *absolute* proprietor; you will see that there is no landed estate, not held by a grant of the chief of the commonwealth; and you will learn that, though the immediate and particular claims of the commonwealth on each estate, have been almost wholly abolished by acts of the Parliament; that they have been abolished by acts of the Parliament only; and that of course they *can all be revised by acts of a Parliament:* you will find from Baron GILBERT that you are not a Creator, and that you hold your estate not immediately from God, but from grants of the commonwealth, and that the people have just as much right, and a great deal more reason, to call for a resumption of your estate for their benefit, as you have, or than you have, to do any act which shall have a tendency to take away their right to relief out of that estate. The book to which I have taken the liberty to refer your lordship, is a book of undoubted authority with all the lawyers of this kingdom. BLACKSTONE, indeed, has said the same; the same has been said in substance, by all the lawyers, upon the nature and rights of property; but no one, as far as my knowledge goes, has treated the matter so fully and so clearly; I take this, therefore, to be undoubtedly the law of the land; and here then is your right to your estate, divested only of a part of the rights of the commonwealth; and so divested only by acts of the Parliament; and those acts, be it remembered, of far younger date; passed but yesterday, in comparison with acts of the Parliament even, recognising the rights of the poor. Fifty years younger, even than the act of ELIZABETH; so that I

distinctly assert that, by the law of the land, the poor have as good a right at the least to relief out of the estate, as you have to the possession of the estate.

And now for the title which the poor have to relief. Need I tell so sensible a man as your lordship, that there always were necessitous poor, and always must be; need I remind your lordship, that the Scripture, in perhaps a thousand places, enjoins, as the most sacred of all duties, that of the rich to take care and to cherish the poor; need I remind your lordship, that God forbids the muzzling of the ox, "as he treadeth out the corn," and that he blasts, with the most terrible of his curses, those who shall withhold from the labourer his hire; need I remind your lordship, that in the division of the land God gave none to the Levites, but gave them a tenth of the produce of all the land, and charged them to distribute that produce in a manner to prevent the poor from wanting; need I remind you, that among the first acts of the apostles, when they got converts and congregations about them, was the appointment of the order of DEACONS, whose sole business it was to attend to the disposal of the oblations of the faithful, and so to dispose of them that the poor might be duly relieved? No: I need remind you of none of these things; you know them all as well as I do; the conduct of your life shows that you have constantly had them in recollection; what then must be my grief to see you at the head of the supporters of a set of Scotch quacks, who blasphemously revile that charity which was always the prominent feature in the precepts of Jesus Christ himself. They deny that there ought to be any institution for the relief, the comfort, or care, of the necessitous poor. Talk of *blasphemy* indeed, these are the most infamous blasphemers that the world ever saw; but monstrous as their blasphemy is, it is all overlooked, because made use of for the purpose of sanctioning a project, the tendency of which is supposed to be to make the working people live upon *coarser food*, and to put a large share of what they now eat and drink into the pockets of the landlords, pretending all the while that it is for the good of those who are thus to be reduced to *coarser food*.

So much for the law of GOD; so much for the lien which, by his express word, the poor are to have upon all the land; so much for the example and the precept of CHRIST and his apostles.

Come we now to the origin of civil society: and here I shall be obliged to repeat in substance what I have many times said in other places; but while it is not plagiarism for a man to borrow from his own writings, it is necessary that I say here what I have said before, because it is for *young men* that I write; those who have not before read, in all probability, and those on whom the helpless part of the community must rely for protection against, or for deliverance from, oppression.

There was a time in England, as well as elsewhere, when there was no civil

society; when there were no laws, except the *law of nature*; that is to say the law of the *strongest* or most cunning. God had given all the land to all the people; there were no nobility, and no parsons, and no landowners. In process of time the people agreed to establish laws to which all men should submit; and then arose what is called property. Industry, labour, and ingenuity, soon obtained lands for the exclusive possession of some men, while others, less laborious or less ingenious, naturally became the working people of those more enterprising individuals. A man became possessed of land because he, or his parents, or relations, had bestowed labour upon it; he became possessed of house because he had built it; he became possessed of animals because he had bred them, and had worked to get the food for them; he became possessed of goods because he had made them, or had given the fruit of his labour to have them made. Thus all property *had its foundation in labour*; and this is a remark which I respectfully beg your lordship to keep in mind.

The law of nature now ceased; it was supplanted by the law of civil society, which, in time, gave all the land to a comparatively few individuals; forbade others to take it from them, or the fruit of it from them; and it destines those others to labour for the proprietors of the land. But, my lord, is it possible that this new state of things, created for the purpose of bettering the lot of the whole, would ever have been adopted, or agreed to, by the whole, if it had been made a condition, that those who possessed the land should keep the fruits of it to themselves in such a way, as to cause those who laboured upon it to starve, or to exist on food fit only for brutes? No; this is not possible: and accordingly we see that, when Moses distributed the land, and made proprietorship in land; when he, under the immediate command of God, created and established a civil society, he retained a tenth part of all the produce of the land, commanding that, out of that tenth part, the necessitous poor should always be provided for; that they should know no suffering from want; and he denounced curses on the heads of those who should attempt to withhold their share from the poor. Indeed, my lord, what is so audacious, what is so brazenly impudent, as the assertion, that a people have not a right to be upon, and secure a living out of, the land upon which they were born, and on which they have either laboured or do labour, or are ready and willing to labour? I could, with an iron bar, smite across the mouth of a hardened Scotch quack ruffian, who would utter a denial like this. Our catechism tells us, "to be content in "that state of life, into which it has "pleased God to call us": and that is right; but the atrociously impudent Parson Malthus tells us, and other wretches, equally atrocious, tell us, that we have no right to be at all, unless by the consent of those who are called the owners of the land.

Thus it was, then, according to the law of God, and thus it must have been, according to the original law of civil society; and, accordingly, Blackstone, the great teacher and expositor

of our laws, tells us, that a permanent and legal provision for the poor, by compulsory assessments, is "founded in the principles of civil society." Let us now come, then, to the laws of our own country, relative to this matter of right to relief by the poor.

The bawling, jawing, half-frantic, plotting, intriguing, restless, presumptuous, empty-skulled, cracked-skulled, villanous-looking, false, double-dealing advocates for reducing the poor to "*coarser food*," and for bringing down the working people of England to the state of the working people of Ireland; these blasphemers and monsters deny that the poor have any right at all to relief; while I assert, that they have as good a right, and a clearer right, than you have to the possession of your estate; and now I am going to prove this, beyond the contradiction of the half-drunk and half-mad, the unprincipled, the profligate, the audacious wretches, who deny this right.

Before the introduction of Christianity into England, in the time of St. Augustine, there were none of those divisions called *parishes*, which word means priestship, which now exist in the country. Before that time, however, the people were all a sort of *servants* of the great landowners; they were their dependents, in one way or another; they were held to the soil, and of necessity they were all maintained out of the soil: every baron, or other holder of estate, took care of his people, and there was no need of any collections for the poor; the inhabitants of each estate formed a *family*, who, of necessity, had their living out of the produce of that estate; and who, like servants in husbandry, were kept in sickness and in health.

When Christianity came to be generally established in the country, and the division of it into parishes took place, the regulations adopted by the Christians in the west of Europe found their way to England; and this regulation was, that the parson of the parish should have the tenth of all the produce of the parish, of every description; that a third part of the produce should go, if so much was wanted, to the relief of the necessitous poor; that another third should go to the building, rebuilding and furnishing, repairing, and ornamenting the church; and that the other third part should be considered as the property of the parson himself. This was the law of the church; and this law continued in force for nine hundred long years, during which time arose the great reputation of England, as being the happiest and finest in the world. Besides this positive regulation, however, the parsons were enjoined, in case of necessity, to apply the whole of the revenues of the living to the relief of the poor, except that part of them which might be wanted to sustain life in their own persons.

I know that the jawing, bawling vagabonds, and that the nasty old rigs of women, whom to touch with a pair of tongs would be quite disgusting enough; I know that these, though some of them call themselves *lawyers*, have the impudence and ignorance to deny that this *threefold distribution* ever existed in England. It was fourfold in a diocese where the bishop was not otherwise

provided for, he having a fourth; but they deny, that threefold or fourfold ever practically existed in England; and the fact is a fact of importance in this present discussion.

In my first letter, I laid this foundation of right out of the question, and confined myself to the foundation afforded by the statute law only. But, will now refer to a law book; to the book that I referred your lordship to before: to Baron Gilbert's Law of the Common Pleas, who has these words: "The revenues of the church, consist-"ing of various descriptions of tithes, "were divided thus: one third part was "taken by the priest, as his own; an-"other third part was applied to the "relief of the poor; and the other third "part to the building and repairing of "the church." Now, my lord, is there any one who has ever been worthy of the name of *lawyer*, and who is not either drunk or mad, who will deny that this book which I have quoted is a book of unquestionable authority with all lawyers and all judges? There is no lawyer but a half-drunk and half-mad one, who will deny this; and I, therefore, assert, and have thus proved, that such was the law of the church, and the common law of the land.

But, the statute law comes to confirm this; comes incidentally; but comes with force irresistible. After the monasteries grew up and had so much power in England, innumerable patrons of livings gave the advowsons to the monasteries, instead of keeping them in their own hands, or leaving them to their heirs. The monasteries, become owners of the advowsons, did not, in many cases, give the livings to parish priests; but sent some one of their own order into each of the livings to perform the duty, leaving him the small tithes, and taking the great tithes to themselves. The priest thus sent by the monasteries, was called a *vicar*, from the Latin word *vicarius*, which means a person deputed, or delegated to act in the place of another: and from this came the vicarages in England. Your lordship knows that I know that you know all this as well as I do; but you will not ask me why I state it, because you know very well, that the cracked-skulled *jawing* feelosofers have made it right and fitting and necessary, that every chopstick in the kingdom should understand the whole of this matter well, in order that the working people may proceed rationally to secure justice for themselves.

In consequence of the above-described application of the tithes, it frequently happened that the monasteries took away the great tithes, and did not leave the vicar enough for his own sustenance, the repairing of the church, and the relieving of the poor. In consequence of this, an act was passed, in the 15. of Richard II., to compel the monasteries to leave a sufficiency for the relief of the poor, "in aid of their living and sustenance for ever." I will quote the whole act, which is quite complete, though not so long as those of the "good old king" and his sons; and here t is.

"Item, Because divers damages and hinderances often times have happened, and daily do happen, to the parishioners of divers places, it is agreed and assent-

"ed, That in every licence from hence- "forth to be made in the Chancery, of "the appropriation of any parish church, "it shall be expressly contained and "comprised, that the diocesan of the "place, upon the appropriation of such "churches, shall ordain, according to "the value of such churches, a conve- "nient sum of money to be paid and "distributed yearly, of the fruits and "profits of the same churches, by those "that shall have the said churches in "proper use, and by their successors, "TO THE POOR PARISHIONERS OF THE "SAID CHURCHES, IN AID OF THEIR "LIVING AND SUSTENANCE FOR EVER; "and also that the *vicar be well and "sufficiently endowed.*"

Now, my lord, this proves beyond all contradiction, that the poor were relieved out of the tithes. Another act, passed in the 4. year of Henry the Fourth, enforces this act, and thus it continued, until the event called the Reformation. And, was the right *enfeebled* by that event? The acts of the 27. and 31. of Henry the Eighth, took away the great tithes from the monasteries, and abolished the monasteries themselves; but those acts expressly reserve the rights of the poor; along with all other rights arising out of the endowments of the monasteries.

Let us come back, however, to the parochial relief. The great tithes were taken from the monasteries and given to lay-persons, and to clerical corporations, by these two acts of Henry the Eighth; but these acts do not in any way repeal, or weaken, the acts of Richard the Second, and of Henry the Fourth; nor were they intended to do this; and though the monasteries were suppressed, the parochial relief to the poor remained just what it had been before, for so many ages. But, next came the Protestant work. The Protestant church was made by the act of the 2. year of Edward the Sixth. That act, 2 and 3 Edward the VI., chapter 1., made this Protestant church; turned out the Catholic priests, and put in the Protestant parsons. Shifted the revenues from the Catholic priests to the Protestant parsons; but said not a word about taking the tithes from the poor; said not a word about repealing the act of Richard the Second; and no act of Parliament ever passed from that day to this, has ever repealed, directly, or indirectly; has ever weakened, in the smallest degree, even by implication; and I venture to assert, in the face of all the jawing, bawling, ugly-looking, wretches, with heads covered with mares'-tails, that this act is law unto this day; and if I live to go into my place in Parliament again, I will move a resolution for the enforcement of this act, which asserts the rights of the poor, and the rights of the middle class of persons, too, who are now taxed for the relief of the poor, because the aristocracy keep the whole of the tithes to themselves.

This is a subject, my lord, which you have chosen to stir up: it has not been of my seeking; it has been forced upon me; and I am resolved, in going through my task, to avail myself of every fact which my mind can suggest, or my nformation can furnish. We never udge so justly as when we *make the case our own*; and, we will presently see

how this act of Richard II. *applies t the affairs of your lordship*! It woul be curious enough to see your lordshi and the poor in the same boat together but we shall see that in about two mi nutes and a half. But, first, about thi act of Richard the Second; about its being in force to this hour. Wha would you say if I prove it, not only to *be* the law of the land; but to be *acted* upon as the law of the land, and decided upon as the law of the land, every term in all the courts, whether of law or o equity!

Your lordship is aware, that in divers cases, the tithe-payers plead a "*modus*" as a bar to the claim of tithes by the parsons. These *moduses* arose from arrangements made by the monasteries with persons who owned, or occupied the parishes, of which they had the appropriation. In short, the monasteries had robbed their livings by selling away, or renting away, the revenues of them, and they had thus pinched the vicar and the poor. The act that I have just cited put an end to this species of pious robbery, though it did not expressly annul moduses before entered into. Scarcely a term has passed, since my recollection, without some parish or other being engaged in a law-suit with their parson; the parish pleading a *modus*, and the parson challenging them to *prove* that the modus existed before the passing of this act of Richard the Second, *which act they plead in bar to the modus*; and the judges have long since laid it down *as law*, that no modus is good for any thing that cannot be proved to have existed before the passing of this act, and the burden of proof of existence shall lie with the parishioners! So that here are the parsons; that is to say, the *aristocracy*, every day pleading this act to enforce their own claims on the people, while they suffer this act to be a dead letter with regard to a provision for the poor. If ever there were any thing more shameful than this; a more daring invasion of the rights of the people on the part of the great; if ever there were any thing more brazenly impudent than this, while the poor are accused of swallowing up your estates, it has, at any rate, never come to my knowledge.

Very well, then, my lord, this not only was the law, but it *is* the law; and if I live to the next meeting of Parliament, we will know why it is all alive for the aristocracy, and all *vigour*, like my Lord Grey and Sturges Bourne, and the Bishop of London; why it is all alive for you and your brother, the rector of Pewsey, and prebendary of Salisbury; and why it is dead as a door-nail for the poor and the people of Pewsey; why it is all alive for Lords Guildford and Walsingham, and why it is as dead as Richard the Second himself, for the miserable incumbents of the parishes of Aldershot, Bentley, Farnham, Tongham, Seal, Elstead, Frensham, all clustered together within a few miles of the spot where I was last Tuesday, while the miserable incumbents have not, on an average, an income equal to that of a journeyman carpenter, while the act of Richard, which the aristocracy and the big parsons plead every day for their own advantage, says, that the vicar shall be well and sufficiently

endowed," notwithstanding any appropriation of the benefice. Here are seven appropriations, all in a lump, by which the big pluralist clerical appropriators, take away thousands a year, while the seven vicars are left to starve! And this is "*law*," is it? And now the aristocracy are going to take a dip at the labourers' wages, and the Scotch vagabonds are going to accustom them to "*coarser food*," are they?

But, let us come back to Pewsey, of which you are the patron, and of which your brother is the rector, having there a good parsonage-house, garden, and glebe, and tithes, I should suppose, to the amount of a thousand a year, or more: it is a large parish, and must be a parish of great produce, the meadows, fields, and downs, all being very fine. Bear in mind, may it please you, my lord, that the act of Richard the Second *is in full force*; and then let me ask you, what right you have to give all the tithes of Pewsey to your brother; and what right he has to take them, even if given by you? A third part of them belong to the poor. There is no law which has given it to your brother. There are laws to make the people of Pewsey keep the church in repair. This injustice is inflicted by law; but there is no law, nor the semblance of law, for authorizing your brother to eat the portion of the poor of Pewsey. Whose portion he eats as prebendary of Salisbury, I know not: he takes a snack, perhaps, of what ought to go to the endowment of vicarages, agreeably to the act of Richard the Second; but certain it is that he eats the portion of the poor of Pewsey.

Better, my lord, not to have levelled parson Lowe's example against the working people of England and Wales. There were troubles enough without it. The aristocracy had quite enough to do without making this uncalled for stir. It was a sleeping lion; better not have roused him. The English have always been famous for long and silent suffering, and equally for obstinate perseverance in pursuit of their rights, when once they have been aroused to action. For my part, I am determined to fight this question inch by inch; and I will not so libel my country as to suppose that my efforts will not succeed in the end. It is impossible for me to be patient or good-tempered, with the great workhouses, the *coarser food*, the workhouse dresses, the separation of man from wife, and of parents from children; it is impossible for me to be good-tempered, with these before my eyes; it is impossible for me to be good-tempered, while I hear the Scotch crew eulogizing the system that produces bare legs and bare feet, and beggars with badges on their shoulders, and licences to beg in their pocket. Six months ago I would have said, that the man was a liar, who should have asserted me to be capable of addressing any words to your lordship, not breathing the profoundest and most sincere respect; but, when I hear the Lord Chancellor move the second reading of a bill, and accompanying that motion with a declaration that there ought to be no legal compulsory provision for the poor; declare unblushingly, in the face of all the laws of the land, that the poor have no legal right to relief; stigmatize the unfortunate la-

bourers as sturdy vagabonds; and deny every principle inculcated by MOSES, by the apostles, and by our Saviour himself, as far as these principles relate to provisions for the poor; when I see you the forwardest in supporting this bill, and, by fair implication, upon these grounds, I must be excused, if I seem wanting in that feeling of respect towards your lordship, to entertain which was one of the great pleasures of my life.

Let me now come to the law as it stood before this Scotch scheme was adopted; I mean to the celebrated act of the 43rd year of the reign of ELIZABETH, which had become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the peace of the kingdom. We have seen that, though the monasteries were suppressed by Henry the Eighth, and the remainder of the plunder consummated by Edward the Sixth; and though Protestant parsons had succeeded Catholic priests, all the rights of the poor still remained in law; the aristocracy, however, who had got the plunder of the church into their hands, very soon began to disregard all the rights of the poor. Old BESS was something like the GREY ministry: she was always upon a *ticklish tenure.* Had her title been good and unquestionable; had there been no Pope for her to fight, she would pretty soon have scourged the holders of abbey-lands, and of livings, into a performance of their duty towards the poor; but as the *vigour* of Lord GREY showed itself only with regard to the chopsticks of Hampshire, of Wiltshire, of Berkshire, and the labourers of Dorsetshire, so old BESS'S vigour showed itself only in her gallant imprisoning, fining, tormenting, and racking, the beaten-down Catholics. She did not dare to attempt to compel the plundering aristocracy to fulfil the conditions of their grants and to provide for the maintenance of the poor. She made several attempts to get provision for the poor by legislative measures inculcating alms-giving, and providing for the collection of alms; resorting to hanging and martial-law now and then all the while. But, bad as hanging and martial-law were, the people preferred, as I trust in God they always will, death to starvation inch by inch; and at last, in the 43rd year of her reign, she came to a compromise with the inexorable plunderers, and wisely passed the act of that year, which is now to be virtually demolished.

This act was not just towards the people in general by any means. By this act all the people of any substance were made to contribute towards the relief of the poor, when the relief ought to have been furnished solely by the possessors of the abbey-lands and the livings. However, as the act made effectual legal and certain provision for the poor, it gave the poor a *compensation* for what they had lost by the suppression of the monasteries, and by the transfer of the livings into Protestant hands. And all was well, all became pretty well settled, the bloody deeds of BESS were forgotten after her death, and the English nation became again happy; the people being, as their forefathers had been, well fed and well clad, and secure from want in old age, or in sickness, or in want of employment. A system of taxation and of funding,

beginning with William the Third, an just now brought to perfection, has demolished nine-tenths of the ancien families of the kingdom, and now threatens to swallow up the rest. The owners of that rest not daring to look a the fundholders or the dead-weight, an unable to dispense with an army of hundred thousand men, have been ad vised by a band of Scotch quacks, wh appear to be half-drunk and half-ma at the same time, to make the working people of England live upon *coarser food*; to make the farmers lower thei wages, and to give the saving to the landlords; to this end they advise an abrogation of the act of Elizabeth they advise a rescinding of the compensation made by that act; they leave the people to sink down into beggarly slaves; or to revive, to assert, to demand, to insist upon, their right to relief from the abbey-lands, and the tithes.

Thus, my lord, I close this letter, satisfied that I have left no doubt in the mind of any man that shall read it, that, though your right to your estate is good and undoubted, the title of the necessitous poor to relief out of the proceeds of that estate is still, if possible, more unquestionable than your title to the estate itself. I do not desire to be compelled to agitate such a subject, but if Mother Martineau push on, and with such a crowd of supporters at her back; if the big workhouses arise, and the workhouse dresses be in the hands of the tailor; if the "*burgoo*" and the "*sowens*," and the potatoes and sea-weed; if I see these in a state of preparation for the mouths of my laborious neighbours, agitate the subject I will; and not the least in despair of triumphing in the end, especially with the assistance of Mr. President Jackson and the one-pound notes and legal tender. "Poh! for your vigour!" I used to say to Lord Grey. Show your *vigour* towards the fundholders, and then I will applaud you. Better pay your debt in gold in full tale, and of full weight and fineness; better do that, than talk of your *vigour*, in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. So I say now, my lord: pay the debt in full tale, and in gold, and then build your workhouses.

In my next Letter I mean to discuss the propositions of your Scotch Mentor, relative to referring the people to the law of nature; and relative to that law dictating to parents and relations to maintain their own kindred without sending them to the poor-book: you have stirred the matter up, and we will ransack every part of it before we have done.

I am,
Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

P. S. I shall at the end of every one of these Letters addressed to your lordship insert a portion of my little work, entitled "*The Poor Man's Friend*," beginning with the present *Register*; so that when the fifth Letter will have been finished the whole of that little work will have gone forth in company with these Letters; and if there be any reader who has gone through the whole of them, and who wants any more information on the subject, he must be dull indeed.

[The following Essay was addressed to the people of PRESTON in 1826, as a mark of the respect due to their public-spirit, and as a mark of my gratitude for the sacrifices which many of them made for the purpose of putting me into Parliament. They now see me there, and see in a fat taxing-post, that JOHN WOOD, whom their base oppressors caused by all sorts of vile means, to be elected instead of me.]

Having now, my friends of Preston, stated what the law is, and also the reasons for its honest enforcement in the particular case immediately before us, I will next endeavour to show you that it is founded in the law of nature, and that, were it not for the provisions of this law, people would, according to the opinions of the greatest lawyers, have *a right* to *take* food and raiment sufficient to preserve them from perishing; and that *such taking* would be neither *felony* nor *larceny*. This is a matter of the greatest importance; it is a most momentous question; for if it be settled in the affirmative, if it be settled that it is *not felony, nor larceny*, to take other men's goods without their assent, and even against their will, when such taking is absolutely necessary to the preservation of life, how great, how imperative is the duty of affording, if possible, *that relief which will prevent such necessity*! In other words, how imperative it is on all overseers and justices to obey the law with alacrity; and how weak are those persons who look to "*grants*" and "*subscriptions*," to supply the place of the execution of this, the most important of all the laws that constitute the basis of English society! And if this question be settled in the affirmative; if we find the most learned of lawyers and the most wise of men maintaining the affirmative of this proposition; if we find them maintaining, that it is neither *felony* nor *larceny* to take food, in case of *extreme necessity*, though without the assent, and even against the will of the owner, what are we to think of those (and they are not few in number nor weak in power) who, animated with the savage soul of the Scotch *feelosofers*, would wholly abolish the Poor-laws, or, at least, render them of little effect, and thereby constantly keep thousands exposed to this dire necessity!

In order to do justice to this great subject: in order to treat it with perfect fairness, in a manner becoming of me and of you, I must take the authorities *on both sides*. There are some great lawyers who have contended that the starving man is still guilty of felony or larceny, if he take food to satisfy his hunger; but there are a great number of other, and still greater, lawyers, who maintain the contrary. The general doctrine of those who maintain the right to take, is founded on the law of nature; and it is a saying as old as the hills, a saying in every language in the world, that "*self-preservation* is the *first law* of nature." The law of nature teaches every creature to prefer the preservation of its own life to all other things. But, in order to have a fair view of the matter before us, we ought to inquire how it came to pass, that the laws were ever made to punish men as criminals, for taking the victuals, drink, or clothing,

that they might stand in need of. We must recollect, then, that there was a time when no such laws existed; when men, like the wild animals in the fields, took what they were able to take if they wanted it. In this state of things, all the land and all the produce belonged to all the people *in common.* Thus were men situated, when they lived under what is called the *law of nature*; when every one provided as he could for his self-preservation.

At length this state of things became changed: men entered into society; they made laws to restrain individuals from following, in certain cases, the dictates of their own will; they protected the weak against the strong; the laws secured men in possession of lands, houses and goods, that were called THEIRS; the words MINE and THINE, which mean *my own* and *thy own*, were invented to designate what we now call *a property* in things. The law necessarily made it criminal in one man to take away, or to injure the property of another man. It was, you will observe, even in this state of nature, always *a crime* to do certain things against our neighbour. To kill him, to wound him, to slander him, to expose him to suffer from the want of food, or raiment, or shelter. These, and many others, were crimes in the eye of the law of nature; but, to take share of a man's victuals or clothing; to go and insist upon sharing a part of any of the good things that he happened to have in his possession, could be *no crime*, because there was *no property* in any thing, except in man's body itself. Now, civil society was formed for the *benefit* of the whole. The whole gave up their natural rights, in order that every one might, for the future, enjoy his life in greater security. This civil society was intended to change the state of man *for the better*. Before this state of civil society, the starving, the hungry, the naked man, had a right to go and provide himself with necessaries wherever he could find them. There would be sure to be some such necessitous persons in a state of civil society. Therefore, when civil society was established, it is impossible to believe that it *had not in view some provision for these destitute persons.* It would be monstrous to suppose the contrary. The contrary supposition would argue, that fraud was committed upon the mass of the people in forming this civil society; for, as the sparks fly upwards, so will there always be destitute persons, to some extent or other, in *every community*, and such there are now to a considerable extent, even in the United States of America; therefore, the formation of the civil society must have been fraudulent or tyrannical upon any other supposition than that it made provision, in some way or other, for destitute persons; that is to say, for persons unable, from some cause or other, to provide for themselves the food and raiment sufficient to preserve them from perishing. Indeed, a provision for the destitute seems *essential to the lawfulness* of civil society; and this appears to have been the opinion of Blackstone, when, in the first Book and first Chapter of his Commentaries on the Laws of England, he says, "the law not only regards *life* "and member, and protects every man "in the enjoyment of them, but also

"*furnishes him with every thing neces-*
"*sary for their support.* For there is
" no man so indigent or wretched, but
" he may *demand* a supply *sufficient for*
"*all the necessaries of life* from the
" more opulent part of the community,
" by means of the several statutes
" enacted for the relief of the poor; a
" humane provision *dictated* by the
"*principles of society.*"

No man will contend, that the main body of the people, in any country upon earth, and of course in England, would have consented to abandon the rights of nature; to give up their right to enjoy all things in common; no man will believe, that the main body of the people would ever have given their assent to the establishing of a state of things which should make all the lands, and all the trees, and all the goods and cattle of every sort, private property; which should have shut up a large part of the people from having such property, and which should, at the same time, not have provided the means of preventing those of them, who might fall into indigence, from being *actually starved to death*! It is impossible to believe this. Men never gave their assent to enter into society on terms like these. One part of the condition upon which men entered into society was, that care should be taken that no human being should perish from want. When they agreed to enter into that state of things, which would necessarily cause some men to be rich and some men to be poor; when they gave up that right, which God had given them, to live as well as they could, and to take the means wherever they found them, the condition clearly was, the "*principle of society*"; clearly was, as BLACKSTONE defines it, that the indigent and wretched should have a right to "*demand* from the rich "a supply *sufficient* for all the *necessities* "of life."

If the society did not take care to act upon this principle; if it neglected to secure the legal means of preserving the life of the indigent and wretched; then the society itself, in so far as that wretched person was concerned, ceased to have a legal existence. It had, as far as related to him, forfeited its character of legality. It had no longer any claim to his submission to its laws. His rights of nature returned: as far as related to him, the law of nature revived in all its force: that state of things in which all men enjoyed all things in common was revived with regard to him; and he took, and he had a right to take, food and raiment, or, as Blackstone expresses it, "a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life." For, if it be true, as laid down by this English lawyer, that the *principles* of society; if it be true, that the very principles, or *foundations* of society dictate, that the destitute person shall have a legal demand for a supply from the rich, sufficient for all the necessities of life; if this be true, and true it certainly is, it follows of course that the principles, that is, the base, or *foundation*, of society, is subverted, is gone; and that society is, in fact, no longer what it was intended to be, when the indigent, when the person in a state of extreme necessity, cannot, at once, obtain from the rich such sufficient supply: in short we need go no further than this passage of

Blackstone, to show, that civil society is subverted, and that there is, in fact, nothing legitimate in it, when the destitute and wretched have no certain and legal resource.

But this is so important a matter, and there have been such monstrous doctrines and projects put forth by Malthus, by the Edinburgh Reviewers, by Lawyer Scarlett, by Lawyer Nolan, by Sturges Bourne, and by an innumerable swarm of persons who have been giving before the House of Commons what they call "*evidence*"; there have been such monstrous doctrines and projects put forward by these and other persons: and there seems to be such a lurking desire to carry the hostility to the working classes still further, that I think it necessary, in order to show that these English Poor-laws, which have been so much calumniated by so many greedy proprietors of land; I think it necessary to show, that these Poor-laws are the things which men of property, above all others, *ought to wish to see maintained*, seeing that, according to the opinions of the greatest and the wisest of men, they must suffer most in consequence of the abolition of those laws; because, by the abolition of those laws, the right given by the laws of nature would revive, and the destitute would *take*, where they now simply *demand* (as Blackstone expresses it) in the name of the law. There has been some difference of opinion, as to the question, whether it be *theft* or *no theft*; or, rather, whether it be a *criminal act*, or *not a criminal act*, for a person, in a case of extreme necessity from want of food, to take food without the assent and even against the will of the owner. We have, amongst our great lawyers, Sir Matthew Hale and Sir William Blackstone, who contend (though as we shall see, with much feebleness, hesitation, and reservation), that it is *theft*, notwithstanding the extremity of the want: but there are many, and much higher authorities, foreign as well as English, on the other side. Before, however, I proceed to the hearing of these authorities, let me take a short view of *the origin of the Poor-laws in England*; for that view will convince us, that, though the present law was passed but a little more than two hundred years ago, there had been something to effect the same purpose ever since England had been called England.

According to the Common Law of England, as recorded in the Mirrour of Justices, a book which was written before the Norman Conquest; a book in as high reputation, as a law-book, as any one in England; according to this book, Chapter 1st, Section 3rd, which treats of the "First constitutions made by the antient kings"; according to this work, provision was made for the sustenance of the poor. The words are these: "It was ordained, that the poor "should be sustained by *parsons*, by "*rectors* of the church, and by the *pa*"*rishioners*, so that *none of them die* "*for want of sustenance*." Several hundred years later, the canons of the church show, that when the church had become rich, it took upon itself the whole of the care and expense attending the relieving of the poor. These

canons, in setting forth the manner in which the tithes should be disposed of, say, "Let the priests set apart the first "share for the building and ornaments "of the church; let them distribute "the *second to the poor and strangers*, "*with their own hands, in mercy and* "*humility*; and let them reserve the "third part for themselves." This passage is taken from the canons of Elfric canon 24th. At a later period, when the tithes had, in some places, been appropriated to convents, acts of Parliament were passed, compelling the impropriators to leave, in the hands of their vicar a sufficiency for the maintenance of the poor. There were two or three acts of this sort passed, one particularly in the twelfth year of Richard the Second, chapter 7th. So that here we have the most ancient book on the Common Law; we have the canons of the church at a later period; we have acts of Parliament at a time when the power and glory of England were at their very highest point; we have all these to tell us, that in England, from the very time that the country took the name, *there was always a legal and secure provision for the poor, so that no person, however aged, infirm, unfortunate, or destitute, should suffer from want.*

But, my friends, a time came when the provision made by the CommonLaw, by the canons of the church, and by the acts of the Parliament coming in aid of those canons; a time arrived when all these were rendered null by what is called the Protestant Reformation. This "Reformation," as it is called, sweeped away the convents, gave a large part of the tithes to greedy courtiers, put parsons with wives and children into the livings, and left the poor without any resource whatsoever. This terrible event, which deprived England of the last of her possessions on the continent of Europe, reduced the people of England to the most horrible misery; from the happiest and best fed and best clad people in the world, it made them the most miserable, the most wretched and ragged of creatures. At last it was seen that, in spite of the most horrible tyranny that ever was exercised in the world, in spite of the racks and the gibbets and the martial-law of Queen Elizabeth, those who had amassed to themselves the property out of which the poor had been formerly fed were compelled to *pass a law to raise money, by way of tax, for relieving the necessities of the poor.* They had passed many acts before the forty-third year of the reign of this Queen Elizabeth; but these acts were all found to be ineffectual, till at last, in the forty-third year of the reign of this tyrannical Queen, and in the year of our Lord 1601, that famous act was passed, which has been in force until this day; and which, as I said before, is still in force, notwithstanding all the various attempts of folly and cruelty to get rid of it.

Thus then, the present Poor-laws are *no new thing*. They are no *gift* to the working people. You hear the greedy landowners everlastingly complaining against this law of Queen Elizabeth. They pretend that it was *an unfortunate* law. They affect to regard it as a great INNOVATION, seeing that no such law existed before; but as I have shown, a better law existed before, having the

same object in view. I have shown, that the "Reformation," as it is called, had sweeped away that which had been secured to the poor by the CommonLaw, by the canons of the church, and by ancient acts of Parliament. There was *nothing new*, then, in the way of benevolence towards the people, in this celebrated act of Parliament of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and the landowners would act wisely by holding their tongues upon the subject; or, if they be too noisy, one may look into their GRANTS, and see if we cannot find something THERE to keep out the present parochial assessments.

Having now seen *the origin* of the present Poor-laws and the justice of their due execution, let us return to those authorities of which I was speaking but now, and an examination into which will show the extreme danger of listening to those projectors who would abolish the Poor-laws; that is to say, who would sweep away that provision which was established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from a conviction that it was absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the country and the lives of the people. I observed before that there has been some difference of opinion amongst lawyers as to the question, whether it be, or be not, *theft* to take, without his consent and against his will, the victuals of another, in order to prevent the taker from starving. Sir Matthew Hale and Sir William Blackstone say that it *is theft*. I am now going to quote the several authorities on both sides, and it will be necessary for me to indicate the works which I quote from by the words, letters, and figures which are usually made use of in quoting from these works. Some part of what I shall quote will be in Latin: but I shall put nothing in that language of which I will not give you the translation. I beg you to read these quotations with the greatest attention; for you will find, at the end of your reading, that you have obtained great knowledge upon the subject, and knowledge, too, which will not soon depart from your minds.

I begin with Sir Matthew Hale (a Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in the reign of Charles the Second), who, in his Pleas of the Crown, Chap. IX., has the following passage, which I put in distinct paragraphs, and mark A, B, and C.

A. "Some of the casuists, and particularly Covarruvius, Tom. I. *De furti et rapinæ restitutione*, § 3, 4, p. 473; and Grotius, *de jure belli ac pacis*; lib. II. cap. 2, § 6, tell us, "that in case of extreme necessity, "either of hunger or clothing, the *civil distributions of property cease*, and by 'a kind of tacit condition the *first community doth return*, and upon this "those common assertions are grounded: '*Quicquid necessitas cogit, defendit.*' [Whatever necessity calls for, it justifies.] '*Necessitas est lex temporis et loci.*' [Necessity is the "law of time and place.] '*In casu extremæ necessitatis omnia sunt communia*' [In case of extreme necessity, all things are *in common*]; and, "therefore, in such case *theft is no theft*, or at least not punishable as "theft; and some even of our own "lawyers have asserted the same; and "very bad use hath been made of this

"concession by some of the *Jesuitical* "casuists of *France*, who have there- "upon advised apprentices and servants "to rob their masters, where they have "been indeed themselves in want of "necessaries, of clothes or victuals; "whereof, they tell them, they them- "selves are the competent judges;' and "by this means let loose, as much as "they can, by their doctrine of proba- "bility, all the ligaments of property "and civil society."

B. "I do, therefore, *take it*, that, "where persons live under the same "civil government *as here in England*, "that rule, at least by the laws of *Eng- "land*, is false; and, therefore, if a "person being *under necessity for want "of victuals*, or clothes, shall, upon "that account, clandestinely, and '*ani- "mo furandi*,' [with intent to steal,] "steal another man's goods, it is felony, "and a crime, by the laws of *England*, "punishable with death; although the "judge before whom the trial is, in this "case (as in other cases of extremity) "be by the laws of *England* intrusted "with a power to reprieve the offender, "before or after judgment, in order to "the obtaining the King's mercy. For, "1st, Men's properties would be under "a strange insecurity, being laid open "to other men's necessities, whereof no "man can possibly judge but the party "himself. And, 2nd, Because by the "laws of this kingdom [here he refers "to the 43. Eliz., cap 2] sufficient pro- "vision is made for the supply of such "necessities by collections for the poor, "and by the power of the civil magis- "trate. Consonant hereunto seems to "be the law even among the Jews; if "we may believe the wisest of kings. Proverbs vi. 30, 31. '*Men do not "'despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy "'his soul when he is hungry, but if he "'be found, he shall restore seven-fold, "'he shall give all the substance of his "'house.*' It is true, *death* among "them was not the penalty of theft, "yet his necessity gave him *no excep- "tion* from the ordinary punishment "inflicted by their law upon that of- "fence."

C. "Indeed this rule, '*in casu ex- "'tremæ necessitatis omnia sunt com- "'munia*,' does hold, in some measure, in some particular cases, where, by the tacit consent of nations, or of "some particular countries or societies, it hath obtained. First, among "the *Jews*, it was lawful in case of "hunger to pull ears of standing "corn, and eat (Matt. xii. 1); and for "one to pass through a vineyard, or "olive-yard to gather and eat without "carrying away. Deut. xxiii. 24, 25. "SECOND, by the *Rhodian* law, and the "common maritime custom, if the com- "mon provision of the ship's company "fail, the master may, under certain "temperaments, *break open the private "chests of the mariners or passengers*, "and *make a distribution* of that par- "ticular and private provision for the "*preservation of the ship's company*." Vide CONSOLATO DEL MARE, cap. 256. LE CUSTOMES DE LA MERE, p. 77."

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE agrees, in substance, with HALE; but he is, as we shall presently see, much more eager to establish his doctrine; and, we shall see besides, that he has not scrupled to be guilty of misquoting, and of very

shamefully *garbling, the Scripture*, i order to establish his point. We sha find him flatly contradicting the laws o England; but, he might have spare the Holy Scriptures, which, however, he has not done.

To return to Hale, you see he is com pelled to begin with acknowledging that there are great authorities agains him; and he could not say that Grotius was not one of the most virtuous as well as one of the most learned o mankind. Hale does not know very well what to do with those old sayings about the justification which hard necessity gives; he does not know what to do with the maxim, that, "in case of "extreme necessity, all things *are* "*owned in common.*" He is exceedingly puzzled with these ancient authorities, and flies off into prattle rather than argument, and tells us a story about "*jesuitical*" casuists in France, who advised apprentices and servants to rob their masters, and that they thus, "let "loose the ligaments of property and "civil society." I fancy that it would require a pretty large portion of that sort of faith which induced this Protestant judge to send witches and wizards to the gallows; a pretty large portion of this sort of faith, to make us believe, that the "*casuists* of France," who, doubtless, *had servants of their own*, would teach servants to rob their masters! In short, this prattle of the judge seems to have been nothing more than one of those Protestant effusions which were too much in fashion at the time when he wrote.

He begins his second paragraph, or paragraph B., by saying that he "*takes it*" to be so and so; and then comes another qualified expression; he talks of civil government "*as here in England.*" Then he says, that the rule of Grotius and others, against which he has been contending, "he takes *to be false*, at *least*," says he, "*by the laws of England.*" After he has made all these qualifications, he then proceeds to say that *such taking is theft*; that it is *felony*; that it is a crime which the laws of England punish with *death*! But, as if stricken with remorse at putting the frightful words upon paper; as if feeling shame for the law and for England itself, he instantly begins to tell us, that the judge who presides at the trial is intrusted, "*by the laws of England,*" with power to *reprieve* the offender, in order to the obtaining of the *King's mercy*! Thus he softens it down. He will have it to be LAW to put a man to death in such a case; but he is ashamed to leave his readers to be-ieve, that an English judge and an English king WOULD OBEY THIS LAW!

Let us now hear the reasons which he gives for this which he pretends to be law. His first reason is, that there would be no security for property, if it were laid open to the necessities of the ndigent, of which necessities *no man ut the takers themselves could be the udge.* He talks of a "strange insecu-ity;" but, upon my word, no insecurity ould be half so strange as this assertion f his own. Blackstone has just the ame argument. "Nobody," says he, " would be a judge of the wants of the taker, but the taker himself"; and Blackstone, copying the very words of

HALE, talks of the "strange insecurity" arising from this cause. Now, then, suppose a man to come into my house, and to take away a bit of bacon. Suppose me to pursue him and seize him. He would tell me that he was starving for want of food. I hope that the bare statement would induce me, or any man in the world that I do call or ever have called my friend, to let him go without further inquiry; but if I chose to push the matter further there would be *the magistrate.* If he chose to commit the man, would there not be a *jury* and a *judge* to receive evidence and to ascertain *whether the extreme necessity existed or not?*

Aye, says Judge HALE; but I have another reason a devilish deal better than this, "and that is, the act of the "43d year of the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH!" Aye, my old boy, that is a thumping reason! "*Sufficient provision* is made for the supply of such "necessities by *collections for the poor,* "and by the *power of the civil magistrate.*" Aye, aye! that is the reason; and, Mr. SIR MATTHEW HALE, there is *no other reason,* say what you will about the matter. There stand the overseer and the civil magistrate to take care that such necessities be provided for; and if they did not stand there for that purpose the law of nature would be revived in behalf of the suffering creature.

HALE, not content however with this act of QUEEN ELIZABETH, and still hankering after this hard doctrine, furbishes up a bit of Scripture, and calls Solomon the *wisest of kings* on account of these two verses which he has taken. HALE observes, indeed, that the Jews did not put thieves to *death,* but to restore sevenfold was the *ordinary punishment* inflicted by their law for theft; and here, says he, we see that the extreme necessity *gave no exemption.* This was a piece of such flagrant sophistry on the part of HALE that he could not find in his heart to send it forth to the world without a qualifying observation; but even this qualifying observation left the sophistry still so shameful that his editor, Mr. EMLYN, who published the work under the authority of the House of Commons, did not think it consistent with his reputation to suffer this passage to go forth unaccompanied with the following remark: "But their (the Jews') "ordinary punishment being entirely "*pecuniary,* could affect him *only when* "*he was found in a condition to answer* "*it;* and therefore the same reasons "which could justify that can by no means be extended to a *corporal,* much "less to a *capital* punishment." Certainly: and this is the fair interpretation of these two verses of the Proverbs. PUFFENDORF, one of the greatest authorities that the world knows anything of, observes, upon the argument built upon this text of Scripture, "It may be objected that in Proverbs, chap. vi. verses "30, 31, he is called a *thief,* and pronounced obnoxious to the penalty of 'theft, who steals to satisfy his hunger, 'but whoever closely views and considers that text will find that the thief 'there censured is neither in such *extreme necessity* as we are now supposing, nor seems to have fallen into his needy condition merely by ill fortune, without his own idleness or default; for the context implies, that he

"had *a house and goods sufficient* to "make sevenfold restitution; which he "might have either sold or pawned; a "chapman or creditor being easily to "be met with in times of plenty and "peace; for we have no grounds to "think that the fact there mentioned is "supposed to be committed, either in "time of war or upon account of the "extraordinary price of provisions."

Besides this, I think it is clear that these two verses of the Proverbs do not apply to *one and the same person*; for in the first verse it is said, that men *do not despise* a thief if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry. How, then, are we to reconcile this with *morality*? Are we not to despise a *thief*? It is clear that the word *thief* does not apply to the first case, but to the second case only; and that the distinction was here made for the express purpose of preventing the man who took food to relieve his hunger *from being confounded with the thief*. Upon any other interpretation it makes the passage contain nonsense and immorality; and indeed GROTIUS says, that the latter text does not apply to the person mentioned in the former. The latter text could not mean a man taking food from necessity. It is *impossible* that it can mean that; because the man who was starving for want of food *could not have* sevenfold; *could not have* any substance in his house. But what are we to think of Judge BLACKSTONE, who, in his Book IV., chap. 2, really *garbles* these texts of Scripture. He clearly saw the effect of the expression, "MEN DO NOT DESPISE"; he saw what an awkward figure these words made, coming before the words "A THIEF"; he saw that, with these words in the text, he could never succeed in making his readers believe that a man ought to be *hanged* for taking food to save his life. He clearly saw that he could not make men believe that *God had said this*, unless he could, somehow or other, get rid of those words about NOT DESPISING the thief that took victuals when he was hungry. Being, therefore, very much pestered and annoyed by these words about NOT DESPISING, what does he do but fairly *leave them out!* And not only leave them out, but leave out a part of both the verses, keeping in that part of each that suited him, and on more; nay, further, leaving out one word, and putting in another, giving a sense to the whole which he knew well never was intended. He states the passage to be this: "If a thief steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry, *he* "shall restore sevenfold, *and* shall give "all the substance of his house." No broomstick that ever was handled would have been too heavy or too rough for the shoulders of this dirty-souled man. HALE, with all his desire to make out a case in favour of severity, has given us the words fairly: but this shuffling fellow; this smooth-spoken and mean wretch, who is himself *thief* enough, God knows, if stealing other men's thoughts and words constitute theft; this intolerably mean reptile has, in the first place, left out the words "*men do not despise*": then he has left out the words at the beginning of the next text, "*but if he be found.*" Then in place of the "*he*," which comes before the words "*shall give*," he puts the word

"*and*"; and thus he makes the whole apply to the poor creature that takes to satisfy his soul when he is hungry? He leaves out every mitigating word of the Scripture; and, in his reference, he represents the passage to be in one verse! Perhaps, even in the history of the conduct of crown-lawyers, there is not to be found mention of an act so coolly-bloody-minded as this. It has often been said of this BLACKSTONE, that he not only *lied* himself, but *made others lie*; he has here made, as far as he was able, a liar of King Solomon himself; he has wilfully garbled the Holy Scripture; and that, too, for the manifest purpose of justifying cruelty in courts and judges; for the manifest purpose of justifying the most savage oppression of the poor.

After all, HALE has not the courage to send forth this doctrine of his, without allowing that the case of extreme necessity does, "*in some measure*," and "in *particular cases*," and, "by the *tacit* or *silent* consent of nations," *hold good*! What a crowd of qualifications is here! With what reluctance he confesses that which all the world knows to be true; that the disciples of JESUS CHRIST pulled off, without leave, th ears of standing corn, and ate them "*being an hungered.*" And here are two things to observe upon. In the first place this corn was not what we *call corn* here in England, or else it would have been very droll sort of stuff to crop off *and eat*. It was what the Americans call *Indian corn*, what the French cal *Turkish corn*, and what is called *corn* (as being far surpassing all other in excellence) in the Eastern countries where the Scriptures were written. About four or five ears of this corn, of which you strip all the husk off in a minute, are enough for a man's breakfast or dinner; and by about the middle of August this corn is just as wholesome and as efficient as bread. So that, this was *something* o take and eat without the owner's eave; it was something of value; and observe, that the Pharisees, though so trongly disposed to find fault with every thing that was done by Jesus Christ and his disciples, did not find 'ault of their *taking* the corn to eat; did not call them *thieves*; did not propose to punish them for *theft*; but found fault of them only for having *plucked the corn on the Sabbath-day!* To pluck the corn was *to do work*, and these severe critics found fault of this working on the Sabbath-day. Then, out comes another fact, which HALE might have noticed if he had chosen it: namely, that our Saviour reminds the Pharisees that "DAVID and his companions, *being an* "*hungered,* entered into the House of "God, and did eat the show-bread, to "eat which was unlawful in any body "but the priests." Thus, that which would have been *sacrilege* under any other circumstances; that which would have been one of the most *horrible of crimes against the law of God*, became no crime at all when committed by a person *pressed by hunger*.

Nor has Judge HALE fairly interpreted the two verses of DEUTERONOMY. He represents the matter thus; that, if you be *passing through* a vineyard or an olive-yard you may gather and eat, without being deemed a thief. This interpretation would make an Englishman

believe, that the Scripture allowed o this taking and eating only where there was a *lawful footway* through the vineyard. This is a very gross misrepresentation of the matter; for if you look at the two texts you will find, that they say that "when thou *comest into*"; that is to say, when thou *enterest* or *goest into*, "thy neighbour's vineyard, "then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill "at thine own pleasure, but thou shalt "not put any in thy vessel"; that is to say, that you should not go and make wine in his vineyard and carry it away. Then in case of the corn, precisely the same law is laid down. You may pluck with your *hand*, but not use the *hook* or a *sickle*. Nothing can be plainer than this: no distinction can be wiser, nor more just. Hale saw the force of it; and therefore, as these texts made very strongly against him he does not give them at full length, but gives us a misrepresenting abbreviation.

He had, however, too much regard for his reputation to conclude without acknowledging the right of seizing on the provisions of others *at sea*. He allows that private chests may be *broken open* to prevent men from dying with hunger at sea. He does not stop to tell us why men's lives are *more precious* on sea than on land. He does not attempt to reconcile these liberties given by the Scripture, and by the maritime laws, with his own hard doctrine. In short, he brings us to this at last; that he will *not acknowledge*, that it is *not theft* to take another man's goods, without his consent, under any circumstances; but, while he will not acknowledge this, he plainly leaves us to conclude, that no English judge and no English king will *ever punish* a poor creature that takes victuals to save himself from perishing; and he plainly leaves us to conclude, that it is the *Poor-laws* of England; that it is their existence and *their due execution*, which deprive everybody in England of the right to take food and raiment in case of extreme necessity.

Here I agree with him most cordially; and it is because I agree with him in this, that I deprecate the abominable projects of those who would annihilate the Poor-laws, seeing that it is those very Poor-laws which give, under all circumstances, really legal security *to property*. Without them cases must frequently arise which would, according to the law of nature, according to the law of God, and, as we shall see before we have done, according to the law of England, bring us into a state, or, at least, bring particular persons into a state, which, as far as related to them, would cause the law of nature to *revive*, and to make *all things to be owned in common*. To adhere, then, to these Poor-laws; to cause them to be duly executed, to prevent every encroachment upon them, to preserve them as the apple of our eye, are the duty of every Englishman, as far as he has capacity so to do.

I have, my friends, as yet, cited authorities only *on one side* of this great subject, which it was my wish to discuss in this Register. I find that to be impossible, without leaving undone much more than half my work. I am extremely anxious to cause this matter to be well understood, not only by the working

classes, but by the owners of the land and the magistrates. I deem it to be of the greatest possible importance; and, while writing on it, I address myself to you, because I most sincerely declare that I have a greater respect for you than for any other body of persons that I know anything of. The next Register will continue the discussion of the subject. The whole will lie in a very small compass. It will creep about, by degrees, over the whole of this kingdom. All the authorities, all the arguments, will be brought into this small compass; and I do flatter myself that many months will not pass over our heads before all but misers and madmen will be ashamed to talk of abolishing the poor-rates and of supporting the needy by grants and subscriptions.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3*s*.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CHANDLER, J. and S. King, St. Paul's Church-yard, woollen-drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

BARRETT, T., Stamford, Lincolnshire, grocer.

HOPKINS, W., Frome Selwood, Somersetshire, miller.

POWELL, E. P., Southampton, tailor.

MATSON, W., Liverpool, wine-merchant.

NICHOLLS, J., Wells, Somersetshire, apothecary.

WALKER, C., Titchborne-street, Golden-square, saddler.

WESTLEY, F. C., Strand, bookseller.

WINTERBOTTOM, S., Saddleworth, Yorkshire, clothier.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

INSOLVENT.

BATHWICK, HENRY GEORGE, Somersetshire, bookseller.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

BAKER, WILLIAM, Southampton, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, WILLIAM, Alnwick, Northumberland, linen-draper.

CANFOR, CHARLES, Cottage-grove, New Peckham, Camberwell, builder.

MILLS, WILLIAM, Newmarket, Suffolk, builder.

SKINNER, FREDERICK, Darlington-place, Vauxhall, grocer.

TYZACK, JOSEPH, Sheffield, die-sinker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 15.—The supplies from the home counties have been liberal to this morning's market, and the new samples came to hand in much better condition than last week. The market was tolerably well attended, and the trade opened with some degree of animation, and a few parcels of picked samples of white Wheat realized 1s. per quarter more than last Monday; but towards the close of the market the trade relapsed, and finished heavily; the better qualities being held at the prices of this day se'nnight, and though no alteration in value can be noted in secondary and inferior descriptions yet the clearance effected of these qualities was only limited. Some inquiry existed for Kubanka Wheat, and for which 30s. was offered.

The supplies of new Barley have increased, chiefly from Suffolk and Norfolk. The principal portion of the malting qualities were coarse, with thin and weathered samples, and prices barely supported the rates obtained last Monday; fine Chevalier must be noted worth 36s. to 37s., extra, 38s.; fine Malting, 34s. to 35s.; good Malting runs, 33s. to 33s. 6d., inferior, 31s. to 32s.; grinding Barley in less request, and 1s. cheaper.

Malt was scarcely worth so much money as last week, and 63s. must be noted as the top quotation of Ware qualities.

Rye scarce, and in demand for seed, realizing 38s. to 40s.

Oats were in limited supply from England and Scotland as well as Ireland, and though dealers abstain from purchasing, anticipating a depression in the currency, on the appearance of the new crop in any quantities, yet the short extent of the arrivals enabled factors to obtain 6d. per quarter more money than last Monday. The quantity of foreign entered for the home consumption last week amounted to 6,500 quarters.

Beans were in very moderate demand, though nominially the same in price as this day se'nnight.

New White Boiling Peas, coming sparingly to hand, obtained an advance of 1s. per quarter, while Grey and Maple were fully 1s. per quarter cheaper.

The Flour trade was dull, and ship qualities arriving more freely, last Monday's rates were barely supported.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
—— White	50s. to 55s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
—— West Country red	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s, to 46s.

—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red......	38s. to 42s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
—— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
—— White, ditto	31s. to 42s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 35s.
—— Chevalier	36s. to 38s
—— Distilling	29s. to 31s
—— Grinding..............	22s. to 30s.
Malt, new....................	—s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale..........	52s. to 60s.
—— Ware	58s. to 63s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 39s.
—— Maple..................	37s. to 41s.
—— White Boilers	37s. to 45s
Beans, Small..................	38s. to 40s.
—— Harrow................	34s. to 36s
—— Tick..................	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed............	22s. to 24s.
—— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
—— Poland	22s. to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	23s. to 25s.
—— —— Potato	25s. to 27s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 26s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c. ..	21s. to 22s.
—— —— Potato	23s. to 24s.
—— —— Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
—— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
—— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
—— Cheshire......	54s. to 74s.
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
—— Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, September 15.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock was sufficiently numerous, but a great proportion of it, especially of its beasts, were of inferior quality. The primest beef experienced a tolerably ready sale, at an advance of about 2d. per stone: but trade was otherwise exceedingly dull, at nothing beyond Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90⅜	90½	90¼	89⅞	90¼	90¼

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2*s*. 6*d*.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17*s*., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2*s*. 6*d*.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5*s*.

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A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6*d*.

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JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,
AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;
The route being
From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;
AND
By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;
The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.
CONTAINING
A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;
AND ALSO
An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.
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CONTAINING
The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.
ALSO,
The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are
MAPS;
First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.
FOUR TABLES
Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

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Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	13	6	& upwards			
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Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0		1	10	
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0		1	1	
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0		0	14	
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0		0	10	
Valencia and Toilenet	0	10	0		0	14	
Silk Ditto	0	16	0		1	0	
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0		4	10	0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

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TO MRS. EWING, 40, GEORGE-STREET, FEMALE AGENT FOR GLASGOW.

DEAR MADAM,—It is with great pleasure I have to inform you of the benefit I received by using Morison's valuable Medicines. I had been afflicted with a scurvy for several years, and had applied to several medical gentlemen in this city without success. The last I consulted was Dr. William Craig, I made use of some of his medicines without experiencing any symptoms of their curing me of my disease. Being advised by a friend to call on you for some of the above Medicines, as she stated that they had cured others of as bad diseases as mine, I did so accordingly, and I am happy to state that I had not used the fourth packet of these valuable Medicines until I was completely cured: and I think it is a duty incumbent upon me, to say nothing of the gratitude I owe to you for being the instrument of so much good, to let a discerning public know the power of these valuable Medicines.—I remain, dear Madam, with sincere respect, your humble servant,

MARY DEANS.

No. 76, Havannah-street,
15. *April*, 1834.

Mary Deans, my niece, resided with me during the time of her trouble, and also when using your Medicines, by which alone she is cured; and as she is now about to leave Glasgow, and retire to the country, any person wishing to know the truth of the above may have every information by applying to me at No. 76, Havannah-street.

MRS. HODGE.

CURE OF A SEVERE CHEST AND LUNG COMPLAINT.

To MR. MASON, General Agent for Staffordshire.

SIR,—For the benefit of the afflicted I beg you to make public the case and cure of my wife, who has been under extreme suffering from a severe attack of rheumatism, brought on by a cold, and settled on the chest and lungs, attended with a heavy cough and expectoration. Finding no relief from the usual means, she had recourse to the Universal Vegetable Medicines, and she is happy to say, that by a due attention to them she is so very much recovered that a perfect cure may be considered as already effected; for which she is thankful to God as the author of the blessing, and to Mr. Morison, as the agent of Providence, in the discovery of this inestimable remedy.

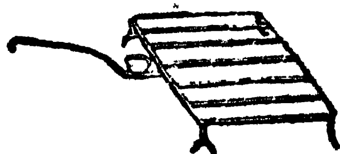
I am, respectfully, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
WM. ELLIS.

Yoxall, Staffordshire, 19. April, 1834.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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No. I.

TO JOHN MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash, County of Surrey.

Marshall, *Dublin*, 22. *Sept.*, 1834.

I have this morning seen more than one thousand of working persons, men and women, boys and girls, all the clothes upon the bodies of all of whom were not worth so much as the smock-frock that you go to work in; and you have a wife and eight children, seven of whom are too young to go to work. I have seen the *food* and the *cooking* of the food, in a LARGE HOUSE, where food is prepared for a part of these wretched people. Cast-iron coppers, three or four times as big as our largest brewing copper, are employed to boil *oatmeal* (that is, *ground oats*) *in water*, or *butter-milk*, or *skim-milk*; and this is the food given to these poor creatures. The *white cabbages*, the *barley-meal*, the *pot-fat*, the *whey*, and the *butter-milk*, which George boils daily for our little pigs and their mothers, is a dish, to obtain a mouthful of which, thousands of these people would go on their knees. Marshall, you know how I scolded Tom Denman and little Barratt and your own son Dick, on the Saturday before I came away, for not sweeping the *sleeping-place* of the *yard-hogs* out clean, and what a strict charge I gave George to fling out the old bed, and to give them a bed of fresh straw every Saturday. Oh, how happy would thousands upon thousands in this city be, if they could be lodged in a place like that roughest hog bed! I this morning saw a *widow* woman and her four children, in the spot where they had slept; on *their bed*, in short. George remembers my looking over at the sows and their sucking pigs, and at the two youngest calves, just before I came away; and that I told him to keep them in that nice condition all the time that I should be away. Now, Marshall, this poor widow and her little children were lying upon a quantity of straw not a twentieth part so great as that allotted to one of the sows and her pigs; and if I, on my return, were to see, as I am sure I shall not, the straw of the calves as dirty, and so broken, as that upon which this widow and her children were lying, I should drive George out of the house, as a slovenly and cruel fellow. And this, you will observe, is the case of thousands upon thousands of persons; it is the case of whole streets as long as the main streets of Guildford and Farnham. Your pig-sty and Turvill's pig-sty, and the sties of other labouring men, are made by yourselves, with posts and poles and rods and heath, and your supply of straw is very scanty, and compels you to resort to *fern* and *dead grass* from the common: but; and now mind what I say, I saw Turvill's pig-sty the day before I came off, and I solemnly declare, in the face of England and of Ireland, that Turvill's two hogs were better lodged, and far better fed, and far more clean in their skins, than are thousands upon thousands of the human beings in this city; which, as to streets, squares, and buildings, is as fine a city as almost any in the world! The LARGE HOUSE, of which I have spoken to you above, is called the MENDICITY. The word *mendicant* means *beggar*, and the word MENDICITY means *beggary*. So that this, which was formerly a nobleman's mansion, is now the *house of beggars*. From this house there are sent forth, every day, *begging carts*, drawn by women, who go from house to house to collect

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court]

what is called "*broken victuals.*" These carts are precisely, in shape and in size, like my *dog-hutches*, except that the begging carts have a sort of *hopper* at top to put the victuals in at, and a locked-up door at one end, to take the victuals out of. Now mind what I am going to say: the bones, bits of rusty bacon, rind of bacon, scrapings of dishes and plates, left cabbage, left turnips, peas, beans, beets, and the like odds and ends, that Mrs. KENNING throws into our *hog-tub,* form a mass of victuals *superior in quality* to these *mendicity-collections*; and in proof of which I state the following facts: that the carts, when they come in, have their contents taken out and examined by persons appointed for the purpose, who separate all that can become food from the mere rubbish and filth, that is, by servants at the houses, tossed into the carts amongst it; and a gentleman has, in evidence given by him before commissioners here, stated, that out of *seventy odd hundred weight* taken out of the carts the examiners found *only nine hundred weight* that could by *possibility* become human food, the *bones* in these nine hundred weight not being included!

The real statement is this:

In twenty-two weeks the begging carts collected	273 cwt.
Of this, unfit for any use....	175
	98
When the bones and other uneatable things were separated from this there remained, applicable as human food	9 cwt.

So that these poor women, in these twenty-two weeks, actually dragged to this place 273 hundred weight of stuff very little better than that which forms an ordinary town dunghill!

Now, MARSHALL, I address this letter to *you,* because you are the most able and most skilful of my labourers, though all of you are able and good. You cannot *read* it, I know; but, Mr. DEAN will read it to you; and he will, some evening, get you all together, and read it, twice over, to you all. I will cause it to be printed upon a slip of paper, and cause copies of it to be sent into all the parishes round about our own.

You will, perhaps, think, that the *land* here is not like that at Normandy, Indeed it is not; for one acre here is worth four of that; the grass here is the finest that I ever saw in my life; six acres of it worth more than my twenty acres; and, when I go home, I shall be happy indeed to find my MANGEL WURZEL and SWEDISH TURNIPS (about which we have taken so much pains) any thing like so good as those which I saw growing here, raised, too, *from seed bought of me.* Here are as fine beef and mutton as any in the world, and wheat and barley and oats in abundance. The causes of this strange state of things, I have come hither to endeavour to ascertain, and to offer to this suffering people my opinions as to the remedies that ought to be applied.

But, MARSHALL, I hope that none of you will believe, that I lay the state of the Irish working people before you, with a view of making the unfortunate amongst you *patient* under a refusal to give *you relief* according to the *ancient law,* which our fathers left us as our best inheritance. Just the contrary is the view, with which I have written this letter. There are certain savage villains, who are urging the Government and the Parliament to adopt measures to compel you to live on "COARSER FOOD" than that which you now live on; and, in short, to reduce you to the state that I have above described the Irish working people to be in; and I write this, that you may all see what that state is, and that you may be on the watch for any thing that these villains may recommend to be done against you, and that you may be ready to plead and to stand by *the law* against the recommendations of those barbarous monsters, who are seeking to live in idleness and to fatten on your toil.

Besides, it is the duty of you all to wish and to endeavour to better the lot of those Irish sufferers; and, as I shall hereafter show you, you can do much, if you will. People of property are just

as kind and charitable here as they are in England: they subscribe large sums of money to prevent this misery: but there wants THE LAW, the *Christian* law, the *holy* law of England, which says that no human being shall, on English ground, *perish from want.* How there came not to be POOR-LAWS here, as well as in England, I have not now time to explain to you. But here there are none; and you see the consequences. Manchester has about the same number of people as Dublin: in the former the *poor-rates*, it is calculated, hardly surpass the *subscriptions* in Dublin: yet, misery, such as is here, is wholly unknown in Manchester. It is *the law* that does all; that law, which has so long been the greatest glory of England; that law which the base Scotch negro-drivers (not the *Scotch people*, who hate them as cordially as I do) are now recommending to be destroyed; but which law, it is our duty to maintain, and, not only to maintain for ourselves, but to cause to be extended to these our fellow-subjects of Ireland.

I hope that you and your family are quite well, and that the Scotch villains will never be able to take from you the bacon and bread that you bring for your breakfast, and to put cold potatoes in your satchel in their stead.

I remain,
Your master and friend,
Wm. COBBETT.

If I had time to write, I would write in this *Register*, about nothing but the country in which I am; and what I shall do is, to insert things which have already been printed relating to my arrival and reception here. I shall first insert Mr. O'Connell's letter to Mr. Edward Dwyer, welcoming me to Ireland; then from the *Tribune* and the *Morning Register* an account of my entrance into this city, of the address presented to me, and of my answer to that address. After this will follow an article or two, written and published by Mr. Samuel Robinson, of King's County, Ireland, in the year 1828 and in the year 1823, which the English reader will find very interesting, and which, though I may not agree in all the arguments and conclusions of the writer, do great honour to him, to his zeal and to his talents, and have my most cordial thanks.

O'CONNELL'S WELCOME TO MR. COBBETT.

Derrinane Abbey, 11. *Sept.*, 1834.

My dear Friend,—I perceive by the papers that the far-famed Cobbett is on his way to visit Ireland. I wish we were able to give him a reception worthy of his talents and public services. He is really one of the most extraordinary men that the world ever saw. When one contemplates the station in society to which he has raised himself, and then looks back to his commencement in life as a labouring boy, enlisting as a private soldier, one knows not which most to admire, the value of that strong mixture of the democratic principle in British institutions which has allowed him to make such an advance, or the extraordinary and vigorous intellect which enabled him to overcome the many and numerous difficulties which counteracting aristocracy threw in his way, and to become one of the most prominent and useful men now living.

I really think him, after all, one of the most useful men living. He has, it is true, changed his opinion of men and things with unaccountable rapidity and violence; yet when we look at his astonishing literary labours—when we see that he has published the very best and most practically useful books of instruction—that he has written the most pure English of any writer of the present day, and embraced and illustrated more topics of popular and sound politics than any other living, or perhaps dead author—that even his errors and mistakes are brought forward with so much distinctness and fairness, that they also advance the cause of truth and justice, by stimulating to and requiring most attentive and considerate discussion. In

short, take him for all in all, I am con vinced that he is of living men one o the greatest benefactors of literature liberty, and religion.

Aye, of religion—for his History o the Protestant Reformation in England has all the interest of a tale of mere in vention, whilst there is not one allega tion in it but what can be sustained by the most distinct evidence of contemporary and even adverse writers. With what admirable simplicity of style and felicity of effect does he describe the pious firmness and unaffected Chiistian boldness of the two poor friars of Greenwich—the Rev. Mr. Peto and the Rev. Mr. Elstow! What a specimen of truly English fortitude and frankness did not these two friars exhibit, especially when contrasted with the baseness, the servility, and the horrible profligacy of the court of that monster of rapacity, lust, and blood, Henry VIII.; the first great author of that change of religion in England called the Reformation! and, then, his account of the tragic death of the Duchess of Suffolk! But in a book full of beauties one knows not what injustice he may commit by selecting in preference particular passages, because he who has not read the work through has not read the most interesting, affecting, and JUST book in the English language. In fact, it now can be read in almost every cultivated language on the face of the globe.

I extremely regret that I cannot be in Dublin to meet him. You, my excellent friend, as secretary to the late Catholic Association, must supply my place. You must get up a public dinner to entertain him, at which he may receive the respectful attentions of the sincere friends of civil and religious liberty in Dublin. As he goes through the country he will, I doubt not, receive public testimonials of regard; and I hope he will go back convinced in his opinions that the people of Ireland do not deserve the cruel treatment they have received, and still continue to receive, from the British Government.

Do me the kindness to wait on him the moment of his arrival in Dublin, and hand him the letter I enclose, marked "private." I beg of you to enforce for me the request it contains, that he will come to visit this mountainous district. Believe me to be, my dear friend, yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Edward Dwyer, Esq.

ANSWER.

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ.

Dublin, 23. *Sept*, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of WELCOME by the hands of Mr. EDWARD DWYER; and also your kind letter of invitation to your house at DERRINANE.

With regard to the first, I will not pretend to believe that I am altogether unworthy of the character you have given me, while as far as good intentions and zealous endeavours go, no one can over-rate me there. If I do not (as I certainly do not) deserve *all* the praise that you bestow on me, I have, in the commendations thus bestowed on me by you, and in the honourable reception that I have found in Ireland, a powerful motive, in addition to all those which before urged me on to action, to endeavour to deserve *all* your praise, great as it is.

I did not set my foot on Irish ground without bearing in mind the fact, that I had resolved never to come hither, while the unmitigated "COERCION BILL" should remain in force; and, without bearing in mind this other fact, namely, that it was YOU, and you ALONE, who had prevented it so remaining. Never shall I, as long as I live, forget your attitude, your manner, your agitation, your anxious and impassioned tone, when you asked, *whether it was intended to renew the Coercion Bill*; nor shall I ever forget the indignant decla-

ration of your resolution to oppose it. It was your conduct, in that five minutes, which produced all that followed; it was your conduct in that five minutes that brought me here; your country's gratitude you know you have; and I here, with the greatest respect, beg you to accept of mine.

With regard to the second matter; your invitation to Derrinane, I could, by going thither, not possibly add, in the view of either your countrymen, or mine, one particle to the proof of that respect and admiration which I bear towards you: if the visit could do this, nothing should prevent me from making it. But, while it could be of no use in this respect, I find, upon full and minute inquiry and calculation, that it would retard me ten or twelve days in that progress which I am performing, not for pleasure, not to gratify curiosity, but from a sense of duty; from a desire to acquire that knowledge which I did not before possess, and the possession of which is necessary to enable me duly to discharge that duty which my excellent constituents have a right to expect at my hands. For these reasons, and because the loss of ten days would be injurious to my object, I beg you to excuse (as I know you will) my not visiting you now, receiving my assurance, that, if alive and well next year, I will go from my home to your house for the express and sole purpose of showing my respect towards you and your family." And, with this assurance I remain,

Your faithful,

And most obedient servant,

Wm. COBBETT.

ARRIVAL OF MR. COBBETT.

The hon. member for Oldham arrived on Monday at Kingstown, by the Holyhead packet. He was received on his landing by General Sir George Cockburn, Mr. Finn, M.P., and several other personal friends. After stopping for a short time at the residence of Mr. Finn, Mr. Cobbett set out for Shanganach, the magnificent seat of General Cockburn, near Bray, where he remained till Thursday.

MR. COBBETT'S PUBLIC ENTRY INTO DUBLIN.

The letter, in which Mr. Cobbett fixed on Sunday last as the day of his intended arrival in Dublin, was a letter to a personal friend, and was not written by him with the remotest expectation that it would elicit any public demonstration. No sooner, however, had that letter appeared, than many of the citizens of Dublin were in motion, and it was very promptly determined on to give him a public reception. The general intention was communicated to him, while yet at Birmingham; and after the meeting at the Royal Exchange, and the unequivocal demonstration of public feeling at that meeting—the determination then adopted to conduct him into town, was communicated to him, but unfortunately, not in terms so precise and definite, as to make him understand that the citizens would be awaiting his arrival, and that there must be great disappointment in not meeting him at the very time at which he had mentioned his intention of arrival. There was no time for an answer from him to this communication; and the consequence was, that on Sunday the committee went out in some degree of uncertainty which was increased on the receipt of a letter which still left the question of his arrival on Sunday very equivocal, and which induced them to station on the road, parties well known to the people to represent to them that the committee were disappointed. The day, however, was beautifully fine, and appeared the more so, from the con-

trast with the recent broken weather. Immense crowds poured out upon the Kingstown road, which was covered with a perpetual train of horsemen and vehicles of different descriptions; and at the arrival of the afternoon packet, not only was the pier crowded by a vast assemblage, but the rising ground commanding a view of the road to the town, was occupied by many different groups; and it seemed to be the general opinion, that if O'Connell himself had been expected, he could hardly have anticipated a more gratifying reception. The packet, however, arrived without Mr. Cobbett; and of course considerable chagrin, as well as disappointment, was experienced. The first disappointment was sure to excite distrust. Thursday, the day at last fixed for Mr. Cobbett's entry into Dublin, was a wet day; and yet, with all these drawbacks, the following is the account which the *Morning Register* has given of Mr. Cobbett's reception. We commend it to the attention of the English Whigs. We recommend them to consider whether there were ever a more unequivocal demonstration of popular sentiment; and to judge from this, first, whether the Irish know their friends; and secondly, whether they are to be cheated out of substantial justice.

(*From the Morning Register.*)

Mr. Cobbett made his public entry into this city on Thursday, and, notwithstanding several unfavourable circumstances, his reception was as gratifying and warm as the honourable member could have wished. The hour arranged by the committee for the procession was two o'clock, when the hon. member was to have been received at Merrion. Owing to this announcement, although the people were assembling in considerable numbers along the Rock-road, the arrangements had not been completed, or the procession formed, when Mr. Cobbett unexpectedly arrived at the place of rendezvous, at one o'clock. He came in an open carriage accompanied by General Sir George Cockburn, and Mr. Finn, the member for Kilkenny. The committee fortunately met General Cockburn's carriage at Ball's-bridge, as they were on their way out to Merrion. The scene bore now a more animated appearance; the crowds that were hastening from town joined the procession, and added so considerably to its numbers, that on reaching Baggot-street it presented a very formidable array. The cheering along the line became universal, and numbers of elegantly-dressed females filled the balconies of the windows of the different streets through which the procession passed, and waved their handkerchiefs as tokens of their approbation. A number of carriages fell into the procession as it passed on its appointed route. On reaching Mr. Dodd's auction-mart, where the carriages stopped, the rush became tremendous, and it was with difficulty that Mr. Cobbett could make his way from the vehicle into Mr. Dodd's drawing-room. More than one honest fellow was observed to grasp with eagerness the hand of the hon. member, as he alighted from the carriage, in order to have it to say that he had shaken hands with William Cobbett. The doors of the mart were now closed, in order to keep out the crowd, and shortly after Mr. Cobbett made his appearance on the balcony, amid tremendous cheers from the assembled multitude. He has yet much of the hale and stout appearance for which he has been so remarkable through life. His step is wonderfully firm, and his voice is clear, loud, and articulate to an extraordinary degree. As he stood upon the balcony, with his white and silvery hairs uncovered, and read his answer to the address which was presented to him, marking each sentence with corresponding gesture and emphasis, his appearance was particularly striking, and produced a marked effect upon his auditors. He wore a light gray coat which fitted loosely to his person, and duck trowsers. He addressed a few additional observations to the crowd, after reading his answer to the address, which were loudly cheered. On the balcony we observed also General Cockburn, Mr. Finn, several members of the commit-

tee, and a great number of fashionably attired females.

Mr. Finn came forward and said Fellow-countrymen, let me introduce to you William Cobbett (long-continued cheers); a man who rose from the rank by his own merits, and has always adhered to the interests of his "order." (Cheers). At Edinburgh they have been celebrating the arrival of Earl Grey. (Loud groans and hisses). They have been entertaining Earl Grey and the Ministers, and those who have any thing to give. Here we have assembled to congratulate upon his arrival amongst us the able statesman, the man of powerful mind and of great honesty. (Cheers). I feel myself honoured in doing honour to him. (Cheers). I feel myself honoured in joining with my fellow-countrymen to pay my respects to a man who has done so much for the poor of his own and the poor of this country. (Cheers). I say this, and I would feel for ever degraded if I adopted the sycophantic course of going out of my way to pay respects to the mere Minister of the hour. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I shall now merely say this: When Cromwell, from the top of Slievenamann, viewed the rich valleys that surrounded him, and looked upon ten or fifteen Irish counties, he turned to his soldiers and said, "Is not this a country worth fighting for?" I say to you, and say to Mr. Cobbett, "Is not this a country that we are ready to fight for if requisite?" (Hear, hear, and continued cheering). Half of the men who fought at Waterloo under Wellington were Irish soldiers. We fear neither death nor danger, and they must learn to govern us for our own interests, and not for a corrupt oligarchy. (Cheers). They must do us justice or they shall do it. (Hear, hear, and continued cheering). Conscious of our strength we do not forget the might that slumbers in the peasant's arm. We are told that they will save us all trouble upon this point, and will govern us well: I say, "God send us a safe deliverance." I entertain but slight hopes from them. If they are not true to the people they must be false to themselves; and no Tory Government was ever yet hurled from power with more contempt and execration than the Whigs shortly will be, unless they are determined to do justice to the people of this country. (Hear, and long-continued cheers).

Mr. M'Nevin then came forward, as chairman of the meeting at the Exchange, and read the following Address:

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M. P.

Sir,—It has frequently been the lot of Irishmen to go forth to welcome to their shores strangers of rank and station who visited them clothed with power and authority. The iron rule to which we have been submitted, and the extreme and uniform misery of our condition, have made us always too prone to hope for good in any change, and to recognise in every new face the lineaments of a benefactor. And hence, as the feelings of expectation have poured themselves out in the language of anticipated acknowledgment, and premature thanks for benefits always hoped, but never conferred, the expressions of a too credulous confidence have given to simple sincerity and good feeling the semblance of self-abasing adulation.

But in expressing to you, sir, on your safe arrival in Ireland, congratulations springing from the bottom of our hearts, we address a man who has no rank but that which public fame gives to exalted public virtue, and no power save that which has been acquired by a livelong devotion of those rich gifts with which it has pleased God to endow you, to the cause of truth and justice. Even then, if it were possible to express in terms beyond your deserts, the thanks which we owe to you, and to you alone of the public men of England, for the benevolent sympathy which you have uniformly manifested for our wrongs, for the unstinted justice with which you have demanded on our behalf the whole of our rights; for the generous magnanimity with which you, a Protestant, put to hazard your popularity with the Protestants of England, by your liberal, enlightened, and manly vindication of that religion, the cherished hate of which was the ground of the misgovernment

of Ireland; it is impossible for envy itself to taint with suspicion the motives with which we offer you the tribute of our deep and lasting gratitude.

We know, sir, that you are not one of those who profess to have been born endowed with all knowledge, and never in any instance to have been capable of falling into error—we know that you have exposed yourself to the charge of inconsistency from the wise in their own conceit, because you did not refuse to gather wisdom from experience, and had the candour to confess, and the justice to atone for, an error, when you found that you had in any case committed one. We know that you have sometimes been mistaken in your estimate of Irishmen, whom we justly hold in honour; but we also know that your constant motive has been that love of justice, and that hatred of oppression, by which you are eminently distinguished; and that, from the first hour in which the condition of Ireland attracted your observation, your language has been the language of attention to our complaints, of compassion for our sufferings, of indignant reprobation of our wrongs—in a word, the language of a man who, founding his love of freedom on principle, was willing to extend to all the full measure of justice which he demanded on his own behalf.

But, sir, if you had no claims to the peculiar acknowledgments of Ireland for peculiar services already rendered to us—if you were not now induced to visit our shores by the desire of becoming better acquainted with our grievances, in order to qualify yourself the more effectually to urge the redress of them—if you visited us only as the vindicator of English freedom, as the inveterate enemy and powerful assailant of the corrupt, squandering, and sanguinary system of misrule which has overbore the rights of your country as well as ours, and with no other claim to our respect than the title which the suffrages of your countrymen have conferred on you, of the poor man's friend, it would be due to our own character, as men worthy of freedom, and sincerely determined to attain it, to show that we have a sympathy for the champions of freedom wherever they are to be found, and that where tyranny acknowledges a foe, there we are proud to recognise a brother and a friend.

It would become us to recollect the glorious example you have set of an unbending integrity, of an uncompromising assertion of public right, of an untiring war against public corruption. It would become us to recollect the sound political information which you have diffused, the public pure morality which you have inculcated, the spirit of independence which you have kept alive among your countrymen. It would become us to recollect your sufferings, as well as your exertions; the fine and imprisonment which you suffered in 1810, for maintaining that English soldiers ought not to be lashed in England by German mercenaries; the exile in which you were obliged to seek safety, in 1817, for the crime of having maintained that the people of England and Ireland were entitled to that reform which is yet but half accomplished, and which perfidy would make a merit of conceding, when it could no longer be possibly withheld. It would become us to recollect that persecution and oppression only added new force to your patriotism, new fire to your zeal, new vigour to your exertions; that in prison, in banishment with a patience never to be irritated, with a perseverance never to be subdued, you pursued that reform, the partial accomplishment of which now presents you to us in the honourable position of the representative of a constituency instructed by your lessons, animated by your example, and indebted in a great measure to your exertions for the freedom of which they, at least, among Englishmen, have made a wise and honourable use.

That it may please God to give you health and strength to attain the goal to which your honourable life has tended, and to receive the reward of your exertions and your sacrifices, in witnessing the full and peaceful restoration of freedom, independence, and happiness, to both countries, is the earnest desire and fervent prayer of those who,

in the ardent language of their country, but in language not more ardent than their feelings, bid you a hundred thousand welcomes to the shores of Ireland.

The address was received with loud cheers, which continued for several minutes.

Mr. Cobbett then came to the front of the balcony, and the cheers with which he was at first received were again renewed. As soon as the applause had subsided, he said—Gentlemen, looking upon this address as coming from you all, the answer I shall read to you shall be the answer to you all. (Hear and cheers). Gentlemen, you are all, of course, aware that I must have seen this address; it would be affectation to say that I had not seen it before. It is not becoming to play the hypocrite, nor to pretend to be all-seeing persons, and it would be particularly unbecoming to pretend that one had not seen an address, an address to which he came prepared with an answer, which I shall now read to you. Let me now say that I witness in you no rare instance of that fault which I have always seen in Irishmen,—whatever service might be done for you, whether great or small, your gratitude was always tenfold too much for the service rendered. (Cheers). Gentlemen, the reception you have given me is far beyond any merits of mine. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no"). Now, gentlemen, I shall read to you the answer to that very elegant address, which, though it certainly exaggerates my merit, still I will not say that it is altogether unjust. (Loud cheers). Mr. Cobbett then proceeded to read the answer, several passages in which were responded to by enthusiastic plaudits:

GENTLEMEN,—A great many years have rolled over my head; but if age had so benumbed my feelings as to make me insensible to this address from you, I should, I hope, have fortitude enough left to cease to wish to live.

I will not affect to believe that I am wholly unworthy of the commendation which you so generously bestow upon me; but, that love of justice which you ascribe to me, and which, I trust, has always marked my conduct in all the relationships of life, bid me avail myself of this occasion of assuring you that, though I have been, perhaps, more conspicuous than most other English and Scotch members of Parliament in expressing my sentiments relative to the treatment of Ireland, I am, in entertaining sympathy for her sufferings, very far, even amongst them, from standing *alone*; while, with regard to *the people* of England and Scotland, be assured, that, with very rare exceptions, they feel every wrong done to Ireland a wrong done to themselves. Truth, and sincerity, and duty also bid me declare to you, further, that I believe that the present Ministers are sincerely disposed to better the lot of Ireland. Nature, reason, their own fame, their own interest, now, at last, dictate this to them in a tone so commanding that it is impossible that these should not prevail over the prejudices and passions which, for so many dismal ages, have been tearing this fine country to pieces, and making strife, beggary, and misery to reign, where all ought to have been peace, plenty, and happiness.

It is not, be you assured, gentlemen, *want of feeling* for Ireland, but *want of knowledge* of the nature, the extent, and the real causes of her sufferings, which has hitherto prevented the application of remedies to an evil so great, so notorious throughout the world, and so dishonourable to the very name of England. It is more especially the want of this very knowledge in the *people* of England, who, in the end, always have decided, and always will decide, every great public question. Boundless is the gratitude which Ireland owes to her mighty and devoted advocate for her emancipation from a slavery of three centuries' duration; but even all the terrors with which his matchless talents and zeal unparalleled were able to fill the breast of obdurate and insolent oppression, would not have prevailed, had not the deep-seated prejudices been first rooted out of the minds of the people of England; had they still been under the

sway of that unnatural antipathy to the religion of their fathers, which for so many ages had been sedulously and systematically implanted in those minds.

Believing that I have some influence with a large part of this people; knowing that for them to pursue the path of justice, it is only necessary that they clearly see that path, I have deemed it my duty to come and to see with my own eyes the real state of their and my fellow-subjects, the suffering people of Ireland; to make known to them the result of my observations, and at the same time to communicate to the people of Ireland themselves my opinions with regard to remedies called for by evils, the existence of which no man living has the hardihood to deny, and no man fit to live the callousness not to deplore. From a very early age I entertained the desire that my country might always be renowned as the greatest, the freest, and most happy in the world. This desire clings to my heart more closely as the years advance upon me; and it is my perfect conviction that she must cease to be that great, free, and happy country, unless full and complete justice be speedily done to the people of Ireland.

Gentlemen, you have enumerated some of the wrongs which I, during my public life, have had to endure; they have indeed been many; they have been cruel; they have been injurious; but had they been still more numerous, more cruel, more injurious, this address from you, this kind and cordial welcome to the shores of Ireland, would have been more than a tenfold compensation for them all.

Mr. Cobbett continued by saying— The reading of this address has pretty nearly tired me; and you are all, I suppose, pretty tired by this. (Hear and cheers). I shall not detain you longer. I shall only observe that I have struggled for the liberties of Ireland with peculiar pleasure. (Cheers). Being sent to Parliament by the good people of Oldham, I must say that I would have been of no use if I were not supported by the Irish members of Parliament. But for them I should have been all alone; and though it would be somewhat difficult to do it, I should, I suppose, have been hooted out of the place, if it were not for the honest support of the Irish members, amongst whom I may mention the honourable gentleman who stands on my left. (Hear, hear, and cheers). You have nothing to do but go on perseveringly and sedulously, supporting your members, for your members can do nothing without your support. (Cheers). A member with a petition in his hand is something, but without it he is nothing, and what he states is simply his own word and his own opinion. With a million of men at his back he is listened to with a degree of attention which would not otherwise exist; and he would not be heard at all, if he had nobody at his back. (Cheers). Support your members; never be afraid of tiring them with petitions, or of wearying them; they have nothing else to do. (Cheers and laughter). They ought to have nothing else to do, but to listen to your complaints, and attend to your wrongs. (Hear). Pursue this course, and I shall live to see Ireland, as I always wished her to be, happy and prosperous. (Long continued cheers for several minutes).

Mr. Cobbett, upon stepping from the balcony into the drawing-room, laughingly observed, "I am as young a man as ever I was."

For the ladies who were present, and the gentlemen of the deputation, Mr. Dodd had prepared a very elegant *déjeuné.*

Upon Mr. Cobbett retiring, Mr. Thomas Reynolds addressed the crowd outside, after which they quietly dispersed.

COPY OF A LETTER TAKEN FROM THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL OF 26. OF FEBRUARY, ON THE SUBJECT OF A MODIFIED SYSTEM OF POOR-RATES.

IN a letter thou didst me the favour of inserting on the 8. instant, I took the liberty of recommending to the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, to consider the vast importance of a parochial

rate, for the employment of the poor; may I now add a few more remarks, bearing on the same subject, which I hope will explain to the friends of Ireland, that it is the interest of the rich to have a provision for the poor, and that without such provision, the people must remain in poverty, and both rich and poor suffer, while the fertile resources of the country encourage us to expect a very different result, provided the opulent should find it their interest to become improvers of the soil, and consumers of their native manufactures, which a direct tax for employment appears the most likely way to realize, as it is probable the ladies of Ireland would be all clothed in Irish manufacture, if their husbands and fathers were obliged to find employment for the operative. The same argument will apply to the gentleman's own dress, and capital to the amount of three millions annually would be kept at home, to increase the value of our soil, and consequently the interest of our landlords, who now oppose their own interest, and the interest of the people, for want, I conceive, of examining the question in all its bearings.

A nation, like a family, I believe, is bound to take equal care of all its members; is not this the order of a well-regulated community?

Let us see how a provision for employment bears on the introduction of machinery, which appears to have been the main spring of Britain's power and wealth. Machinery has been found highly useful in manufactures, and how could England have introduced her powerful machinery, which astonishes Europe, and preserves to her the market of the world, if she had no permanent provision for her poor? Impossible, for the working people most likely would have shot the first person who attempted to introduce a machine that turned them out of work, to starve (self-preservation is said to be the first law of nature); but the introduction of machinery into England, as they had a provision for employment, concerned the working people very little, for each man, I suppose, said to himself, "Machinery is no material loss to me, for "my parish is bound to find me work "or subsistence—I will not interfere "with the ingenuity of my fellow-"men." In that way the English introduced machinery almost without resistance, while the Irish could not; and the want of that provision, I conceive, is what compels the Irish operative to resist similar improvement; consequently Ireland is left in the back ground. Having no public provision for her poor, her workmen are obliged, in self-defence, to combine, and often to take the law into their own hands, and even to inflict signal vengeance on people they would, under other circumstances, have gone any length to oblige; for Irishmen love ingenuity and talent. Does not the above prove that the provision for employment in England was the foundation of British prosperity; and that if she was left, as the Irish, without a provision for employment, she must have remained, like Ireland, a poor country among the nations of Europe; she would not be the mistress of the ocean, and the emporium of arts and riches? This appears the secret cause of Irish poverty, and the ruin of so many of our manufacturers, who have disappeared those thirty years back; for, to compete with England, without improved machinery, is madness; and to introduce it is equally insane, without a reasonable provision for the poor to protect you.

Is it not perfectly clear, that, as England owes her prosperity to machinery, Ireland must owe her poverty to the want of it; and that, without a public provision, machines cannot be timely introduced? Consequently, poverty must remain, and we must continue to be clothed by the country where there is no obstruction to machinery, and our landowners and manufacturers continue to dwindle for the want of a home consumption, which forced patriotism cannot obtain.

Now, if Ireland has above 500,000 labourers idle, while she has three or four millions of acres lying waste, wanting improvement, in which her unemployed population would find ample employ-

ment in reclaiming, besides working he mines, raising coals for steam-engines, &c. &c., is it not reasonable the opulent should be obliged to find it their interest to come forward, and associate in companies, for the improvement of their country, which they would certainly do in preference to maintaining labourers idle, who are able and willing to work, especially when their labour would be remunerative? This is the way a provision for employment has worked in England to mutual advantage, and it is likely, if adopted here, would work the same way; then I fully believe tillage would flourish, manufactures would flourish, a home market would be obtained for Irish produce, our active intelligent population, with cheap provisions, would come into action, to supply manufactures even for an export trade, all by the direct and indirect influence of a public provision for employment.

In a political view, see the immense importance of preserving the bulk of the people loyal; for as all mankind is bound by interest, from the peer to the beggar, the provision for employment will keep the base of society, which are the people, bound by that unerring rule self-interest—for they would be loyal to the state that considers them worthy of preservation; vice versa, disloyal to that state, that don't think them worthy of providing for; but for every effort of popular feeling passes an insurrection act, or some law of coercion, to make them quiet. The effect of that is, to break the public spirit of our fine peasantry, and to make them discontented, make them easy instruments to work on for political purposes.

I would ask, who pays the Irish taxes? Do not the poor pay two parts of them?

We have 5,100 armed police to keep up the system; a provision for employment would be likely to lessen their necessity, and restore real quiet and prosperity to every rank, as no objection will then be made to the introduction of improvements, which will be found of more consequence to keep the people quiet than the most severe laws; prosperity will cement the bond of union that should bind the rich and poor together.

The poor being provided for by employment, through the working of a parochial assessment, will be better customers to the very people who support them, and would pay them back their money by an increased consumption; besides rendering their situation vastly more comfortable, it must also enhance the value of all property in Ireland.

The provision of employment would also prevent landlords from being oppressive, as every man would feel it not his interest to oppress, lest the very men he was charging too high a rent to would become a burden on himself. Thus it would be an effectual check on letting land to the poor too high, which is now very generally the case. In fact, I believe, in a very short time the only enemy to a provision for employment would be Captain Rock, for lessening his influence over an oppressed and impoverished peasantry, forced to combine for the want of those laws that would ensure their employment, and better their condition.

Another reason for a parish assessment for employment is, that our absentees will be compelled to contribute a portion of the immense property they annually draw away, to the necessities of the people they are injuring, by spending their incomes abroad.

Allow me further to say, that although I, in conjunction with many others, think Ireland could have been much better legislated for, and consequently improved, by local Houses of Parliament, still, as the union (a measure that paralyzed all the native energies of Ireland and injured England) was carried, I hope we may obtain and enjoy the advantage of having impartial gentlemen accustomed to live among a contented and comfortable peasantry, legislating for us; men who passed a Tithe Composition Act, a most desirable measure (as we are obliged by law to pay tithes,) and who will not be influenced by some Irish members, who view this improvement through too narrow a sphere of action.

But I am sorry to say the Tithe Com position Act stands alone, as the onl boon given to us for twenty-eight year: for I cannot recollect another act passe for the amelioration of the condition o the Irish people ; for, while England expending millions on distant colonie and even barren rocks, which in tim may all be wrested from her, she ha left Ireland, situate within her arms and which must always be a source o great wealth to her, in a state of unjusti fiable neglect.

Equal laws, equal encouragement to all, I believe, will be found the sures support of the British constitution. That sentiment, I hope, will find the suppor of British senators and the British peo ple, who, I expect, will assist the friend of this country, who are endeavouring in an humble, but firm manner, to do their part towards removing the variou obstacles that now prevent the intro duction of improvement into Ireland and we shall stumble at the very threshold of improvement, if we do not take up this measure as of the mos primary importance.

Hoping I may be excused for trespassing so long, on a subject which, although highly interesting to some, may be uninteresting to others.

I am, most respectfully thy friend,

SAMUEL ROBINSON

Wellesley National Market,
22d of 2d Mo. 1828.

ADDRESS FROM THE TRADES OF IRELAND, TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

WE call upon the people of England to consider the present state of the Irish people, unnecessarily labouring under almost every evil that can afflict men ; last year millions of human beings were in a state of starvation, destitute of employment, while three millions of acres of waste land lie uncultivated, in the hands, for the most part, of absentee proprietors, capable of supplying the English manufacturers with as much corn and butter as they import from foreign countries; the finest fishing stations in the world lie upon our coasts, and our people, deprived of capital, are unable to purchase boats or nets. The absentee landlords are not identified with the interest of the country, and the resident landlords, from the change in the value of money, combined with the poverty of the people are, individually, without the means of employing the people, and we, the manufacturers, by working fourteen hours a day, can barely support existence, and in times of stagnation have no resource. The English poor-rates enable the English manufacturers to undersell us, and we regret to hear that the poor-rate of England is swelled by the migration of the destitute Irish seeking employment and food. Societies are now forming in Ireland to carry on this migration on a larger scale. We have therefore called upon the legislature for a parochial rate, for the employment of the people of Ireland. Such a measure once obtained, we will then most cheerfully support the widow, the orphan, the impotent, and the stranger. We seek no rate for the encouragement of idle paupers, and we humbly solicit your aid, by petition, in furtherance of this great object. We have considered the operation of the poor-rates of England, and notwithstanding the abuse thereof, (which we will never palliate), we have come to his conclusion, that they have acted as a great inciting cause of the outlay of capital in the productive employment of he people. The poor-laws prevent the landlord in England letting his land at double its intrinsic value as is the case in reland, for if he ceased to employ the people, or exacted exorbitant rents, the townland being charged with its paupers, he would have to support unproductive consumers on his own property. To the poor-rates may be attributed the respect that the lower orders pay to the laws, so that the constable's staff in England bears more power and influence han the sword of the dragoon in Ireland. Justice is administered with certainty and effect, for want can never be pleaded in justification of crime, and the law of he land never violates the law of nature. A provision that would insist upon the

employment of the people, and thereby their maintenance, is a national security for life and property, an insurance against the vicissitudes of trade, commerce, and war. It is paid ultimately by the operative classes, the great consumers of taxed articles, to whose productive industry the nation owes its wealth, and directly serves as a check upon that class who have indirectly made a monopoly of all the prime necessaries of life by the corn laws. Thus England is formed into a joint-stock company which, by its co-operation, and notwithstanding the high price of provisions, is enabled to undersell every other nation in the foreign market. In fact 7,000,000*l.* annually is the floating capital to effect this purpose; and we are convinced that, without this provision, the introduction of machinery, and other scientific improvements, would be productive of excessive misery. But now the increased profits arising from machinery enable parishes to support those who are immediately injured thereby, and induce and enable the capitalist to seek employment of a higher nature for the people, and thus consumers are created for his manufactures.

The objections urged against the poor-rates of England by Mr. Malthus and others are, that they produce an unnatural increase of the population; yet the increase of the population of Ireland, compared to that of England, is nearly double in proportion within 30 years. This disproportionate increase arises in a great measure from the non-existence of any check on the avarice of the landlords, who obtain too high rents. Mr. Malthus's second objection is, that it increases the number of paupers. The fact is the reverse, for the number of paupers have decreased, though the population has doubled since 1688. At that time Mr. Gregory King states, that the population was 5½ millions, and the number of paupers 1,200,000; in 1811 the population of England was 14½ millions, and the number of poor one million. Thirdly, he complains of the increased expense, without any reference to the increased price of provisions, the change in the value of money, the fearful increase of the national debt by the American and French wars, and the consequent heavy pressure of taxation. But the only fair standard to try the poor-rates by, is their relation to the contemporaneous income of the country. Trying them by this test, we find that the relative expense has decreased in an inverse ratio to the increase of the income of the country. In 1688 the income was 30 millions, the poor-rate two millions, that is, fifteen to one. In 1811 the income was 300 millions, the poor-rates eight millions, being in the proportion of thirty-two to one; that is, relative to the income, half what they were in 1688. He likewise asserts, that they destroy industry. Why, its primary result is to create employment—the act of Elizabeth saying, "employ the people or support them as unproductive consumers." This makes all classes industrious, especially those who are least disposed to be so—the upper classes, who in England seek real sources of productive employment for the poor, which repay them one hundred fold. In England, where there is a poor-rate, there is abundant employment for the people, and also for the poor migrating Irish. In Ireland, where there is no poor-rate to insist on employment, half the nation is without it, and in a state of utter destitution; their subsistence s potatoes, and even the scanty supply of such food is to a great extent obtained by a licentious mendicancy, which generates habits, feelings, and vices, inconsistent with the well-being of society. We maintain that, by the operation of the poor-laws, the enterprise and spirit of the noble people of England is not impaired, for by the exertion of their industry the income of that country now amounts to 400 millions, while the income of Ireland is only 40 millions, and we are disposed to think, that by provident advances to the manufacturer, in time of need, he is enabled to continue his business in times of stagnation, and thus his establishment is not obliged to be broken up, as is the case in Ireland. Part payment of the wages of the agricultural labourer out of the rate has been much complained of, and

amounts to about two millions of it; (vide Lord Castlereagh's and Lord Milton's speeches, May, 1819); but if this be the general practice of landowners and farmers, it is but a nominal charge, for those that pay the rate for this purpose, receive benefit in the proportionate decrease of wages.

We are told, that a measure which would insist on employment, will destroy the independence of the Irish people; the use of this word on the present occasion, appears like mockery, when applied to a people who are bound up to high and nominal rents, so as to make them the most abject dependents on their landlords. We refer to Messrs. L. Foster's, Dickson's, and Strickland's evidence before the Emigration Committee, where they have distinctly stated, that the rent demanded in most districts can never be paid out of the land, but is generally paid in money made by migration to England. Then the people give their labour to the lords of the soil, for permission merely to "live, and breath, and have their being." If this be Irish independence, then it is forsooth, all the evils of feudalism, without one of its advantages. Here the manufacturers have been ruined by the poor-rates of England; here three successive confiscations have transferred the land from Irish to English proprietors, and the natives are left to starve; here the Union has legitimized absenteeism; here we have the glorious independence of famine and fever, of gaols and hospitals, of police, soldiery, &c. Our people have had no independent resources. Insurrection and clanship have "frighted the isle from its propriety."——

Some object to compulsory assessment Is not the payment of assessments for constabulary, for soldiers, for the maintenance of the poor in hospitals and gaols, compulsory? then take your alternative, and rest assured that a preventive is better than a remedy, more especially in a case where the peace of society is involved. The poor of Ireland cost at present five millions annually, which will appear as follows:— 1st, one ton of potatoes given to beggars from each farm-house, at the low rate of 30s. would amount to 2,000,000*l.*; 2dly, 3,000,000*l.* half the grand jury presentments, and half the government expenses, will make a total of five millions, to keep Ireland in its present miserable condition.

Now, let us see if laws providing for the poor are not justified from their adoption by the most civilized nations in all ages. The Jewish farmers (Lev. xix. 9, 10) left the angles of their farms unreaped, and also the gleanings of their land for the poor; and under that dispensation they had the benefit of the sabbatical year, and the spontaneous production of the third year was devoted to them; also a tithe (Deut. xiv. 28, 29). The Ethiopians, according to Herodotus (lib. iii.), had a public table, called the table of the sun, where the poor were fed. Æschines says, that at Athens there were sufficient funds to maintain the poor. The Hindoos, by an ordinance of their religion, relieve even the lower animals. In the country of the Incas, one-fourth of the property of the state was devoted to the poor. (Vide Sir W. Temple's Works, vol i. p. 208). In modern times, every civilized country, except Ireland, has a provision for the indigent, either springing from the nature of society, or from its positive legal enactments. In Scotland, England, and Holland three of the most industrious, commercial, and manufacturing countries in the world, work or maintenance is provided. In Imperial France, though an agrarian law was in operation, and the land gavelled (Simond's Switzerland, 452, 1 vol.), the octroi was devoted to the poor. In Switzerland there is a poor-rate, though the agrarian law is in full force, and corn is purchased up by government to keep down the retail price. The same prevails in a great part of Germany; and in Hungary, though feudal slavery gives an interest to the lord of the soil in the life of the serf, yet the law insists upon the provision of food, raiment, and shelter. The same is the case in Russia and Poland. In other countries, feudal dependence, or the revenues of the church, support the poor. In the State of New England there is a provision for the

poor (Dr. Dwight's Travels, vol. iv 326), also in Sweden and Drontheim in Norway (vide Clarke's Travels, vol. x 214, 488).

One objection made to such a system of relief is, that it is not adapted to the Irish character. This appears rather like taking advantage of your wrong. The Irish are idle, say those who have three millions of acres of waste land; the reply is simple, they have nothing to do. All we want for the Irish people is employment. Never let a man have money or food until he earns it. We have a brave, hardy, and athletic population, who possess all the elements for productive industry, who are obliged to emigrate for labour from a country possessing amazing resources. Many insist upon education as a panacea for the disorders of Ireland. We deem it a dangerous experiment to leave the cure of its disorders to education alone; for by so doing, you are only making the line of demarkation between the rich and poor still broader, and rendering the latter still poorer. By adding the wants of education to those superinduced by poverty, you fling a deadly drug into the bitter cup of indigence; you give a sharpened weapon to the enemies of social order. The Irish peasant will then eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; when he reads that by law the English peasant is supported in old age, and sickness, and when out of employment, he will compare these advantages with the want of them in Ireland; and he will rather be disposed to consider the latter as oppression, than the former as a folly. He will read the speech of some eloquent senator, perchance his own landlord, who will deplore the lot of the West Indian slave, for whom food, raiment, and shelter, are provided, though a hurricane should not leave a tithe of the harvest. He will read of missions sent to the east and to the west, to improve the condition of strangers, who have never tilled the soil, or fought the battles of their benefactors. He will compare all this benevolence with his half-roofed cabin, his fireless hearth, his naked and starving children, his forgotten services and wretched pittance. And his discontent, lashed into bitterness by his knowledge, may rise into a fearful insurgency, which may not be so easily quelled, as it is the result of a new and unascertained power.

If there existed a parochial rate for the employment of the people of Ireland, they would have a feeling of independence, for the landlord could not prosecute them for a conscientious exercise of electrive franchise. It would prevent them from continuing in that state of penury and apathy, which induces idleness, crime, and disease. It would make comforts necessaries, and thus, by supplying new wants, excite to new exertions. It would supply employment, and thus make them independent and industrious.

Another objection urged against a rate is, that it destroys charity. There exists not a more charitable people in the world than the English, for when the Irish landowners were exacting high rents and exporting the food of our starving people, and whole parishes receiving extreme unction to prepare them for death, and cattle and sheep were grazing all around, the English were importing food, &c. &c. for them, to the amount of 300,000*l.* They relieved the Belgians, the people of Leipsic, of Moscow, and Manchester, &c. &c. in the same generous manner. The poor-rate of Birmingham was 60,000*l.* per annum, the voluntary contributions to charity 45,000*l.*, and the number of benefit societies in England is very great —some say 90,000.

We consider this emigration at the expense of the nation, as delusive, and will act only as an inducement for the landlord to pauperize the people, and then throw them on the emigration committee.

We maintain that we have a right to his provision for employment at home, from the political constitution of society, which prevents us from obtaining independently our maintenance, for there are numerous laws now in force whose tendency is to retard our industry, in addition to corn laws, grand-jury laws, taxes, &c. We claim it as the

producers, and as the greatest consumers of taxed articles. We claim it on the measure of the UNION, which has put us on a par with respect to every thing that could benefit England; but which omitted one vital part upon which the happiness and existence of four millions depend, namely, the parity of the labouring classes in the two kingdoms as to wages, for the only difference in the price of food in Dublin and Liverpool is the trifling expense of sea carriage, and the worst food is dearer in Ireland, in proportion to the rents and want of employment, than the best food in England, where employment is comparatively constant, and rents are not so high.

It would be the best tax on absentees. It will make the people respect the laws, one of which respects their condition, and alleviates their suffering; and it will afford the best security against insurrection and plunder.

Perchance we will be asked what will be the further result of this measure; we answer that wealth will be then created by productive labour, and capital must remain in Ireland to employ the people. The farmer, the manufacturer, the shopkeeper, &c. would then have an extended home market for their goods, and many who have become absentees, because Ireland, merged in misery as she is, cannot be a happy home, will return to enjoy social pleasure, amidst the peace, prosperity, and happiness of their native land; that the waste lands will be brought into cultivation, agriculture improved, the mines and collieries with which our country abounds, will be worked; more attention will be paid to the local improvement of Ireland, which is at present shamefully neglected; the existing manufactures will be fostered and encouraged; the general condition of the people ameliorated, and if any measures detrimental to the country are enforced, their EFFECTS would be immediately felt by those who are rich and can best apply a remedy; the wealth and revenue of Ireland would be increased by the productive industry of all classes, and Ireland, instead of being, as she is now, an object of scorn to the enemies of England, and of wonder to her friends, would become a source of great wealth to her.

As the people are the base of society, and the firm supporters of the state, equal laws and equal justice appear their indisputable right. An assessment for employment will also draw forth the sleeping resources of our fertile island, for no man will feed the people and keep them idle, while employment can be had, and no one can say that employment cannot be had, while our soil is only half-cultivated,—three millions of acres waste, and four millions of money annually lodged in the funds, for want of plans of improvement being devised.

Raise the poor to their proper station in society, and the interest of the rich will be promoted, by the security of property, and an increased consumption of every article.

Is it not disgraceful to Britain to allow Ireland to remain as she is? Catholic Emancipation cannot be complete without some effectual plan being adopted to raise the population of Ireland to comparative comfort.

It would tend to induce our absentees to return to their estates, in order to relieve themselves from the tax, for it must bear heavier on them than on the resident gentry, who could provide remunerative employment, and thereby give themselves relief.

If any political economist can prove this reasoning fallacious, or that any injury to society can arise from justice being done to our poor but noble peasantry, we hope he will manfully come forward, and meet us in the arena of discussion, as many arguments remain untouched.

Dublin, March 17, 1828.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

As the subject of black slavery is now nearly disposed of, may I beg and entreat the British people to take up the subject of Irish white slavery. Ireland, it must be admitted, is of importance, situate as in the arms of Great Britain,

with moving bridges daily passing to and from, and for fertility of soil and situation for trade, no island in the world can be more blessed. But all her prospects and powerful resources to make man happy, are blighted by British misrule and the want of improving laws.

A Government may debase, or a Government may elevate a people: that is proved by the present state of Europe. I would ask why is modern Britain so superior to ancient Britain? Is it not that her laws and civil regulations have improved her people, and made them what they are, the first nation in the world?

Why is modern Holland superior to the old Flemish provinces, which were degraded under the iron grasp of Spain?

Why is modern Greece so inferior to ancient Greece? is it not owing to the misrule of the Turkish Government? or why is modern Italy inferior to the ancient head of the Roman empire? is it not owing to her government and civil institutions having become arbitrary?

Ireland has hitherto been governed by a temporizing and divided policy, and no effectual measure has been taken to connect the various grades of society. Roman Catholic emancipation (a good measure) has failed; opening the trade between the two islands has also failed of giving employment to the Irish people, or of inducing much British capital to go over. Nearly all attempts at introducing British enterprise into Ireland have failed, with a few splendid exceptions. In place of it, Ireland has nearly lost all her own manufactures; has become almost exclusively an agricultural nation, and even agriculture declines. Although Irish exports have increased, it is not owing to an improved agriculture; but when a people are made to pay high rents from produce alone, they must sell that produce to find money to pay their rents, and their other demands, and in England only can they find a market, and that at an enormous expense of carriage, which is 50 per cent. on oats, 25 per cent. on wheat, 33 per cent. on barley, and 20 per cent. on cattle. It would tend more to the improvement of Ireland to have domestic consumers, a people industriously employed in all the various pursuits of the British people, as held out by the British Government. When the Union was contemplated, we were then told that every exertion would be made to bring up Ireland to British comfort and improvement, but such was never carried into effect—no, indeed, and could not with the system pursued, the nation was left bleeding at every pore, and all return absorbed by a cruel separation of interest.

Steam power was denied Ireland from the high price of coal, justice was denied to a large portion of her people, absenteeism was encouraged by the people being distracted with tithes, grand jury jobbing, extravagant rents, and a want of employment, which alarmed the timid and occasioned many to fly to a more happy land—but, above all, a poor-rate, the poor man's charter, which made Britain what she is, was denied the Irish people, and is denied to the present day; a commission is about going out to ascertain a fact all the world has too long been acquainted with, the poverty and the neglect of Ireland; this commission puts off the final settlement for another year, and time now is very precious, the whole nation is much excited. As for information, the records of Parliament abound with information; why not legislate at once, and enact that the property of Ireland, which, mark, has never been over taxed as the property of Britain has, shall be accountable for the poverty of Ireland. That at once comes home to every parish, a valuation is made of every description of property, and an assessment is levied, and on the credit of that assessment money is borrowed, and the whole country becomes as a great bee-hive, employment is looked after, and it abounds in every direction; three millions of acres of bogs present themselves, capable of reclamation, and that at a price three or four crops will repay (see the Chat-Moss bog reclamation), and one hundred and twenty millions of Irish capital, long detained in the British funds, as if awaiting this propitious hour, could be ap-

plied to a more useful purpose. Irishmen would have full employment, and they would be able to consume Irish produce, and pay the Irish farmer a more remunerative price than he now obtains by an export of his produce to England; Irishmen would then consume British manufactures, and be of vastly more importance to Britain than they now are. There are six millions who never consume any thing British, they would then become consumers, and all this by Irish means, and with Irish capital.

I may be asked, why is not this Irish capital now employed? The reason is obvious, no man can safely import machinery into Ireland, without a poor-rate to protect him; and without machinery and cheap fuel, Ireland, under present circumstances, cannot become industrious, and consequently peaceable; and who will venture capital into a country not peaceable? and sufficient money is not in circulation to enable Irishmen to consume, and as to foreign trade, it is not thought of; a few English and Scotch houses give orders, which are completed in Ireland, and exported viâ Liverpool, and which orders I hear are executed very much to the satisfaction of these liberal houses

My object is to prove that you lose more by allowing Ireland to remain as she is than you are aware of, and that it is dangerous to the united empire to remain passive spectators any longer. Facts most appalling can be numerously furnished, and the sentiments of thousands of intelligent individuals must make some impression on Government. I shall give up my time for a few months to furnish these facts. My only object is the improvement of the sad condition of my countrymen, a people of the most honest habits, and industrious inclinations, if they had but the means given them, and means abound among a class who would cheerfully apply it, provided a proper poor-rate was given.

But I hope the support for the poor will never come from any fixed fund, for that would defeat the object. It should be derived from a compulsory assessment placed on the property of the country. A most valuable impulse will thus be given, which will ensure employment; thus labour will be given in place of parish allowance, and in that, connected with the exertions made by the opulent to lessen a parish demand consists the merit of the proposed poor-rate, which will ensure national improvement, and dissipate the present cold apathy that has been the ruin of Ireland. Is it not better to remove the cause of pauperism than to have to relieve it?

As an auxiliary, I would also propose a tax of one shilling per acre on all waste land, growing heath or bog moss, which could not be considered a fixed fund, because as improvement advanced the tax would recede; that tax would assist the parishes in purchasing each a few hundred acres of bog to employ the poor on, and the tax would not be thought injurious to the payer, because the money would be expended in the reclamation of bog, and would in time make his waste of value, which it is not now.

The slave population of our colonies appear not to exceed 800,000; their miseries have shocked the humane feelings of the whole empire, but I dare aver that there are double that number of Irish natives suffering miseries as acute, they sleep without beds or bedsteads on the cold ground, their day clothing is their only night covering, they seldom obtain more than two meals of animal food in the year, they have not the means to purchase books (even if they could read) or any other comfort; they must exist on a lumper potato, the worst description of potato, and it is so unwholesome that they are worn out unfit for labour at the age of forty-five to fifty years, while seventy years is the period allotted to man by a wise and bountiful Creator; they are unable to buy shoes or hats; their huts are the work of two or three days to erect; their houses have no fire-places, and consist of a single room, in which males and females all reside, and their large families sleep together for the benefit of animal heat; many actually

remain at home for the want of clothing. Certainly they cannot be whipped or sold as slaves, but in every other respect they are worse off. I cannot conceive how Christians, bound to perform acts of charity, to love their neighbours, and do unto others as they would like to be done by, can look on with cold indifference. Should not this state of society be improved, especially when it is in the power of a British Parliament to do it, without expending one-fourth part of the immense sum offered as a ransom for the black slaves? The Pacha of Egypt, I fully believe, has done more for Egypt in the last seven years than the British Government has done for Ireland since the Union.

Fish exists on the coast of Ireland in abundance, and the people in many places have not the means of obtaining boats, and are not instructed in the art of fishing.

Land is too high for the present ability to make rent, and competition, arising from the dread of starvation, compels those creatures to undertake to pay 8*l*., 9*l*. and 10*l*. per acre for small portions of land which they must burn to obtain manure for; they then plant those lumper potatoes, and afterwards the whole family have to lock up their house, and depart in quest of employment; 100,000 labourers go to England to obtain the means to pay extravagant rent, and return previous to the crop being ripe; for if the rent is not forthcoming the potatoes are not allowed to be dug out; the frost then destroys them, and with them the entire maintenance of the family, and death, or to beg from town to town, is the result. Many of their wives and children migrate to the midland counties, whose condition is not much better.

Many counties had, a few years since, a linen trade of great importance, which employed about two millions of people, in the spinning, weaving, and bleaching of yarn and linen; the produce was principally sold in London; but the fatal neglect of the flax staple, by a linen board who had it under their care for 115 years, and the invention in England of machinery that could spin flax as they do cotton, has completely removed the spinning trade to England, and left those creatures in great destitution, quite beyond the power of my pen to describe. I think those poor people may fairly demand that their fellow-subjects in Britain should feel for, and endeavour to remove their misery; and that they should be brought within the pale of the British constitution, and have extended to them the full benefit of British laws, by which their support will be ensured, or their industry in every mode of life promoted, which is not now the case, for they are left to pine away in despondency and misery.

My full conviction is, and it is the opinion of thousands, that if the Irish Parliament in 1782 had enacted that law, and had given Ireland the poor man's charter, Ireland would not now feel herself so very inferior to Britain in all industrious pursuits, and so much degraded by poverty as to excite the pity and compassion of all Europe. Let me entreat the British people even now, in the eleventh hour, to condescend to solicit a reformed Parliament, over whom they must have some control, not to separate this session without passing that charter, and extending to Irishmen that wise and benevolent act, which alone can give prosperity, peace, and contentment to Ireland, and which they must admit, if properly administered, to be the main pillar of British strength.

If that law had been given to Ireland, the landed proprietor and absentee agents would not have demanded 10*l*. per acre for land not worth 5*l*; it would not have been their interest to demand a rent which must throw the people on their parishes, and consequently on themselves for support. No, they would have preferred enabling the poor to support themselves, by charging a fair rent, and giving reasonable wages, to enable them to pay that rent, for no one in England, I believe, will say 5*d*., 6*d*. and 7*d*. per day, for strong able-bodied men, is wages equivalent to 10*l*. per acre for land. And why should any man be compelled to exist on potatoes alone, and that in a country abounding with all the necessaries of life and resources

to become opulent, resources which cannot be brought into activity, without this law is first given? This is now proved beyond all doubt, it requires not commissioners to discover it. That law will be the impulse to push forward improvement, for self-interest has always been found the most effectual mode of obtaining the co-operation of mankind as to charity there will always be objects on which to exercise that humane feeling; but let us first enlist the miser and the hard-hearted absentees, who I have often known to send back applications just opened and returned, without even condescending to apologize for not remitting a few pounds out of the many thousands remitted as rent, or even to pay the postage. Many of them do not subscribe to our dispensaries.

This law will compel the Irish gentry to meet and consider of the most effectual mode of procuring employment, they will turn their attention to the improvement of the flax staple, so essential to a linen trade. The French now have the supplying of flax, owing to its superior quality, and I believe Ireland could have as good. They would also import the machinery for the spinning of flax, and preserve to Ireland her name for beautiful linen.

The fisheries would be extended, and the quick transit of fish into the interior of the island promoted, which would afford vast employment, and wholesome food to the people, giving to the country the advantages an island always possesses over a continent.

Our three million acres of bog land would be brought into cultivation; and from the discovery made by Joseph Nelson, on Chat-Moss bog, near Manchester, there is no doubt that the reclamation would amply pay for the outlay of capital, and add many millions to national property. In place of this improved condition of the Irish labouring people, through the aid of this grand impulse, I will describe the situation of the middle ranks of society. Almost the whole support of the pauperized peasantry is thrown on them, and that as unproductive consumers, living on the industry of this useful class; while those unfortunate paupers are prevented from intruding on the mansions of the country gentlemen, who have their iron gates shut against them, the doors of the industrious middle rank are almost constantly beset with numerous groups of men, women, and children, who had migrated from neighbourhoods where they were known, being ashamed to beg among their friends. Many of their husbands are those who work in England to provide the excessive rent demanded for small portions of land, as I before described, and who are now in England called vagrants. Such a number of Irishmen being compelled by this sad necessity to leave their own country, must tend to lower wages in England, and injure the farming population, and in time must degrade them to a level with themselves, unless a timely stop is given to migration by procuring for Ireland the benefit of home employment and home consumption of produce, when only a few labourers will go, which the harvest may require.

Please excuse this liberty taken by a native of Ireland, who has often at his leisure hours made the improvement of his country his study, and who has, after mature deliberation, come to the decided conviction, that no law passed, or likely to be passed, to promote Irish improvement, can come into useful operation, until the opulent feel it their immediate, their decided interest, to step forward and co-operate in a grand effort to ameliorate the condition of a fine intelligent people, and to place the industry of the nation, as it should be, on a firm foundation. He believes no time should be lost in waiting for reports of commissioners, who might as well be sent over to inquire if the sun shines in Ireland, as to inquire if the Irish people stand in need of that law, found so useful in England, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and America, in fact, every well-regulated nation enjoys it; and why should not Ireland have it, when she is described so often as the right arm of the British empire?

I am, respectfully your friend,

SAMUEL ROBINSON.

Clara Mills, King's County, Ireland,
12. of 5. month, 1833.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. J. E. LITTLETON, M.P., SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

Remarks on the advantages to be expected from the establishment of a Compulsory Rate in Ireland.

Although Ministers have not pleased a large portion of their friends, still it must be admitted that in the present session of Parliament they have opened the way to several useful measures of imperial policy:

The opening the trade to China:

The opening the British settlements in India to all British subjects must be highly important:

Slavery mitigated, and a commencement made towards finally removing such a disgrace from the character of Britain, an example, which it is hoped the United States of America may follow:

The diminishing the number of Irish bishops, and the bringing the affairs of the Irish church before Parliament, Irishmen fully approve of; as the commencement of a reformation which may lead to the removal of all compulsory payment in religious matters. We have also to thank Ministers for abolishing the obnoxious portion of the Irish vestry cess:

The removal of duty on sea-borne coal, which was very injurious, as it prevented the introduction of steam-power:

Improvement in the mode of encouraging education among the poor of Ireland:

Improvement in the grand-jury system, but which is not yet complete; and also a change in the usury laws:

The next measure should be a compulsory rate, for the employment of the people, placed on the fee and the actual property of Ireland; that assessment might amount to about two millions sterling, a sum probably not more extensive than is now given in eleemosynary sums to strolling paupers, and which is principally paid, too, by the impoverished farmers and shopkeepers. A public provision will prove to the poor, that they live under the benign influence of a British constitution, which will not allow its subjects to starve in the midst of plenty, as frequently occurs in Ireland, and which enacts that the property of the opulent is available for the relief of those in distress; and the poor man, willing to earn his bread, must either have employment, or be found by his parish in sustenance and clothing: a provision which unites the interests of all descriptions of men, and results in virtually declaring, if the poor man has duties to perform, that the rich man has also certain duties which the law compels him to perform. It is a great ornament in the British constitution, a pillar of strength in time of adversity, and every well-regulated country enjoys it.

Permit me to draw thy attention to some of the expected advantages of this compulsory rate in the results it would produce.

1st. The opulent will be induced, when they have this direct tax to pay, to associate with their fellow-parishioners. Men whom they at present in many instances keep at a distance, they must then meet to consult, in order to find out the most remunerative employment for the peasantry of their parish, and they will thus become acquainted with the true character of the Irish people of every rank, which is a great desideratum. The waste lands of Ireland, which amount to above three million acres, will afford sufficient employment, and will amply repay for their reclamation. Half a million of our peasantry, with their families, will find support for many years in improving those wastes, which at a moderate calculation, will furnish annually to the empire, ten millions sterling of produce, an amount larger than is now exported from Ire-

2nd. It will be the interest of the rate-payers to establish agricultural schools in order to teach the sons of farmers the improvements of other countries, and green crops will be introduced to increase manure, and afford rest to tillage soils, now much exhausted

by continual corn cropping, withou necessary manure. By good farming the present land in tillage could be mad to produce one-third more of produc than it now does.

3rd. An increased circulation of capi tal, which is too limited among the nu merous small farmers of Ireland, woul most likely, by means of a judicious loan-fund, or banking system, be pro moted; they have not sufficient fund to purchase necessary stock, and are now suffering considerable loss, as they are compelled to pay their rent principally by corn, and have not sufficient manure. A bank that would lend on farmers' joint notes, sums under one hundred pounds payable in six, nine, and twelve months would enable those farmers to make much more of their lands than they can now do with their confined and scanty means; and the soil would be improved for tillage, and made more productive.

4th. Bounties would probably be offered for improved barns and dairies, in order that corn and butter of a superior description should be produced.

5th. Endeavours might be made to compel landlords to pay their tenants for improvements when they deprive them of their lands, the amount of value to be left to a jury of impartial men. That would be a vast improvement in Ireland, and would lessen the influence of Captain Rock, who now in some degree protects the farmer, as he has no legal means of adequate protection.

6th. Endeavours would be made to obtain the removal of tolls and customs from fairs and markets, which are a great nuisance.

7th. When the situation of the Irish peasantry comes under consideration, it might be found advisable to lessen the duty on malt, and increase the duty on spirits, and temperance might be promoted by measures such as the Americans are introducing into their country.

8th. The Irish gentry would be induced to improve the roads, extend canals, and establish railways, in order to assist the agriculturist.

9th. A compulsory rate, for giving employment, must improve the condition of all the labouring classes, and consequently enable them to consume a larger portion of the produce of the country. That produce is now, for the want of home consumers, sold in the British market, at an immense expense in carriage, freight, &c., all of which is deducted from the Irish farmers, and ultimately from their landlords: both are thus losing a much larger sum than they would have to pay, if a regular parochial rate was established, which would have the twofold effect of relieving the distress, and extending the industry of the country. I believe that one pound per acre on all the land in tillage, would not pay the expense of sending to a British market the produce of Ireland; whereas by the plan suggested, the occupying farmers would have to pay a very trifling sum, while they would be relieved from the crowds of paupers that daily visit their doors." The landlords would no longer be under the necessity of fortifying their houses from the nightly attacks of a neglected, and, consequently, distressed peasantry.

10th. It would convert non-productive consumers into productive consumers, which must make a difference of several millions sterling in favour of Ireland, and prevent the necessity of the present coercive system, which puts the empire to immense expense, without accomplishing any one legitimate object, but actually tends to dissever the kindly feelings that should exist between the two islands.

11th. Permit me also to explain how the want of this, "the poor man's charter," has prevented Ireland extending her manufacturing employment. Machinery so essential it has been found dangerous to import or erect; the hands deprived of employment not having a due provision, which would prevent their starving, confederated together, and made it unsafe to attempt the introduction of machinery; consequently the workmen were compelled to migrate to England, America, or Germany, for that employment which could not be safely given them in Ireland. England having poor-rate, had but little interruption to the erection of the most important machinery, and consequently England

extended her manufacturing trades, whil Ireland has been forsaken, and principally for the want of this humane and equitable law; indeed her agricultural, her commercial, and her manufacturing interest have suffered alike, from the present policy pursued, no incentive being ever given to induce the Irish gentry to examine into the wants of Ireland.

Having pointed out some of the advantages likely to result from the establishment of a compulsory rate, allow me to illustrate these views by the following queries:

Why the Grand Canal stock fell from 115 to 15 per cent. while several of the English canals advanced in value many fold?

Why the entire stock of the Royal Canal was lost, and the creditors declared stock-holders, and the present value of whose stock is very low, although passing through a most fertile line of country?

Why the Farming Society of Ireland dissolved themselves when Government withdrew its grant, although all necessary buildings had been erected on an extensive scale, and many useful arrangements made to effect a useful purpose? I think a compulsory rate would have induced the Irish gentry to continue united, to complete the work they had so honourably commenced.

Why the opulent landlords and farmers are so indifferent about introducing improvements in agriculture and agricultural implements, and what is the cause of such a general apathy as pervades almost every rank in Ireland about the improvement of their country? Such apathy exists that when the British Government deprived the linen trade of 21,600*l.* per annum, which had been a grant of certain duties appropriated by the Irish Parliament to enlarge that manufacture, and which money (the property of the trade and not of Government) might have been made most useful, very few persons objected.

Why Ireland, with a population of eight millions, with no poor-rate, should have only a gross annual produce of forty millions, while England, paying a poor-rate, with a population of twelve millions, has a gross annual produce of five hundred millions?

And why charitable feelings are more active in England, where there is a public provision, than in Ireland, where no such public provision exists? That was proved in 1822, when there was no dearth of provision but a dearth of employment, arising from the want of a poor-rate.

I shall now endeavour to prove that the opposition to this measure is founded on fallacious grounds, and that England has only two modes to improve Ireland: either to repeal the Union, and restore to Ireland a local Parliament, which would promote all local improvements and increase the trade of Ireland; or, by extending to her this "poor man's charter," to induce the co-operation of every rank in the effort to banish our degrading poverty, and make Ireland what Nature intended her, a contented and a happy country.

The present situation of Ireland is injurious to every rank in society from the peer to the peasant, for all are suffering from the want of a self-operative stimulant to improvement, which must eventually be given either by a British or an Irish Parliament:

First, the absentees, because their incomes are not one-half what they were a few years since, and that principally from the industry of the people not being promoted.

Next, the resident landlords, because their rents have also been reduced in the same proportion, and the present rents cannot be paid from profits; they are taken from the comforts of the tenants, and from their much-reduced capital.

Then, the occupying farmers, because their produce not having a home sale, they must sell to exporters, who must deduct from the English price all their expenses and profits, which leave in cheap seasons a very moderate value to the Irish farmer, not equivalent to his labour and expense.

The shopkeepers, for their sales are principally confined to farmers, (the labourers being paid such a small remuneration for their time, they are unable

to purchase at shops,) and the farmers, from obtaining such a low price for their produce, are unable to purchase any article they can possibly do without; their clothing is made by the female branches of their families.

The mechanics, for they must go to England, America, or Germany, for employment, the same causes operating against them; perhaps they will now turn their attention to Egypt, where the Pacha appears more useful than all ou political economists.

The export merchant, because, as there are no societies established to extend knowledge among the producers, every article is brought, and will continue to be brought to market of an inferior description; and he must protect himself, by cutting down the price; a cause from which the farmers and landlords suffer more than they are aware of. Look at the pains the East India Company took to create a supply of silk in their settlements, which no private individual could have done. The Irish cattle, pigs, and sheep, were greatly improved by the exertions of the late Farming Society; corn and butter require the same attention and exertions now.

The canal companies of Ireland suffer, for the interest of money sunk in expenses of lock-keepers, canal-banks, &c. is the same on half trade, as if they had double that trade the boat-owners suffer from the same cause. The important undertaking of the Shannon Steam Company, who have commenced with spirit and great enterprise, to create or enlarge the trade on that neglected river, must suffer as they proceed, the same blighting influence from the want of that co-operation among the higher classes which would be so effectually insured by the extension to Ireland of this compulsory rate.

England, during the last one hundred and thirty years, has made 4,800 miles of water communication, to assist the commerce and the industry of her people, while Ireland during that period, has made about 450 miles only, although she commenced canal-making before England did. All those canals, too, which she did make, have been unprofitable, and unproductive to the subscribers, owing to the want of trade, which would probably be one of the earliest effects of a compulsory rate: even the banks of the noble river Shannon, that runs about 200 miles through the centre of the island, are, in many places, as wild, and as much neglected, as if situate in the most remote part of America; yet there is abundance of marl, limestone gravel, and limestone rock, which, if applied to the soil, would soon make the whole line of the river a most beneficial and profitable means of internal communication.

I now come to show the injury this indifference on the part of the Irish gentry to Irish interests and general trade, has been to themselves and their families, and to suggest how important it must be to the empire to have the rising generation of every rank better provided for.

It is truly lamentable to see thousands of fine talented and well-educated young men, with very moderate incomes, at a loss for employment, because of all the learned professions being over-stocked. How important it would be if this compulsory assessment induced their parents to turn the attention of their sons to the useful sciences of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. That would be imitating the example of the English and Scotch; and I believe there are Irish means for industry, sufficient to afford full employment to all these young men who are now brought up in idleness, or attach themselves to professions in which, while some are overpaid, many cannot procure the means of decent subsistence.

Irish capitalists suffer, for they have scarcely any means of safe investment except the funds; having lost all other modes of securing a profitable return by the apathy that pervades the higher ranks in society towards the general improvement of their country, or the opening of her various commercial and agricultural resources. Capitalists cannot invest capital in farms, for the value of land has been annually sinking. I know large tracts of country that were

let for 3*l.* 5*s.* per acre which are now let for 1*l.* 10*s*, consequently capital would not be invested in land. As to foreign commerce, it is gone, and no longer thought of; the Irish merchants had no manufactures to send out, consequently they lost all foreign commerce. Liverpool supplies Ireland with her imports. As to manufacture, capital will not go into that line, for the reason before stated. I have known many Irishmen who had money and could not apply it to any trade, and were most reluctantly compelled to place it in the funds and to walk about idle, when they would prefer attending to industrious pursuits.

Ireland is further losing annually about half a million sterling, by 30,000 of her people, who emigrate and carry out, I believe, that sum in hard cash to Canada and the United States of America, leaving the poor, who cannot go, to be supported by those who remain, to struggle with all those impolitic and destructive prejudices that impede and frustrate a final settlement of this great Irish, and I would say Imperial question, on which the misery or welfare, the peace or turbulence, the ruin or salvation, of the country, depends.

To sum up my arguments: I consider that the effect of a compulsory rate would be, in a few years, an actual increase of produce to Ireland of twenty millions sterling; and I hope it will not be forgotten with what reluctance the British public contemplated the payment of twenty millions to the West India planters and one million to the Irish clergy. How much more should they condemn that mistaken policy which deprives the United Empire of that sum annually, independent of the disgrace in the eyes of Europe, and the inhumanity of having two millions of human beings suffering such unnecessary hardships as the poor Irish are now enduring, especially when two millions only of annual expenditure are required. That the estimate of twenty millions increased produce is not too high, will appear by the following calculation, viz.

	Millions
By the reclamation of three million acres of waste lands, which this assessment would soon accomplish, and which would pay as the work went on, the expense of its improvement	10
By a profit in converting non-productive, but still expensive consumers, into productive and industrious consumers, calculating their present expenses to be two millions and their labour at two millions only more	4
By increased value of all existing contracts in houses and lands, which the capital created and put into circulation, must occasion, independent of the stimulant every line of industry will receive, and which is estimated very low at	2
By increase of agricultural produce, from a better system of husbandry being introduced among the present farmers, from the example of well-informed influential gentlemen, being induced by motives of self-interest to turn their attention to industrious pursuits, estimated at ..	2
By increase in the manufactures of Ireland, when the opulent are interested to promote their consumption, which they would be by this compulsory rate on their property to provide employment	2
	20

The two millions required for employment, I presume it will be clearly understood, would be levied for the improvement of the island from those who can well afford to pay it; it would be spent in the country—go from A to B, and back to A, in the increasing value of every thing he offers for sale; and if the three million acres of bog land be divided as they ought, among the 2,400 parishes which Ireland contains, each parish would have 1,000 acres, which, when reclaimed, with parish funds, would be a valuable interest for the fu-

ture support of those unable to maintain themselves in those parishes, or for the occasional removal of families to the colonies, as population became more numerous than could be profitably employed: then might emigration be useful; but to pay for any emigration scheme while these immense wastes remain uncultivated, I conceive the height of folly. Yet some there be who advocate the expediency of encouraging emigration, and leaving those valuable wastes as they are, thereby neglecting the profitable sources of employment in their native country, while they send out its hardy population to spend their energies in the deserts of distant climes.

Can we suppose that a Ministry who have given the people a reformed House of Representatives—and who must look to the people for support—will not reflect on the misery so large a portion of British subjects are suffering, and the injury inflicted on the middle ranks in Ireland, and that they will not attribute the suffering condition of Ireland to its true cause, the neglect of the upper ranks of Irish society? Or that Ministers will not now take effectual measures for correcting the neglect, and ensuring the improvement of Ireland, by making it the interest of the landlords and the opulent to meet and apply themselves to the improvement of their native land?

In my letter of 12. of the 5. Month, 1833, or in this letter, I have not alluded to political arguments, which I leave to others, with this remark, that Ireland cannot continue with safety to the empire as she is; and that she is now too powerful, too well-informed on political matters, and too fully acquainted with the power that passive resistance and moral co-operation give—a power which while it infringes no law, paralyzes all laws that oppose the people; to longer deny the improvement; and that I fear she will look to herself for redress when she finds she has no other alternative.

I have alluded to the humanity and expediency of the measure in only a commercial point of view, which I hope will be considered sufficiently urgent to induce Ministers to introduce into Ireland a compulsory rate for employment, as the firmest base for the improvement and pacification of that country; and that they will not be deterred by the opposition of a few Irish absentee and resident landlords, who do not allow their reasoning powers to divest their minds of prejudices long imbibed, and who would prefer allowing their rents to dwindle to nothing, rather than pay a few pounds for the improvement of Ireland.

As to employment for the people on public works it will be partial only, and not have the important effect of arousing the public exertions of the Irish gentry to the various wants of their country. However, by this means, good may be done, if Government will purchase one million acres of the Irish bogs, and either commence their reclamation on their own account, or retail them in small divisions, and lend money for their reclamation, taking as a security a lien on those divisions of bog land for such loan—that is, to lend 100*l.* for every 100*l.* previously expended, agreeably to a certain system mutually agreed on with commissioners appointed for the purpose, but not to require such security as they did for their last loan of 500,000*l.*, which in a great measure defeated its object.

A compulsory rate, the advantage of which I have but too feebly pointed out, is a healing measure, which ought to have accompanied that of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, as was contended at the time by myself and friends. By that concession, proper in itself, political power was conferred on men who were destitute of employment and education, separated from the owners of the soil by strong prejudices, mutually entertained. This was inverting the natural order of things. A sounder policy it would surely have been to have adopted means to secure employment in the first place; education in the next, and lastly political privileges. But the majority of all parties at that time, looked only to the excitement produced, to the effects and not to the causes, and they now discover the mistake. But even now it is not too late,

if Ministers will wisely resolve no longer to procrastinate, nor, in the introduction of other measures to omit that which is essential for putting them all into operation. Let them recollect the Drainage Bill lately passed, which excellent in itself, now lies dead, and cannot be brought into action for want of a provision such as that now described; a provision whose effects on other legislative measures would resemble, however faintly, the effects of the sun upon vegetable nature, they would all derive their life from this.

I am,
Very respectfully thine,
SAMUEL ROBINSON

London, 22. *of* 8. *Month*, 1833.

THE PLAN.

The plan which I would most respectfully suggest, to give employment to the surplus labourers of Ireland, is for Parliament to make it imperative on the property of all the inhabitants of each parish, either to support the labourers of their parish as unproductive consumers, or to find them sufficient employment wherewith to purchase necessary sustenance, and to consider all cities and large towns as one parish.

Government then to provide a sufficient fund in Dublin to lend to each parish 1,000*l.* at three per cent. interest, and three per cent. as a sinking fund to pay the principal; taking as security a bond signed by a parish committee, who should have the power of levying such assessment on the property of their parish, and of purchasing with additional funds provided as above 1,000 acres of bog or mountain, which they should hold as the permanent property of the parish, never to be assigned or sold, but at all times to be under the superintendence of a committee freely chosen by the rate-payers of said parish.

Said committee to have the power of judging what may be a fair and suitable remuneration for labour given; and in the first instance not to be obliged to afford assistance to a pauper without receiving in return value in labour.

Said committee to have power to appoint an overseer to superintend for them the reclamation of their bogs; to be bound to bring into cultivation each year 70 additional acres, so as to have their 1,000 acres completed in 14 years; to be compelled to pursue the system which is now applied to the reclamation of Chat-moss Bog, near Manchester, and to follow as nearly as possible the future plans there adopted by an independent company, who are well acquainted with the mode of reclaiming such waste land, and have been very successful.

The committee, when all the waste land of their parish shall have been cultivated, should have the power given them to apply their funds to settle in the British colonies such of their poor whom they cannot procure employment for, and who may voluntary offer to go abroad, but good care should be taken of those volunteers, both on their passage over and until they can support themselves.

The committee might have power given them to take or purchase other wastes when the 1,000 acres are cultivated and brought into a profitable state of reclamation, but not until then.

By this plan every parish which chooses to relieve itself may do so by accepting the loan of 1,000*l.* and reclaiming its 1,000 acres of bog; it would then have an ample fund to prevent this rate from becoming too burdensome on it at any future period; and at the same time would secure the peace, civilization, and content of its people, and which is essential, also preserve the stimulant to go on improving, for the amount of the assessment would still depend on the demand made on the parish.

The capital lent to the parishes would be well secured by the assessment; Ireland would soon have all her immense wastes cultivated, and her surplus population found in remunerative employment. Good care would then be taken of the aged and infirm, for the people of Ireland are naturally a charitable people, and very kindly disposed to their distressed relatives; they only want the means to relieve them. It is expected the result of this compulsory assessment will be, that all who have to pay it will

exert themselves to prevent an increase of paupers in order to have the assessment light; and consequently will not distress their tenantry by demanding exorbitant rents, and by neglecting or refusing to encourage the industry of their countrymen, as many now are found to do.

As, however, this plan would bring the bogs into demand, the landlords might defeat the parish cultivation by demanding too much money for them; it might therefore be advisable to lay a tax on those wastes of one or two shillings per acre; that is, on all bogs growing heath and bog moss; and I take it to be a better principle to tax inactive material to force it into action, than to tax the industry of man, as is now constantly done. It will be a productive tax, and it will be paid by opulent landlords, who will then, from motives of self-interest, have a double inducement to assist the parishes by promoting both the purchase and the reclamation of these bogs.

I am rejoiced to find that the English people are feeling compassion for the hard fate of the Irish poor, and are taking up the subject with their usual spirit. The Press also, "our fourth estate," is wielding its immense power, and will soon combine the efforts of this thinking and well-educated people, who I hope, ere long, will accomplish their generous and enlightened purpose of inducing Ministers to give this law.

They will relieve their own poor and their rate-payers by the effort, while "the poor man's charter," by being extended to Ireland, will, it is my firm belief, increase the annual produce of the empire above twenty millions sterling.

SAMUEL ROBINSON.

Clara, King's County, Ireland.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BARROW, I., Bristol, merchant.
COLE, W., Chester, builder.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

COADE, J., Devonport, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BALL, W., Worcester, skin-merchant.
CHANDLER, J. and S. King, St. Paul's Church-yard, woollen-drapers.
DEELEY, J., Birmingham, comb-maker.
GOLDSTONE, R., Bath, dealer.
HARVEY, H., Stockport, Cheshire, stone-mason.
HUGHES, T., Little Leaver, Lancashire, paper-manufacturer.
JACOBS, M., Exeter, tailor.
MILLS, R. J., Tetbury, Gloucestershire, draper.
TREVOR, C., Liverpool, innkeeper.
WHEATER, T., Fearns, Lancashire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

GILFILLAN, M., Glasgow, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIDSON, J., Wandsworth, calico-printer.
GIRWOOD, G. F., Edgware-road, surgeon.

BANKRUPTS.

BURNLEY, R. W., Leeds, cheese-monger.
EADES, J. and W. Brearley, Birmingham, chemists.
EDWARDS, J., Liverpool, cheese-monger.
DAVIS, R., Watling-street, linen warehouseman.
DENMAN, E., Mark-lane, watch and clock-maker.
HUTTON, T., H. W. Lepine, and C. E. Lepine, Newgate-street, fringe-manufacturers.
JAMES, J., Walbrook, hardwareman.
MEREDITH, J., Llanelwith, Radnor, timber and coal-merchant.
MILLS, W., Chapel-street, Edgware-road, bricklayer.
PIDDING, J. R., George-yard, Lombard-street, merchant.
PROSSER, W., sen. and W. Prosser, jun., Pitfield street, Hoxton, linen-drapers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 22.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market were liberal, which, added to the quantity left over from last week, caused the stands to be well filled. Fine samples of Wheat, particularly white, were in limited show, and

realized freely the prices of this day se'nnight, while good secondary as well as inferior samples were difficult of disposal, though a reduction of 1s. per quarter would have been submitted to, to have effected a clearance. The distillers have been purchasing the coarser descriptions of Wheat, and have given 1s. per quarter more, in instances, than the millers offered, 43s. having been realized for heavy red quality. Bonded Wheat continues to meet a partial inquiry for export at low prices.

New Barley was in more plentiful supply, but very few fine samples were offering. The warmth of the weather, however, preventing the maltsters from working, caused the demand to be limited, and the better descriptions must be noted 1s. per quarter, and secondary and inferior 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than this day week, 36s. being a top quotation for Chevalier, and good malting being worth about 33s.

Malt hangs heavily on hand, and prices barely supported. The new Barley malts kindly, and is rich in saccharine matter.

Rye met with less inquiry for seed, and 40s. is an extreme quotation.

Oats continue in short supply and the consumers bought sparingly, though fully the quotations of last Monday were realized, particularly for old fresh Corn. New qualities come thin to hand, and are 1s. per quarter cheaper than old, and new Scotch 1s. to 1s. 6d. per quarter.

The sale of Beans was heavy, and prices of new barely maintained.

New boiling Peas supported last week's currency, but maple were 1s. to 2s., and grey, 1s. cheaper than this day se'nnight.

The Flour trade was heavy, and ship qualities difficult of disposal, at a decline of 1s. per sack from the rates of Monday. Sour Flour in bond has experienced inquiry for export, 17s. per barrel being offered for 800 barrels, but refused.

A government contract has appeared for 2,200 quarters of red Wheat, and 300 quarters of white, deliverable, part on the 21. of October, and the remainder the 11. of November, and 500 quarters of Peas, deliverable the 21. and 31. of next month.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
—— White	50s. to 55s.
—— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
—— West Country red	40s. to 46s.
—— White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
—— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
—— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	38s. to 42s.
—— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
—— Irish red	36s. to 40s.
—— White, ditto	38s. to 42s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 35s.
—— Chevalier	36s. to 38s.
—— Distilling	29s. to 31s.
—— Grinding	27s. to 30s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
—— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
—— Ware	58s. to 63s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 39s.
—— Maple	37s. to 41s.
—— White Boilers	37s. to 45s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
—— Harrow	34s. to 36s.
—— Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
—— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
—— Poland	22s. to 25s.
—— Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
—— —— Potato	25s. to 27s.
—— —— Berwick	24s. to 26s.
—— Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
—— —— Potato	23s. to [illegible]
—— —— Black	22s. [illegible]
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
—— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
—— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
—— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
—— Derby	50s. to [illegible]
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
—— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, September 22.

The day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous, but in great part of indifferent quality; the supply of each kind of small stock but limited. Mutton was in steady demand at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone, but with Beef, Lamb, Veal and Pork, trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	90½	90⅜	90⅜	90½	90½	90½

END OF VOL LXXXV.

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